

YESTERDAY & TODAY

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YESTERDAY & TODAY

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- History research that relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in History curricula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

Hands-on articles in the following field of research are published:

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

Hands-on reports cover 25% of the journal

Contributors need to note the following:

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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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EDITORIAL

History Education greetings,

Welcome to the July 2021 edition, volume 25, of *Yesterday & Today*. For the uninitiated, the journal is attached to the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT). Since the December 2020 edition *Yesterday & Today* has moved home. Since its accreditation as an academic journal *Yesterday & Today* were housed at North West University. The latter provided exemplary support to the journal on numerous fronts, including financial, infrastructural and logistical. In a policy decision support by the editorial board of *Yesterday & Today* it was decided that in future the journal should be located at the same institution as the editor-in-chief. Moving *Yesterday & Today* institutionally was a major undertaking and needed a fair amount of manoeuvring. In this regard I want to thank the editorial board of *Yesterday & Today*, Heather Thuynsma and her team at the University of Pretoria, the executive of the SASHT and the Dean of the Faculty of Education, Professor Chika Schoole, for their support.

Six academic articles appear in this edition of *Yesterday & Today*:

- In the first article Pfuurai Chimbunde and Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo gives voice to Social Sciences Studies teachers in Zimbabwe on matters related to curriculum change and implementation
- In their article Yvonne Kabombwe, Nisbert Machila and Patrick Sikayomya compares the examinations of the old and new Zambian curricula
- Valencia Mabalane, in her article, engages with blogs and online discussion boards as a means to assist students during work integrated learning
- In his article Byron Bunt took an autoethnographic journey back into the work of the subject group History under COVID-19 conditions
- Gideon Boadu, in his contribution, took a diachronic view of the development of History Education in Ghana
- In his contribution Walter Sengai interrogated the role of Heads of Department in implementing the History syllabi in Zimbabwean schools

In the second section, consisting of “hands-on” articles, COVID-19 and history teaching comes under the spotlight. This time the focus is on history education students, both

PGCE and BEd, and their experiences of doing work integrated learning / teaching practice under COVID-19 conditions. Prospective history teachers from five different Southern African universities shared their experiences of completing their teacher education under pandemic conditions.

Section three, the final section of the journal, contains four books reviews.

Take care and stay safe!

Johan Wassermann (Editor-in-Chief)



Decolonising curriculum change and implementation: Voices from Social Studies Zimbabwean Teachers

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Abstract

In 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a Eurocentric education system from the British colony, aimed at the perpetuation of the subordination and silencing of the African child. When the government of Zimbabwe noticed the infestation of the colonial wound, demonstrated by the irrelevance and in-applicability of the inherited education system, it called for its reconstruction on a new curriculum, which was rolled out in 2015. However, Zimbabwean Social Studies teachers reported intractable inconsistencies in curriculum design and implementation between what is taught in the classroom and what is expected in the society, which they linked to lack of *Ubuntu* values and a decolonization perspective. Using the Social Studies curriculum as a case and the *Ubuntu* lens as a conceptual framework, this qualitative study investigates the strategies which can be used to reform the curriculum so that it speaks to the dictates of the Zimbabwean community in which it serves. Data were generated through semi-structured interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) from 12 purposefully sampled Social Studies teachers located in different school settings of Zimbabwe namely the rural, urban, growth points and farm areas. Findings indicated that the 'usable past' anchored in *Ubuntu* values as part of the decolonization agenda, though not given serious consideration in Zimbabwe, is fundamental to curriculum reform and implementation. Considering the findings, the study recommends the revisiting and

extracting from the African past and its values to drive curriculum change to prepare the learner to lead an African life in the African continent. The study elucidates the need for a collective psyche in educational change in which curriculum planners practise cordial relations and engage the teachers in curriculum construction to perfect curriculum design and implementation.

Keywords: Curriculum change; Curriculum implementation; Decolonisation; Social Studies; *Ubuntu*; 'Usable past'.

Introduction

In 2017, Zimbabwe introduced an updated curriculum which was believed to address her socio-economic, cultural, and political woes, based on the notion that much of what was inherited in 1980 after political independence was not Zimbabwean, but rather a reflection of Britain in Zimbabwe (Chavhunduka & Moyo, 2003; Gasva & Moyo, 2017). Elsewhere in African countries, especially in South Africa, the call for decolonisation of the curriculum had gained momentum since the advent of the Rhodes must Fall campaign by students in universities to address the societal priorities (Le Grande, 2016; McGregor & Park, 2019; Pillay & Swanepoel, 2019). Zimbabwe, despite its desire to transform the education system in the spirit of decoloniality, was found to have an education system which had lacked social meaning and relevance for over four decades. When it became evident that the pursuance of colonial education policy and practice inherited in 1980 was not good enough for the country, it was decided that the school curriculum should be revamped. That decision saw the roll out of the *Ubuntu* driven curriculum in 2017, in which Social Studies was ingrained. The embracing of *Ubuntu* and its adoption as the guiding philosophy in the education system of Zimbabwe was a move in the right direction, for which several researchers had agitated (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru & Makuvaza, 2014; Samkange & Samkange, 1980; Zvobgo, 1996). It was a demonstration that the African values that have been overwhelmed by colonialism could be restored and renewed; and then be merged into practical and scholarly strands that address the dehumanisation and erosion of African institutions in the construction of knowledge (Zamora, 1997). The application of *Ubuntu* values in curriculum reform and implementation in African countries in this sense embraced the past knowledge of Africans to shape their curriculum in line with their aspirations and needs.

The paper was motivated by the need to contribute to the current debate surrounding the impact of decolonisation of the curriculum, utilising insights from the voices of some Social Studies teachers who had been reported silent in reforming curriculum ((Apple & Jungck, 1993; Carl, 2005; Yidana & Aboagye, 2018). This study is the first of its kind to draw from the teachers' voices, to investigate the ways in which the past can be used in the ongoing decolonisation debate. Against this backdrop, the study sought to establish whether *Ubuntu* and the people's past can be employed in designing and implementing a curriculum, by investigating their use in the construction and implementation of the Social Studies curriculum. This paper is contributing to arguments on the need to decolonise and indigenise the curriculum and make education relevant to the African people in Zimbabwe.

This engagement is timely as the Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education (2015-2022) in Zimbabwe will soon be due for review. The paper therefore intends to contribute ideas to that review process.

Literature review

A substantial literature search detects an upsurge of interest in the use of “the people’s past” to inform present and future practices in all life dimensions (Kgari-Masondo, 2013; Davids, 2018; Lanchenicht, 2018; Van Straaten, Wilschut & Oostdam, 2018). While Van Straaten et al. (2018) take this further by arguing for the employment of the past to orientate the present and the future in the teaching of History, Lanchenicht (2018) and Kgari-Masondo (2013) present lessons from past land displacements to indicate the significance of the ‘usable past’. The strengths of these and other studies lie in their articulation of what they termed ‘the usable past’ to address various facets of human life by arguing for the reconstruction of an ideal society based on the historical context. While these studies provided discernment on the usefulness of the past, they have paid very little attention to its use in curriculum change and implementation. As such, this paper is an attempt to fill this lacuna by bisecting and connecting the importance of the ‘usable past’ in curriculum reform, tapping into 12 Zimbabwean teachers’ representation of the 2015-2022 curriculum change and implementation. We argue that the ‘usable past’ is deeply rooted in the *Ubuntu* values that have been a conduit of African societies. Additionally, African societies’ past is associated with the deeply-rooted traditional beliefs and values of Ubuntu, which Africans can harness to guide their educational challenges in various ways towards a bright future.

The literature surveyed reflects *Ubuntu* as an African philosophy, in which solidarity with one another was cherished through communalism, conformity, compassion, respect, human dignity, participation, and collective unity (Mbigi, 2005; Msila, 2014; Bruyn, 2017). This indicates that the philosophy of *Ubuntu* is a pre-colonial construct, symbolising communalism and human interdependence that has been in existence in Africa for years. Thus, the *Ubuntu* philosophy, seen this way, is the ‘usable past’ from the African societies, which people can refer to reconstruct human knowledge.

The philosophical systems scholars had been using in Africa to study educational change were from a Eurocentric perspective (Gross, 1971; Fullan, 2015). While we acknowledge their potency, contribution, and importance, these theories were developed in the European context and, thus, the lenses were Western-oriented, side-lining the African spring of knowledge. Of late, there is a growing body of literature advocating for the

adoption of *Ubuntu* in education (Chimbunde & Kgari-Masondo, 2020; Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru & Makuvaza, 2014). This current study complements this literature. We felt a study on curriculum space using the *Ubuntu* philosophy drawn from the Afrocentric views could contribute to the current debates on decolonising the curriculum.

People can draw insightful lessons from the past of Africans' beliefs and values, such as communalism, participation, survival, solidarity, respect, love, and dignity to direct the progress of society. As posed by Higgs and Van Wyk (2007), the *Ubuntu* philosophy of education draws from the concerns, experiences, and aspirations of Africans and how they construct knowledge (cited in Letseka, 2016) to decolonise curriculum design and implementation. We argue that the use of *Ubuntu* philosophy and its related work ethics in educational circles is reconnecting and reviving the 'usable past' in curriculum design and implementation, and thus has a valuable place in the education system (Kgari-Masondo, 2017). Similarly, it is in line with the current global debates on decolonisation of the curriculum.

Decolonisation has gained currency in scholarship of which McGregor & Park (2019:333) define it as a process that:

“involves confronting the academic mentality that ignores indigenous theorists and scientists and aims at placing indigenous information, resources and research culture on an equal footing with those imposed during the colonial era.”

Writers in both the Global South and Global North decolonial inquiry, spanning Indigenous rights, African thought, and movements for reparatory justice, contend that knowledge generated within what is termed a 'colonial matrix of power' has left us with a narrow, patriarchal and contested understanding of Africa and the world (Teasley & Butler, 2020). This means that, at the epicentre of decolonisation of the curriculum is the idea of returning to the traditions and customs of the olden days, which were defined by respect for people, their culture and knowledge systems when constructing the curriculum. So, by decolonising the curriculum, we are allowing those who were historically marginalised to communicate from their frames of reference (Le Grange, 2016; Kgari-Masondo & Chimbunde, 2021). As such, it is a shift towards an African identity that questions the Western hegemony in educational space and seeks to construct the curriculum from African values and beliefs thereby showing sensitivity to the history and context of being decolonised. Unlike this study, previous studies (Chimbunde & Kgari-Masondo, 2020; Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru & Makuvaza, 2014) overlooked the adoption of the 'usable past' as a point of reference in

educational reforms. The term ‘usable past’ is hereunder unpacked and interrogated.

The ‘usable past’

The current study is informed by the ‘usable past’, which means a coherent record of “events and experiences which compile themselves in such a way as to help people understand where they have been, who they are, where they are now and where they might hope to go and whom they might hope to become” (Kimball, 2015:1). A ‘usable past’, in this context, means those incidents and experiences which assist us to discern where Zimbabweans are coming from as people of Africa, their current identity, and the aspirations which shape their future identity. However, while the past is useful, not all the past is usable or has potential for usability. In other words, there are certain elements from the past which are undesirable and therefore unusable. Evans (2019) explains that the past is a foreign country and most historical lessons and analogies remain slippery, ambiguous, and uncertain. This suggests that people should not look to the past for perfection. As argued by Kimball (2015), when we look to and uncritically glorify a past, we will meet with either disappointment or blindness. To avoid such disappointments, people must sift out the values that no longer speak to them and retain the ones that do, all the while maintaining their identity and rootedness. As such, people must retain, cultivate, and cherish memories to root themselves in their identity for the present. This is because all people need a past to get from there to here. Evans (2019) argues the past must be usable in the sense of providing cognitive and interpretative skills for probing relationships between possibility and actuality, between experience and expectation, and between singularity and repetition. This suggests that the ‘usable past’, when critically analysed in curriculum change, can be the key to self-justification, self-identity, and purposeful action toward the future. The understanding of past events and actions therefore, hinges on the period when these actions took place and their implications for the future.

Thus, the ‘usable past’ is a decolonising approach which is “a narrative of return” to African values which had been tainted by colonisation. It is a return to something African which gives insights to challenges of Social Studies curriculum reform, tapping insights from African institutions’ past ways of life in the community. This tenet of the ‘usable past’ introspected on what could have been done before curriculum implementation to thwart the possibility of the challenges sprouting. This study is conscious of the next review of the Social Studies curriculum which is due after the year 2022. As such, this article stands as a future source for ideas to be included in the next revision of the Social Studies curriculum in Zimbabwe.

Theoretical framework

We couch this study in *Ubuntu* philosophy which has the impetus to usher in new thinking in curriculum change and implementation. The *Ubuntu* philosophy is a concept deeply rooted in community life. The perspective is made up of work ethics which constitute what scholarship terms social capital, of which Khoza (2018) describes as networks, shared norms, values, and understandings which enhance teamwork within individuals. This indicates that the *Ubuntu* philosophy denotes connections among individuals which give rise to social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness. *Ubuntu* philosophy is therefore a footing on which a society is not only fortified, but rather, it cements and fastens the people together. The strands that run through *Ubuntu* are of African origin as remarked by Setiloane (1985), which is a piece of locally-made African knowledge which strives on its virtues that emphasise the relevance of a community through the advancement of shared interests. The patterns of social interrelationships that are ingrained in the *Ubuntu* philosophy enable people to organise actions to attain the sought-after goals (Msila, 2014). It thus blooms on the premise of reciprocal relations and harmonic effort among blended groups. Seen that way, the social network entrenched in the *Ubuntu* philosophy is a way of developing a sense of togetherness, tapping ability and endowment, and of entrenching prolific human relationship of reliance and permissiveness to bring extraordinary gains to the community.

While the *Ubuntu* philosophy has been extensively used in management and peace building discourses (Bruyn, 2017; Khoza, 2018), very few studies, if any, had applied it in curriculum design and implementation. Thus, the theoretical framework that shaped this study is *Ubuntu*, whose major tenets echo the African thought of communalism, whose focus is to construct the bridge between the policymakers and teachers in curriculum implementation. *Ubuntu* strives on some components, namely metaphysics, ethics, and epistemology (Mangena, 2018), on which the current paper relies.

Ubuntu ethics refers to the idea of morality and use of terms such as good or bad behaviour, respecting or not respecting, and so forth (Mangena, 2018). Hence, the philosophy of *Ubuntu* is premised on a common moral position in which the community is the source, author, and custodian of moral fibre or standards. How teachers work when implementing a new curriculum must tally with upright morals such as empathy, respect, honesty, and diligence. Metaphysically, *Ubuntu's* nature of reality is on "being" in which the idea of being has its fullest expression through participation. Sekou Toure and others had termed this "the communion of persons" whereby "being" is a function of the "us" or "we"

as opposed to the “I”, as found and celebrated in the West (cited in Mangena, 2018). The idea of being is relational and carries a communal character. In this light, whatever must be reformed should reflect the realms of togetherness and cooperation in terms of proposing the ways on how to go about the process of curriculum implementation. Seen that way, the African education system can “build cooperation and competitive strategies based on *Ubuntu* to permeate challenges” of curriculum change and implementation (Mbigi & Maree, 2005:75).

Ubuntu epistemology is concerned with the meaning, source, and the nature of the knowledge. Battle (2009:135) submits that African epistemology begins with the community and moves to individuality. It indicates that, the idea of knowledge construction in Africa is vested in the community and not in individuals who make up that community. As such, strategies on meaningful curriculum change and implementation reside with the community of stakeholders, made up of community members such as teachers and experts. This implies that teachers in schools have knowledge of what challenges they could face when implementing a new curriculum, which they can represent through narratives. They are custodians of the implementation matrix because of their experiences; hence, their participation in decision making of the educational change is central to effective implementation of the renovated curriculum. *Ubuntu* epistemology is experiential as seen and applied in the African proverb from the Shona people, which says “*Takabva nako kumhunga hakuna ipwa*.” (We passed through the millet field, and we know that there are no sweet reeds there), which means the experiences accumulated by teachers are useful in assisting policymakers in reforming and implementing a curriculum implementation, as they know when and where they can meet hurdles. As explicitly argued by Ramose (1999), the African tree of knowledge stems from *Ubuntu* philosophy, which can be seen as a well-spring which flows within African notions of existence since the epistemology strives on wholeness and oneness (Mangena, 2018). The patterns of social interrelationships that are engrained in the *Ubuntu* philosophy enable people to coordinate actions to achieve the desired goals (Msila, 2014). *Ubuntu* thus blooms based on mutual relations and harmonised effort among mixed groups. Seen that way, the social network entrenched in the *Ubuntu* philosophy is a way of building a sense of belonging, identifying skills and talents, and of establishing productive relationships of trust and tolerance to bring great benefits to the people.

The *Ubuntu* philosophy was handy as it presented a framework that is indigenous to Africa and her educational challenges. Foreign theories had been employed in the African context, causing a mismatch and leaving some critical issues untapped (Chimuka, 2015;

Kgari-Masondo, 2017). Bruyn (2017:43) argues that the Afrocentric paradigm affirms that Africans and African topics ought to be studied, analysed, and understood from an African (internal) perspective, based on African philosophical assumptions. This points out that the *Ubuntu* lens is essential in the study of African phenomena as it approaches such phenomena from “within the culture, history, experience, and perspectives of African people” (Pellerin, 2012:153). Dlomo (1991) explains that *Ubuntu* is strong because it is an indigenous, purely African, philosophy of life, which is not imported from Eastern or Western Europe. Thus, it is something out of Africa, and therefore has a potential to offer African solutions to the African challenges that teachers face in the education sector. Its strength lies in the fact that it is the ‘usable past’, which means the traditional values and beliefs drawn from the past of African societies, and has the potential to drive reforms in education in Africa and areas that have the same global history.

Methodology

The study explored the essence of *Ubuntu* values in the Zimbabwean Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education. It sought to establish whether the people’s past could be employed in designing and implementing the curriculum. This research, cast as a descriptive and interpretive case study, is embedded in the qualitative paradigm. We made use of the interpretive paradigm in the current study because of its axiom that it is sensitive to human values and that reality is subjective, multiple, and a human construct, unlike the positivist approach that relies on measurements and statistical procedures. Teachers were chosen based on the relevance by picking only “information rich” participants from a population under study (Pandey & Pandey, 2015:54). We solicited data from 12 purposively selected teachers using semi-structured interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) because this current study was “not interested in the whole ‘census’ or conducting a broad sweep of everything” (Mason, 2002:65). The six schools were selected on the basis that they mirrored the diverse types of schools found in urban and rural areas and farms in Zimbabwe. The 12 teachers who participated in the study were chosen because they pioneered the implementation of the new Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education (2015-2022) when it was rolled out in 2017. Additionally, these teachers were trained in Social Studies, and could therefore provide relevant data regarding the tenacity of the study. However, the use of the 12 teachers in the study cannot be viewed to be representing all social studies teachers in Zimbabwe hence, based on such a small sample the credibility of findings and conclusion arising therefrom

becomes greatly compromised. Thus, the findings cannot be generalised but particularised as endowed in a qualitative approach (Pandey & Pandey, 2015).

Data analysis and ethical issues

To abide by ethical issues, we obtained a clearance letter from the ethical committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal after we sought permission from the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education in Zimbabwe. Armed with these approvals, we sought consent from the Provincial Education Director for Masvingo Province who then directed us to the district school inspectors. Permission was also sought from the heads of schools who then assisted us in identifying the teachers who suited our criterion. The teachers were asked for their participation and showed their acceptance to participate by signing the consent form as advised by De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delpont (2014). Before the interviews and the FGD, we explained to the teachers the purpose of the study, gave them assurance that the findings were to remain confidential, and that fictitious names were to be used throughout the report which could not be linked to their identities. Permission was also sought to audiotape their narrations and to record the discussion. Data generated from the FGD and semi-structured interviews were recorded as words. They were then transcribed and analysed with emerging patterns being noted and developed into themes. We thus adopted the thematic analysis procedures after transcribing and decoding the narratives.

Findings

Hereunder, we present findings which had been categorised as themes.

The Ubuntu philosophy and curriculum design: a paper exercise?

It emerged from semi-structured interviews and FGD that the new Social Studies curriculum was intended to focus on the values of *Ubuntu*, but this was, in practice, not the case (Interviews R1; S1). R1 narrates that:

“ We hear of *Ubuntu* as a philosophy that drives the new 2015-2022 Zimbabwean curriculum. We expected the employment of the *Ubuntu* values in both designing and implementing it. However, that was not the case because the participation and

involvement of all stakeholders was limited. What happened was a selection of a few experts by the policy makers, leaving most teachers in the dark. We were later told to implement the curriculum which was crafted at the government level. This shows that the use of *Ubuntu* philosophy was a window dressing.”

This indicates that the essence of *Ubuntu*, which is participation by all, was not followed during curriculum design. The approach by the Zimbabwean policymakers was a good representation of a power-coercive approach, because it represented a top-down movement of innovation, which is *anti-Ubuntu* and did not support or facilitate the participation of all people in implementing what was suggested by the government. In terms of *Ubuntu*, this top-down style of participation is a violation of respect, teamwork, solidarity, and cooperation. As such, the interviewees (Interviews J1; G1; S2; S1) disagreed with how they were consulted, considering it a breach of their human rights and their right to have a say in their societal activities. Interviewees (S1 and S2) stated that the curriculum was an imposition by the government, and that they had no power to change it despite the fact that they were part of the community. In the words of S2:

“The curriculum was cascaded from the top to the teachers. We were only told to implement what was crafted by policymakers and the invited experts. The ordinary teachers were not consulted. We could not reject its implementation because that could have been an act of misconduct on our part. We are implementers who do not question or change policy.”

This explains why teachers remained silenced by the policymakers.

The teachers interviewed mentioned the issue of *Ubuntu* as they focused on its ethical principles like love (FGD), care (S2; R1), accommodative (S1; C1), participation (G1; J1; R1), cooperation (G1; M2; R1), respect (M2; M1), and humanisation (J2; S2). This research also discovered that, since the curriculum is grounded in such principles, policymakers and implementers should have followed the ethics engraved in *Ubuntu* philosophy, encouraging the effective involvement of teachers in curriculum design and the implementation of Social Studies. That was evidenced by the policymakers’ movement towards embracing *Ubuntu* philosophy as their philosophical base of the education system, which was in stark contrast to their negligence of this philosophy during the 1980s (Samkange & Samkange, 1980; Zvobgo, 1996; Nziramasanga, 2018).

Knowledge from the usable past: Confronting colonialisation

From the semi-structured interviews and FGD, it was revealed that the content observed in the Social Studies textbooks was added to include issues that were related to governance and global issues, excluding African themes like ‘living together’. As put by J2:

“While the topics “Global issues” and “governance” are pertinent given the socio-political space, Zimbabwe finds itself in currently, the themes inherent in them reflect Eurocentrism. For example, the Western system of governance are learnt without reference to the African system. I then wonder why they left out a theme like “Living together” which promotes humanity and African values for instance respect for leadership and tolerance as a way to represent the African systems of governance. They brought in Eurocentric themes which are not necessarily helpful in the African way of life. We are potent sources of knowledge for the Social Studies curriculum because of our past experiences. As such, we can be helpful in the development of the curriculum content. The content could be easily implemented by drawing references from our communities and our past. It looks like we are still colonized if our experiences are not taken as part of the social studies content.”

This suggests that the policymakers did not identify teachers as a potent source of Social Studies content. They belittled them to be mere implementers of an already crafted policy and failed to acknowledge the experiences of the teachers as sources of relevant and worthwhile knowledge. They did not see the importance of the African themes that make up the African way of life. Revelations from observations show that the Social Studies curriculum was aligned to a Eurocentric view, promoting Western-directed governments. The teachers indicated that the non-Africanisation in the Social Studies content was because they were not involved in the curriculum designing process (Interview J2). This relegates teachers to mere implementers. However, findings show that teachers saw themselves as very good curriculum developers because of the experiences they gained from their community life. It was clear that the development of the Social Studies content lacked in this respect, as represented by the teachers’ critique of it as a subject that has directed more effort in Western societies, and been powered by Western thinkers. The nature of themes in the new Social Studies topics, as represented by teachers in the study, reflected bias since they were coloured by a Eurocentric slant. This suggests that curriculum planners overlooked the importance of *Ubuntu* values, even though they claimed it as the

guiding philosophy in the Zimbabwean education system (MoPSE, 2015).

Ubuntu values and curriculum implementation

On curriculum implementation and the nature of relations that the school heads displayed, teachers revealed that the support that was given was tainted with a lack of respect, love, and compassion. In an interview, S1 noted:

“ Each time I knocked on the door of our head, I received a cold welcome punctuated with a “what is it again” expression on the face. When I explain the purpose of the visit, the school head usually reminds me of my laziness and then an elaboration that we received the same training and as such was not even aware of how to deal with my problems. That is again followed by a serious lecture on why the school cannot honour my requests because of financial constraints. Their behaviour is likened to that of the then Minister of Primary and Secondary Education who once said: “the new curriculum has now come to stay, shape up or ship out.””

This finding also suggests that *Ubuntu* values were not used in curriculum implementation. The teacher’s sentiment reflects poor relations, and therefore denotes a lack of concern, love, and dignity – which are values central to the concept of *Ubuntu*. If this view represents a lack of humanness, we argue that the teacher, who is exposed to such poor relations from a leader, is likely to unyoke him/herself from the burden of being part of a team, and rather direct their efforts to other issues that are not linked to the goals and visions of the school curriculum. This neglect from the school head speaks volumes on the lack of importance placed on teamwork in an educational setting, which we believe was due to ignorance or a lack of *Ubuntu* values, which celebrate unity of purpose.

Discussions of findings

Drawing on the findings above, the top-down approach which policymakers adopted in disseminating Zimbabwe’s updated 2015-2022 curriculum, debunks *Ubuntu*, in that it does not celebrate participation, consultation, respect of involvement, working together, and cooperation, which are critical strands of the *Ubuntu* values. Benefiting from the *Ubuntu* lens, the bottom-up approach is more suitable, as it is anchored in consultative meetings in which ideas are shared in mutual respect and understanding. This style of consultation is part

of the decolonisation process as it embraces the participation of all that is normally silenced in curriculum change and implementation. Letseka (2016:3) explained that “*Ubuntu* has a practical dimension and, as such, for a proper interconnection and interdependence to take place, coexistence and cohesion should be the connecting and linking factors in the communal action.” The teachers’ non-participation in the curriculum change suggests that the *Ubuntu* value of interconnectedness, using consultative forums such as seminars, conferences, workshops, and meetings, which are likened to indabas (African indigenous traditional meetings) in the context of *Ubuntu* philosophy, was not adhered to. The link between the basic principles and vision of the curriculum was not adhered to, which posed a problem because tokenistic involvement occurred instead of allowing teachers to fully participate in curriculum design and construction.

The findings of the study suggest that, while the new curriculum in Zimbabwe was grounded in *Ubuntu* philosophy, its values, such as respecting the involvement of teachers in curriculum design, were not adhered to. From an *Ubuntu* lens, participation of all stakeholders at the planning stage helps in the ownership of changes. As advised by Mbigi and Maree (2005:105) “villages function through a process of grass-roots democracy in the form of open discussion forums on key issues that affect the village. These forums are called “indabas” in Zulu, “dare” in Shona or “*khotlas*” in Tswana.” This study infers that if Social Studies curriculum implementation is going to be effective, the policymakers had to create open, shop-floor forums at the grassroots level, as well as inclusive forums throughout the teaching fraternity, to discuss competitive and survival issues in curriculum change and implementation. The cardinal point that is drawn from the *Ubuntu* lens is that these forums must be inclusive and must have an aspect of open agendas. Hence, there must be space to discuss all critical issues which are to do with education reform and implementation. This means that teacher involvement in curriculum development, as seen from the *Ubuntu* hallmarks, can result in increased participation, relevance, ownership, and commitment, so that when things deviate from the intended plan, there is less finger-pointing.

It is a finding of this study that teachers were not represented in the construction of the Social Studies content, thereby missing on the decolonisation targets, and damaging the *Ubuntu* philosophy. As such, new topics, with a European slant, were introduced, and others were modified (Interviews, J2; C2; R1; S2). This confirms reports in several studies (Samkange & Samkange, 1980; Zvobgo, 1996) which claim that *Ubuntu* philosophy was neglected by the Zimbabwean government in the post-1980 era in favour of the ideology of scientific socialism. Interest in *Ubuntu* only re-emerged after the Nziramasanga Commission of 1999 which gave birth to the new Social Studies curriculum and explained why some

themes in the Social Studies curriculum overlooked African values. We argue that each person has dignity. And that this makes him/her someone to be respected, regardless of their social or professional status, or if they are well known or not (Letseka 2016). Teachers in the study indicated that fidelity to the implementation of the new curriculum could have been facilitated by involving them in drafting the decolonised content of the Social Studies curriculum (Interviews S2). The finding tallies with representation as a social construct, as expounded by Kgari-Masondo (2017), who asserted that Social Studies is located in the activities of the world, reflecting the communities it serves and empowering learners with critical lifelong learning skills. Hence, it is represented as a curriculum that can have outcomes based on common models of society, which could have been achieved by the teachers utilising the knowledge of African values that they gained by practising in their communities. This claim is based on the argument that some teachers fail to recognise the importance of African values, or have an insufficient understanding of them.

Borrowing from *Ubuntu* epistemology, which strives on oneness and is concerned with the meaning, source, and nature of knowledge, this study argues that the content of Social Studies could have been derived from the community as a whole, to address the realities of the community (Dube & Jita, 2018). The community members (teachers included) had to contribute to the subject matter of the curriculum since *Ubuntu* epistemology is experiential as reflected and embedded in the Shona proverb: “*Takabva nako kumhunga hakuna ipwa*”, which means: “we passed through the millet field and we know that there are no sweet reeds there” (Mangena, 2018). The teachers’ experiences, accumulated in the progression of their lives and duties, were enough to determine the Social Studies content in the African context. Informed by *Ubuntu* philosophy, the processes of curriculum change and implementation are deemed ongoing and continual, where teachers make meaningful contributions towards the relevance of the subject by tailoring it to “address lived realities” (Dube & Jita, 2018:907). In that way, unwanted content materials could have been purged. Consequently, relevant concepts could have been incorporated and more African values could have been added, which was not the case. This reflects a source of impediments to effective curriculum change and implementation, which could have been averted by creating space for educators to contribute their knowledge. As such, teachers should have been afforded respect by including them as participants in the reforms, though they are often seen as curriculum implementers. Teachers, therefore, ought to be treated with respect in curriculum change and implementation. Hence Bekker (2006) argues disrespecting or ill-treating other persons was to be avoided (cited in Letseka 2016). The tokenistic involvement of teachers in curriculum implementation, effected by the Education Ministry

and policymakers' silent approach, was a sign of disrespect, and, effectively, *anti-Ubuntu*. We affirm that teachers can be designers of the curriculum because they know the local situation and are familiar with the dynamics in their communities, thus fulfilling Eisner's view that individuals must become the "architects of their own knowledge" (Sanchez, 2010:14).

By virtue of the fact that curriculum change and implementation are premised on the need to transform the nations in the political and socio-economic spheres, the values of *Ubuntu*, such as community, social interdependence, and individual co-operation, become indispensable and present valuable insights into the nature of consultation and participation, suggesting that the stakeholders must be engaged. Therefore, at any one time, any community is more than the sum of the physical elements of which it is composed. This prompted Khoza (2018) to argue that the community is a cauldron, an interlocking circuit, in which the members, not only human, exist in interdependence on one another. As argued by Van Binsbergen (2001), *Ubuntu* is that well-knit cluster of ideas, believed to have the power to inspire development in the various Southern African communities as it is believed to possess the management ideologies for the sub-region (cited in Chimuka, 2015). Therefore, in the African context, the enactment and management of curriculum change and implementation should draw lessons from the fountain of values enshrined in *Ubuntu*. This is so because the *Ubuntu* values have an important role to play in integrating the various groups in education that have been put asunder by Western models of curriculum innovation and implementation, such as the top - down approach (Pansiri, 2014).

Ubuntu philosophy is rooted in sharing, co-operation, group cohesion, communalism, and communitarianism, which could be articulated in the topic "Living together", a topic which regrettably was purged off. This indicates that decolonisation and use of *Ubuntu* values in the curriculum reform were used as window dressing when constructing the new curriculum. Such representations from teachers had far reaching implications. It highlighted the fact that teachers were, to some extent, not consulted on the content and nature of the Social Studies curriculum, an oversight which led to a situation whereby learners were exposed to non-African values.

From the study, it emerged that, due to some school heads' failure to nurture good relations in school in schools, teachers experienced a sense of rupture in attachment to the Social Studies curriculum implementation. The heads' poor support to staff was identified as a challenge to effective curriculum implementation during interviews and FGD. These school heads offered minimal professional support, chequered by poor relations of arrogance, disrespect, and lack of love (Interviews J1; S2; FGD). Recent studies conclude

that this is a problem, because the implementation of programmes and initiatives offer the greatest possibility of success if they are supported intellectually and emotionally by the management (Fullan, 2015; Dube & Jita, 2018; Oder & Eisenschmidt, 2018). Surprisingly, this study revealed that school heads were themselves unaware of their responsibility to supervise the implementation, because, due to the fact that they were trained under the same roof and taught the same initiatives as the teachers, their orientation of the new reforms was similar to that of the teachers.

Faced with challenges of disrespectful school heads that are devoid of love and respect, the *Ubuntu* spring is overflowing with values the school leaders can draw from, for inspiration and guidance on curriculum implementation. One such value is a value-based leadership style which includes all people, from the grassroots level, and encourages the team members to sacrifice for the community's goals first before considering their own values. Values which include creative cooperation, open communication, teamwork, and reciprocal moral obligation are embedded in this value-based leadership (Booyesen, 2001 cited in Poovan, du Toit & Engelbrecht, 2006). Indeed, the leader becomes the glue that holds the team members and their values together, enabling members to coalesce and accomplish tasks collectively rather than putting each other asunder. School heads are at the epicentre of the Social Studies curriculum implementation. Their good relations with their subordinates contribute to the success of curriculum implementation, even though it was revealed in the study that some heads were *anti-Ubuntu* (Interviews S2; C1; M1). As such, Rahman, Pandian, and Kaur (2018:1122) caution that instead of the arrogant "we-know-what is good for you" attitudes from the school heads, the teachers must be consulted rather than told what to do; they must be respected rather than patronised. Similarly, Mingaine (2013) advises that school heads should be involved and concerned, and should supervise the whole process. Some heads of schools' negative attitudes towards the teachers' perceived lack of skills must be altered for them to embrace the essence of sharing of ideas. As the study by Kgari-Masondo (2015) indicated, if people feel aggrieved, they tend to feel less human and resort to negative behaviour. As such, the elitism and exclusion faced by the teachers made them feel a sense of rupture in their attachment with curriculum change and implementation.

Conclusion

The study is highly relevant as it is topical and resonates with the current voices on the imperative to decolonise the curriculum in the pursuit of an education delivery system

which seeks to articulate and address concrete existential needs and the wishes of the peoples in once-colonised spaces in Africa and beyond. Whilst most studies focussed on decolonising the curriculum *per se*, this paper is commendable for taking another slant, which is of decolonising the change as well as the implementation of the curriculum, with reference to Zimbabwe in general and its Social Studies curriculum in particular. Furthermore, adopting the notion of a 'usable past' as the conceptual framework undergirding the discussion makes this study unique and significant.

The study demonstrated that the salient features of *Ubuntu* are critical in re-asserting a sense of agency to achieve a step forward towards the decolonisation of curriculum implementation. Thus, it is a decolonising philosophy which is "a narrative of return" to African roots of respect, compassion, participation, love, and humanness. This means, it is a return to something African which gives educational solutions to the challenges of Social Studies curriculum implementation, drawing insights from the African institutions' ways of life in the community. As such, the current study implores policymakers to re-situate and reposition the 'usable past' within the mainstream educational spaces and discourse alongside other world views on an equal footing to make the curriculum relevant.

The study suggests not only that the prevailing Western paradigm on education reforms should be interrogated, but also that other ideas and paradigms rooted in Africa's 'usable past', which embraces the traditional African customs, work ethics, and beliefs, should be harnessed. In and of itself, the study considers and appraises the return to the 'usable past' in curriculum design and implementation to ensure that educational leaders allow participation of the community members and not disregard their cultural aspects, as those values are the crucial 'usable past' (Kgari-Masondo, 2013:90).

The study indicated that the way the curriculum is designed and developed tends not to support teacher engagement, and thus, is not sensitive to the context of the needs of a decolonised country whose objectives in education are to have a relevant education that embraces African humanity and concerns. Intrinsically, it makes a call for embracing the *Ubuntu* values as a return to the 'usable past', in line with the current decolonisation debates.

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A Comparative Analysis of the Zambian Senior Secondary History Examination between the Old and Revised Curriculum using Blooms Taxonomy

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Abstract

The 2013 Education reform in Zambia is one of the significant changes that brought about a shift in assessment. To understand the changes that have taken place in the 2013 revised curriculum, and to determine the claims by the Ministry of General Education that the revised curriculum is based on higher order thinking, this study evaluated the Examination Council of Zambia's Grade 12 History examination past papers. Qualitative content analysis was used as a research method and document study. A descriptive content analysis style was used to describe the occurrence of the coding categories of analysis precisely. Content analysis was used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material in the Grade 12 examination questions. The sample for this research comprised of 10 History examination papers from the new curriculum and old curriculum which were purposively selected. The findings of the study suggested that the analysed exam papers lacked the higher-level cognitive skills contained in Bloom's taxonomy. It is recommended that examiners follow the guidelines for setting an Outcome-Based Assessment so that they can achieve the intended goals of learning for learners.

Keywords: Bloom's Taxonomy; History; exam questions; Assessment; Outcome Based Assessment and Outcome Based Curriculum/ Education.

Background and Introduction

Educational taxonomies describing the cognitive domain are used to establish educational goals and “are especially useful for establishing objectives and developing test items” (McDonald, 2002:34). Bloom’s taxonomy of cognitive processes involves classifying learning into six levels of measuring learning through assessment (Bloom, 1956). The levels are: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation (Bloom, 1956). The use of taxonomies allows for the alignment of teaching strategies and assessment. Imrie (1995) argues that although it is customary to use a systematic taxonomy in teaching and assessment, the lack of a system means that outcomes may not be evident or verifiable and that there could be a mismatch between the stated (intended) outcomes and the actual behaviour of the learners. Biggs and Tang (2007) have argued that curriculum alignment is crucial for the quality of teaching. Thus, it is clear that outcomes should be clear and measurable in order for quality education to be provided to learners. Amua-Sekyi (2016) contended that education is largely controlled by assessment and that anxieties about the quality of education have to do with teaching and learning, the nature of assessment, and particularly summative assessment.

Hall and Sheehy (2010:4) argued that “assessment means different things in different contexts.” For the two scholars it means knowledge, attitudes, values, beliefs, and sometimes prejudices of teachers and learners. Assessment has been categorized as formative or summative depending on how the results are used (Dunn & Mulvenon, 2009). Formative assessment is embedded in the teaching and learning process and provides feedback to the teacher in the course of teaching to enable him or her to judge how well students are learning. Summative assessment takes place at the end of a course or program to determine the level of students’ achievement or how well a program has performed. It often takes the form of external examinations or tests.

The Senior Secondary School History Examinations papers fall under the category of summative assessment. Typically, summative assessment occurs at the end of educational activity. The summative assessment comes in the form of tests, marks, academic reports, and qualifications that are socially highly valued (Biggs, 2003; Awoniyi & Fletcher, 2014). An exam paper is a traditional way of assessment. It is a common choice for teachers evaluating the learners’ degree of success in a particular lesson in which the necessary cognitive ability of students is determined through the exam scores (Koksals & Ulum, 2018). Therefore, it is clear that Senior Secondary School Examinations for History are very important for learners’ final results for them to progress to tertiary level.

The current Zambian Senior Secondary School History school curriculum is outcomes-based which is in contrast to the previous curriculum which was content-based. A content-based curriculum focuses on rote memorization of factual knowledge. Wangeleja (2010:10) argued that “a Knowledge-Based Curriculum (KBC) focuses on the grasp of knowledge and thus the curriculum is content-driven.” On the other hand, an outcomes-based curriculum, like other outcomes-based models across the world, is anchored on learners’ outcomes. The Zambian outcome-based curriculum focuses on learners acquiring the higher levels of Bloom’s taxonomy. To enable learners to have the ability to make appropriate use of knowledge, concepts, skills, and principles in solving various problems in daily life, the higher level of Blooms Taxonomy should be applied in teaching and assessment (MoGE, 2013). It is important that teachers are aware of the level of Bloom’s taxonomy that they should be assessing, so that they achieve their intended goal. Therefore, the emphasis is on the four higher levels of Bloom’s Taxonomy, that is, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. Therefore, teachers are required to take a creative or innovative approach when teaching (MoGE, 2013; Kabombwe, 2019). Learners of History are expected to acquire the following competences such as historical knowledge, historical concepts, and historical skills after completing senior secondary school (Kabombwe, Machila & Sikayomya, 2020; Kabombwe, 2019; Mazabow, 2005).

Research on implementation of outcomes-based curriculum across the world indicates that the nature of assessment was problematic and not very practical (Brindley, 2005; Jansen, 1999; Donnelly, 2007; Kabombwe, 2019). For instance, in Australia, as well as in the United States of America, educators found outcome-based assessments to be very time consuming (Killen, 2005; Donnelly, 2007). Jansen (1999) argued that the pressure of examinations compromised the logic outcome-based approaches in South Africa (Jansen, 1999). In Tanzania and Zambia literature showed that teachers were still using traditional methods of assessment instead of outcomes-based assessment methods (Komba & Mwandanji, 2015; Makunja, 2016; Kabombwe, 2019).

Harris and Ormond (2019) noted that curricula reforms, which emphasizes transferrable competences and generic skills, are based on the belief that a knowledge economy requires citizens to be adaptive and able to effectively utilise knowledge, derived from diverse sources, to innovate, progress, and enrich society (Harris & Ormond, 2019). It is vital to note that historical knowledge has been differentiated into two main forms: substantive and disciplinary knowledge. Substantive knowledge refers to knowledge of events, ideas, and people, while disciplinary knowledge includes procedural and conceptual dimensions. Procedural thinking involves the processes required to effectively work with

evidence, develop interpretations, and construct arguments (Bertram, 2008; Harris & Ormond, 2019).

Historical knowledge has not been spared from the debate of which knowledge is better than the other. For instance, Cain and Chapman (2014), Young and Muller (2010), and Chisholm (1999) have criticised the knowledge model because learners are expected to comply and accept preordained bundles of knowledge as valuable and uncontested, and are not expected to examine or understand the knowledge presented to them. On the other hand, McPhail and Rata (2016) and Young and Muller (2010) also critique the emphasis on competences and skills. For them, this type of curriculum has the potential to provide isolated, random areas of content within a sea of competences, where young people are not taught to distinguish between different types of knowledge and forms of thinking, but instead, regard knowledge as information. Similarly, Counsell (2003) contended that genericism is redundant, as it adds nothing to strong disciplinary practice in fostering thinking, reflection, criticality, and motivation. It can be noted that what forms historical knowledge is highly contested among History educators around the world.

Research on assessment in History using the outcomes-based approach in Africa reveals that educators were not familiar with how to assess learners, and that interventions would need to be made for learners to be assessed in a meaningful way (Kabombwe & Mulenga, 2019; Machila, Sompa, Muleya, & Pitsoe, 2018; Alabi, 2017; Warnich, Meyer & Van Eeden, 2014; Bertram, 2007; Au, 2009). Bertram (2008) argued that there were signs that learners were not being assessed on these historical knowledge and skills. These skills appeared to have been replaced by generic skills and comprehension, and thus, learners could not develop higher order skills. A candidate could pass the examination without attempting the optional source-based question which developed higher order skills (Kudakwashe, Jeriphanos & Tasara, 2012). In addition, Oppong (2019) also revealed that learners could not apply sourcing, contextualisation, and corroboration appropriately in History in Ghana. Therefore, it would be important to continue to analyse History assessment tasks to see if this trend continues or not.

Statement of the problem

Studies in Zambia indicate that most Zambian examinations were assessing low order skills and that educators did not know whether they used Bloom's taxonomy or not as they prepared examinations (Sichone, Chigunta, Kalungia, Nankonde & Banda (2020); Banda, Phiri & Nyirenda: 2020; Ngungu, 2016). Killen (2005) explained that thinking about

these broad groupings of outcomes helps educators to see that different types of learning require different approaches to teaching and assessment. Since the Zambian education system is focused on developing the higher order skills, as prescribed by Bloom's taxonomy, where teaching, learning, and assessment should be aligned, it requires that the assessment be directed at the learners' ability to apply, analyse, synthesise, and evaluate. Olson (2003) argued that when an examination question is used to measure the achievement of curriculum standards, it is essential to evaluate and document both the relevance of the examination to the standards and the extent to which it represents those standards. It is on this basis that this study sought to analyse the level of Bloom's taxonomy in the Zambian History Senior Secondary School Examination papers.

Purpose of the Study

The main aim of the study was to investigate the level to which Bloom's taxonomy was applied in the preparation of Senior Secondary History Examinations in Zambia. The study was guided by the following research questions;

1. What was level of Bloom's taxonomy applied in the preparation of senior secondary school history examination papers using knowledge-based curriculum?
2. What was level of Bloom's taxonomy applied in the preparation of Senior Secondary School History Examination papers using the outcome-based curriculum?
3. What was the difference between the papers that were prepared using knowledge-based curriculum and an outcomes-based curriculum in terms of application for Bloom's taxonomy?

Methodology

Qualitative content analysis was used as a research method. Specifically, the study employed the summative content analysis method which is an approach to qualitative content analysis. The content of the examination questions was interpreted through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This qualitative content analysis went beyond merely counting words to examining content intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an

efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber, 1990). A coding scheme for classifying and evaluating the examination questions, using the revised Bloom's taxonomy, was developed. This research used a descriptive content analysis style that describes the occurrence of the coding categories of analysis precisely.

The research results were based on the data that was collected through Grade 12 Secondary School History past papers. The key target examination past papers for this content analysis were five (5) papers from before the year 2013 and five (5) papers from the year 2014 onwards. That is five (5) from the previous curriculum and five (5) from the new curriculum. Various themes emerged from the data that was collected, and were aligned as answers to the research questions following cognitive levels of Bloom's taxonomy. In this regard, the analysis used the cognitive order of thinking skills as proposed in Blooms taxonomy like Motlhabane (2017).

The papers were coded according to the six (6) levels of Bloom's taxonomy, which are knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation (Bloom, 1956). The knowledge level is known as recalling of data (Bloom, 1956). Scott (2003) refers to it as 'rote learning' or 'memorization'. This level serves as the lower level or the beginning level of the hierarchy. It is a level where students remember or memorize facts or recall the knowledge they have learnt before. Bloom describes the comprehension level as grasping the meaning of information (Bloom, 1956). The ability to interpret, translate, extrapolate, classify, and explain are the concepts of this levels (Thompson, Luxton-Reilly, Whalley, Hu, JL & Robbins, 2008). The application level is defined by applying the concept to a certain scenario (Starr, Manaris & Stalvey, 2008). Analysis level requires students to breakdown information into simpler parts and analyse each of it. This may imply drawing relationships, making assumptions, and distinguishing or classifying the parts. In the synthesis level, the student should be able to integrate and combine ideas or concepts by rearranging components into a new whole (a product, plan, pattern, or proposal) (Bloom, 1956). Finally, the evaluation level is a final level where making judgements or criticisms and supporting or defending one's own stand is involved.

Coding as a process of organizing and sorting data was used. The codes served as a way to label, compile, and organize the data. Initial coding and marginal remarks were done on hard copies of Grade 12 Examination papers. Content analysis was used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material for the Grade 12 Examination questions. The most important aspects of the examination questions were identified and presented clearly and effectively. This helped in guiding the coding and analysis. Themes and patterns were identified to describe the situation. The cognitive levels

of Bloom's taxonomy were used to categorise the examination questions.

Examples of coding

Questions that required recalling of historical facts, observation, or definitions were coded under *knowledge-based*, while questions that required organization of facts, such as order of 'describe', 'explain', 'compare' or 'contrast', and 'state' were coded under *Comprehension of knowledge*. Questions that encouraged learners to apply information taught or learnt to solve a problem were coded as *Application of historical knowledge*. Questions that helped learners to establish underlying reasons such as causes and effects were coded as *Analysis of historical knowledge*. Understanding of the subject matter and relationships such as questions on 'write' or 'develop' were coded as *Synthesis of historical knowledge*, while questions that required judgment or giving options were coded as *Evaluation of historical facts*. See below some Examination Council of Zambia questions for History paper 1 and 2.

Example A- Below, on Image 1, question (i), where learners were required to 'name', the question was coded as knowledge based, because it seemed that learners needed to possess basic information about the region (Rhineland). Questions (iii) (iv) (v) (vi) were also coded as knowledge since it seemed learners were required to recall. These tasks required learners to give one word or state or identify. This type of questions was centred on testing memorization.

Example B- Below, in image 1, question (iii) was coded as application of historical knowledge since learners were required to employ some factual knowledge.

Please see overleaf

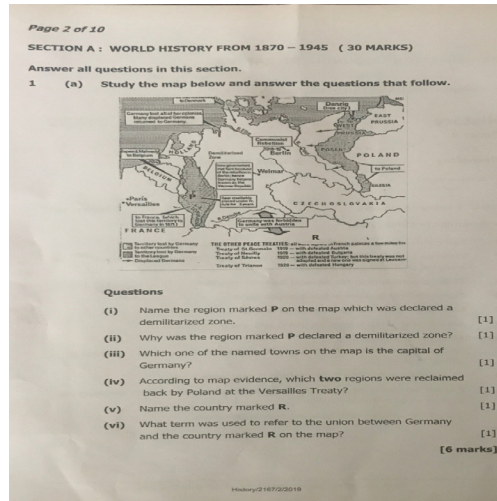


Image 1: Examples of how other questions were coded are given below. (ECZ, History paper 1-2167/1).

Source: Examination Council of Zambia (ECZ) History Paper 2. 2167/2.

Example C- *“What were the terms of the treaty signed by Mwenemutapa Negoma in 1573? How did it affect the history of Mwenemutapa Kingdom?”* This question was coded, in the first part of the task, as historical knowledge, and in the second part, as comprehension, because to answer this task learners need to provide information that has been acquired, accumulated, and understood.

Example D- *“Distinguish between primary and secondary resistance. Discuss specific incidents of primary resistance in Zambia and Malawi.”* This question was coded as analysis of historical facts, since it required learners to establish reasons and give critical thinking.

Example E- *“Choose the mission and explain its work paying particular attention to the benefits of its work to the Africans.”* This question was coded as evaluation, since learners were required to give alternative judgments and various answers.

Findings

The aim of this research was to establish the level of Blooms Taxonomy used by the Examination Council of Zambia for grade 12 History final examination questions in terms

of lower and higher order thinking skills under Bloom's taxonomy. In order to justify the use of the named skills, the analysis revealed the following results: the 2001 examination consisted of two papers of which Paper 1 had 20 questions while Paper 2 had only 18 questions. The results for Paper 1 revealed that the number of questions for each level were: five (5); 25% testing knowledge, seven (7); 35% testing comprehension, one (1); 5% testing application, four (4); 19% testing analysis, zero (0) testing synthesis, while two (2); 10% tested evaluation; The 2001 history examination Paper 2 revealed that out of 18 questions, seven (7) questions were based on knowledge while six (6) tested comprehension. There were no questions that tested the aspect of application in the paper while two (2); 11% focused on analysis, one (1); 6% on synthesis and two (2); 11% on evaluation. Table 1 gives a summary of the Level of Cognition analysis of 2001 Grade 12 history examination paper.

Table 1: Level of Cognition assessed, 2001 History examination papers

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	5	26%	7	39%
Comprehension	7	37%	6	33%
Application	1	5%	--	--
Analysis	4	21%	2	11%
Synthesis	--	--	1	6%
Evaluation	2	11%	2	11%
Total Questions	19	100%	18	100%

The 2002 examination comprised of two papers with Paper 1 containing 20 questions while Paper 2 had 18 questions respectively. When the two papers were analysed, they presented the following results: Paper 1, with regards to the setting of questions using the Bloom's taxonomy, discovered that the distribution of questions in the paper were; Knowledge, eight (8); comprehension, five (5); 25%, application, one (1); 5%, analysis, six (6) and zero (0); 30% of the questions for both synthesis and evaluation. In contrast, the 2002 Grade 12 History Paper 2 examination recorded that out of 18 questions, nine (9) questions, equating to 50% of the total questions, were set to test the Knowledge

skills. For the remaining questions, five (5); 28% tested comprehension while there was one (1) question, in other words, 6% each, to test for application analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. Table 2 illustrates the summary of Level of Cognition in the 2002 Grade 12 History examination paper.

Table 2: Level of Cognition, 2002 History examination papers

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	8	40%	9	50%
Comprehension	5	25%	5	28%
Application	1	5%	1	6%
Analysis	6	30%	1	6%
Synthesis	--	--	1	6%
Evaluation	--	--	1	6%
Total Questions	20	100%	18	100%

The Examination Council of Zambia 2003 Grade 12 History final examination was comprised of two papers, with Paper 1 containing 20 questions, and Paper 2 containing 18 questions. After analysing the higher order skills in the two papers, the results show that most of the questions in the two papers were based on the two skills namely knowledge and comprehension. For example, results from Paper 1 revealed that 10 questions, 50% of the total questions, tested knowledge while seven (7) of the questions tested the comprehension skills. Furthermore, there were no question testing application and synthesis skills while one (1); 5% of the questions were on analysis and two (2); 10% tested evaluation skills.

Paper 2 of the 2003 Grade 12 History examination revealed that out of the 18 questions in the paper, seven (7); 39% were testing the knowledge skill, eight (8); 44% of the questions were included to test comprehension while two (2); 11% were meant to test analysis skills. One (1); 6% of the questions targeted synthesis skills and there were no questions intended to test application and evaluation skills. The summary of the skills assessed in the 2003 Grade 12 History examination has been presented in table 3.

Table 3: Skills assessed, 2003 History examination paper

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	10	50%	7	39%
Comprehension	7	35%	8	44%
Application	--	--	--	--
Analysis	1	5%	2	11%
Synthesis	--	--	1	6%
Evaluation	2	10%	--	--
Total Questions	20	100%	18	100%

Unlike the examinations from the previous years, the 2004 grade 12 History examination had 20 questions in both Paper 1 and Paper 2. Similarly, to the year 2001, 2002, and 2003 examinations, the 2004 History examination had many questions drawn that tested the knowledge and comprehension skills. For instance, the analysis of the questions from Paper 1 discovered that eight (8); 40% of the questions were aimed at testing Knowledge skills while six (6); 30% tested comprehension skills and there was one (1); 5% question testing application skills. The analysis skills were represented by two (2); 10% questions, there were no questions assessing synthesis skills while, three (3); 15% of the questions were to test evaluation skills.

In the same vein, out of the total number of 20 questions, the analysis of the 2004 Grade 12 History final examination Paper 2 shows that the questions on higher order skills were allocated as follows; Knowledge eight (8); 40%, comprehension six (6); 30%, application one (1); 5%, analysis two (2); 10%, no questions targeted synthesis skills and three (3); 15% of the questions were testing evaluation skills. Table 4 presents skills assessed in the 2004 Grade 12 History examination.

Table 4: Skills assessed, 2004 History examination paper

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	8	40%	7	39%
Comprehension	6	30%	8	44%
Application	1	5%	2	11%
Analysis	2	10%	--	--
Synthesis	--	--	--	--
Evaluation	3	15%	1	6%
Total Questions	20	100%	18	100%

In the year 2005, the examination council of Zambia Grade 12 History final examination involved Paper 1 with 20 questions and Paper 2 with 18 questions respectively. This examination was not an exception from the previous examinations in containing the majority of the questions meant to test comprehension skills. The analysis of Paper 1 shows that half of the questions 10; 50% targeted knowledge skills, three (3); 15% of the questions were based on testing comprehension skills, one (1); 5% was aimed at testing application skills. Additionally, five (5); 25% were meant to test analysis skills. Surprisingly, there was no question to test synthesis skills while one (1); 5% of the questions tested evaluation skills.

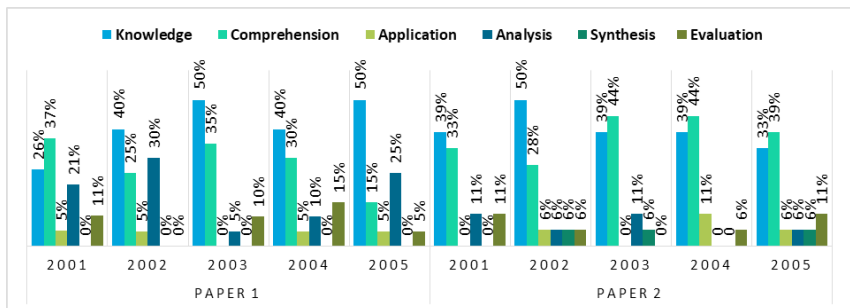
Out of the total number of 18 questions contained in 2005 History final examination Paper 2, six (6); 33% of the questions were drawn to probe knowledge skills, seven (7); 39% tested comprehension skills while one (1); 6% were based on application skills, one (1); 6% on analysis skills and one (1); 6% targeted synthesis skills. In addition, two (2); 11% of the questions tested evaluation skills. Table 5 shows the summary of the results in this section.

Table 5: Skills assessed, 2005 History examination paper

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	10	50%	6	33%
Comprehension	3	15%	7	39%
Application	1	5%	1	6%
Analysis	5	25%	1	6%
Synthesis	--	--	1	6%
Evaluation	1	5%	2	11%
Total Questions	20	100%	18	100%

The results of the analysis of Grade 12 History examination papers in the old syllabus for the period of five (5) years from the year 2001 to 2005 have been presented in image 2. The results show variations in the six (6) aspect of the revised Bloom’s taxonomy.

Image 2: Skills assessed from History Examination Papers from 2001-2005



1.1 Construction of Secondary School Grade 12 History Examination Content in the Revised Curriculum

Starting from 2014, when the new curriculum was introduced in Zambian secondary schools, the Grade 12 Examination consists of two (2) papers as follows: Paper 1: African

History 1½ Hours. This Paper consists of two (2) Sections as follows: Section A has ten (10) essay questions. Section B also has ten (10) questions. Candidates are expected to answer three (3) questions and not more than two (2) questions are to be attempted from any one Section. Each question carries twenty (20) marks.

On the other hand, Paper 2 consists of World History with the examination duration of 1½ Hours. This Paper consists of two (2) Sections as follows: Section A has ten (10) essay questions while Section B also has ten (10) questions. Candidates are expected to answer three (3) questions and not more than two (2) questions are required to be attempted from any one Section. Each question carries twenty (20) marks.

Evaluation of Grade 12 history final examination papers from the year 2014 to 2019 followed Bloom's taxonomy guided by the higher order skills proposed in the objectives of this inquiry. The Grade 12 History Examinations in the years 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018, and 2019 presented a similar pattern in areas of analysis such as the knowledge and the comprehension skills where most of the questions focused.

For instance, out of 20 questions set in Paper 1, results of the analysis of the 2014 Grade 12 History Examination revealed that knowledge skills recorded eight (8); 40%, comprehension skills on the other hand indicated four (4); 20%, application skills were represented by two (2); 10%, while two (2); 10% was based on analysis skills. Furthermore, there was no question based on testing synthesis skills, one (1); 5% of the questions tested evaluation skills. Table 6 presents Skills assessed in the 2014 Grade 12 History examination paper.

Table 6: Skills assessed, 2014 History examination paper

Higher Order Think- ing Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	8	40%	11	55%
Comprehension	8	40%	4	20%
Application	1	5%	2	10%
Analysis	2	10%	2	10%
Synthesis	--	--	1	5%
Evaluation	1	5%	--	--
Total Questions	20	100%	20	100%

In the same regard, Paper 2 of 2014 Grade 12 History Examination revealed a different trajectory on higher order skills emphasised by the examination council of Zambia in preparing Grade 12 History Examination questions. The results were presented as follows: knowledge skills recorded eight (11); 55%, comprehension skills on the other hand also showed eight (8); 40%, application skills were represented by one (1); 5%, while five (5); 25% was based on analysis skills. Furthermore, there was one (1); 10% question based on testing synthesis skills, none of the questions tested evaluation skills.

The examination council of Zambia Grade 12 History examination of the year 2016 was comprised of two papers of which each one had 20 questions. Paper 1 presented the following analysis results: knowledge skills recorded eight (6); 30%, comprehension skills then again indicated eight (8); 40%, application skills were represented by one (1); 5% while two (2); 10% was based on analysis skills. Furthermore, there was no question based on testing synthesis skills and evaluation skills.

The 2016 Grade 12 History Examination Paper 2 presented the subsequent results: knowledge nine (9); 45%, comprehension also recorded nine (9); 45% of the questions, application and evaluation skills were not represented by any questions in the paper. Synthesis as well as analysis skills both recorded one (1); 5%. To illustrate the results in this section, table 7 presents a summary of the skills assessed in the 2016 Grade 12 History examination paper.

Table 7: Skills Assessed, 2016 History Examination Paper

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	6	30%	9	45%
Comprehension	8	40%	9	45%
Application	1	5%	0	0%
Analysis	5	25%	1	5%
Synthesis	--	--	1	5%
Evaluation	--	--	--	--
Total Questions	20	100%	20	100%

The 2017 Grade 12 History Examination also consisted of two papers although Paper 1 had 14 questions and Paper 2 had 16 questions. After analysing if the questions were in conformity with the higher order skills, the results for Paper 1 emerged as follows: knowledge five (5);36%, comprehension, application (1) 13%; seven (7); 50% of the questions, application, synthesis and evaluation skills were not represented by any questions in the paper.

Paper 2 of the 2017 Grade 12 History Examination, like other previous History examination papers, exhibited a strong focus on formulating questions on knowledge and comprehension skills. Therefore, the 2017 History Paper 1 analysis noted that the knowledge skills had the majority of the questions represented in the paper accounting to 10; 63%, comprehension five (5); 31% while synthesis recorded one (1) 6% of the questions. Application, analysis, and evaluation skills were not represented in the paper, while one (1) question was based on synthesis skills equating to 14% of the total number of questions. Table 8 illustrates the summary of the skills assessed in the 2017 Grade 12 History examination paper.

Table 8: Skills assessed, 2017 History examination paper

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	5	38%	10	63%
Comprehension	7	54%	5	31%
Application	--	--	--	--
Analysis	1	8%	--	--
Synthesis	--	--	1	6%
Evaluation	--	--	--	--
Total Questions	13	100%	16	100%

In the year 2018, the Grade 12 History Examination also encompassed two papers, Paper 1 consisted of 15 questions while Paper 2 had 16 questions. Paper 1 was based on African History and was supposed to be taken in 1 Hour thirty minutes. This Paper involved two (02) Sections as follows: Section A has ten (10) essay questions. Section B also has ten (10) questions. Candidates were expected to answer three (03) questions and not more

than two (02) questions were to be attempted from any one Section. Each question carried twenty (20) marks.

The 2018 History examination Paper 1 analysis results were as follows: Nine (9); 60% of the questions represented knowledge skills, five (5); 33% tested comprehension skills while one (1); 7% were based on analysis skills. There was no question which focused on the aspects of application and evaluation skills in the paper. The analysis of Paper 2 on the other hand discovered that the majority 11; 69% of the questions were based on knowledge while four (4); 25% covered the comprehension skills. There was one (1) question; (6%) which tested synthesis while application, analysis and evaluation skills were not included in the paper. Table 9 illustrates the summary of the results with regards to skills assessed in the 2018 Grade 12 History Examination Paper.

Table 9: Skills Assessed, 2018 History Examination Paper

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	5	38%	10	63%
Comprehension	7	54%	5	31%
Application	--	--	--	--
Analysis	1	8%	--	--
Synthesis	--	--	1	6%
Evaluation	--	--	--	--
Total Questions	15	100%	16	100%

To probe the validity of the claim by the Ministry of General Education that the current secondary school curriculum acknowledges the application of the higher order skills in the formulation of History final examination questions, this study advanced in analysing the 2019 examination questions. The 2019 Grade 12 History Examination was comprised of two papers, Paper 1 had 14 questions while Paper 2 involved 16 questions. In making sure that reliability of the analysis was tenable, the six higher order skills proposed by Blooms were applied categorically.

Out of the 14 questions included in paper of the 2019 History Examination, eight (8); 57% were expected to test the knowledge skills, while five (5); 36% of the questions were to

test comprehension skills. There were no questions that tested application, synthesis, and evaluation, whereas one (1) question; (7%) tested analysis skills.

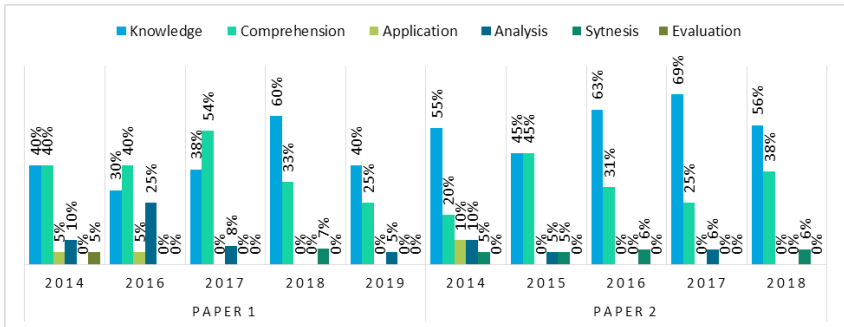
Paper 2 of the 2019 Grade 12 History Examination revealed a similar pattern of setting questions as those in the previous years where the majority of the questions were mainly focused on the knowledge skills. For example, most of the questions nine (9); 56% were drawn from the aspect of the knowledge skills while six (6); 38% of the questions were comprehension based. There was one (1); 6% that tested synthesis and skills such as application, analysis, and evaluation were not represented in the paper. Table 10 summarised the presented results in this section.

Table 10: Skills Assessed, 2019 History Examination Paper

Higher Order Thinking Skills Assessed	Paper 1		Paper 2	
	Count	%	Count	%
Knowledge	8	40%	9	56%
Comprehension	5	25%	6	38%
Application	--	--	--	--
Analysis	1	5%	--	--
Synthesis	--	--	1	6%
Evaluation	--	--	--	--
Total Questions	14	100%	16	100%

In summary, the analysis noted that there was a consistent pattern in the setting of the examination council of Zambia Grade 12 History final examination questions for all the years analysed in study. The majority of questions included in the examination papers were based on the knowledge and comprehension skills, since many scholars consider knowledge as the most basic level of the taxonomy. Within any subject area, a learner can possess mere knowledge, and may demonstrate the ability to recall this learned knowledge in an assessment. The implication of this revelation is that learners may not, however, understand the meaning of this knowledge. Furthermore, they may not possess the ability to apply it in situations other than that in which it was learnt, or to combine it with additional knowledge to create new insights. Image 3 shows the summary of the analysis of examination questions for five years after the introduction of the 2014 revised curriculum.

Image 3: Summary of the analysis of Grade 12 History examination questions from the year 2014 to 2019.



Discussion of Findings

Bloom's Taxonomy was used because it is a proper benchmark to assess learning and teaching activities with the cognitive learning domain like remembering, understanding, applying, analysing, evaluating, and creating. When assessment is aligned (Herman & Webb, 2007) to the standards, an analysis such as this can provide sound information about both how well learners are doing and how well schools and their teachers are doing in helping students to attain the standards.

The results from this study revealed that the exam focus was designed on the questions which measured the lower levels of Bloom taxonomy, that is, the knowledge, comprehension, and application, more than other cognitive levels. While these questions are not bad in themselves, using them all the time is not good practice: it was preferable to try to utilize higher order level of questions, as these questions required much more "brain power" and more extensive and elaborate answers (Jones, Harland, Reid, & Bartlett, 2009). Findings of this research are consistent with Azar (2005) and Cepni (2003), who also found that most questions in their studies were at application level. The implication of these findings is that the Senior History Examinations for the previous and revised curriculum did not focus much on the high order skills of Blooms Taxonomy.

The findings of this study indicate that learners were not assessed on the skills they were supposed to be assessed in an outcome-based curriculum as learners in History. These findings are not different from with the findings of (Oppong, 2019; Kudakwashe, Jeriphanos, Tasara, 2012; Warnich et al 2014 & Bertram, 2007 & Jansen, 2009) who argued

that learners were not assessed in the required skills for an outcome-based curriculum. There was a need for the educationist to be clear about the outcomes they wanted the learners to achieve by focusing on the relevant skills in teaching and assessment.

There was not much difference between the level of cognition that was measured in the old and new curriculum. The lower levels of Blooms Taxonomy were still assessed. This means that the questions of these final exams were mostly aimed to elicit the knowledge the students had accumulated prior to the exam. Concentrating on the low-level leads to a real problem because learners were just motivated to remember. The results of this study reveal that higher cognitive questions were not used much. Higher cognitive questions are interpretive, evaluative, inquiry, inferential, and synthesis questions (Cotton, 1988). Thus, the exams questions of the lower levels were only suitable for evaluating students' preparation and comprehension, diagnosing students' strengths and weaknesses, and revising or summarizing contents. Hence, there is need for educators in Zambia to prepare examination questions that focus on higher cognitive questions so that the outcome-based curriculum could be implemented effectively.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it could be argued that the Zambian Secondary School History Examination papers are still focused on the lower order thinking skills instead of the higher order skills as prescribed in the outcomes-based curriculum. The danger of dwelling on lower order skills implies that the learners of history will not be able to acquire the desired competences that they needed to achieve after secondary school education. Therefore, it would be important that the History Examination papers balance the low- and high-order thinking skills so that learners' achievements can be enhanced. The proper curriculum guidelines for the outcomes-based curriculum should also be followed and implemented effectively. Swart (2010) argues that to make it effective, balancing between lower- and higher-level questions is a must.

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The use of online discussion board and blogs to enhance History student teachers' Work Integrated Learning (WIL)

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Abstract

The paper reports on research on History student teachers' enhancement of Work Integrated Learning (WIL) using online tools like a discussion board and blogs. It draws on the enhancement programme planned for the History student teachers – 78 Bachelor of Education students (BEd) 4th-year students and 28 Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) students who were expected to integrate technological tools in their teaching during WIL; some of them, mostly PGCE students lacked the necessary Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) in this regard. Thus, the main purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which the online discussion board and blogs enhanced student teachers' classroom practice during WIL. The theoretical lens that informed this study was the five-factor model of mentoring for effective teaching that underpinned the need for improved support and mentoring by the History student teachers: personal attributes, system requirements, pedagogical knowledge, modelling, and feedback. Qualitative research methods and purposive sampling were used. The data was analysed using content analysis as per the five-factor model of mentoring for effective teaching. The findings revealed that student teachers responded overwhelmingly positively to the use of the online tools. They also revealed that the one-and-a-half-hour face-to-face debriefing was not acceptable to the majority of the participants. Most of them felt that it was just a formality and failed to address their immediate needs compared to being mentored online by their peers. In light of these findings, the study suggests that the usage of an online discussion board and blogs in mentoring and encouraging the improvement of student teachers' PCK should be considered and included when planning WIL programmes.

Keywords: History; Work Integrated Learning; Reflection; Discussion board; Blogs; Five-factor model of mentoring for effective teaching.

Introduction

This paper reports on the experiences of Bachelor of Education students (BEd) 4th-year students and Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) History students in online debriefing sessions. This study also explores how these History student-teachers reflected on their experiences of online discussion board and blogs as support and mentoring devices during Work Integrated Learning (WIL) or teaching practice. The two will be used interchangeably in this article. Student teachers had to reflect on how they experienced teaching in a real context.

Teaching is perceived as a complex task that is thought-provoking and challenging, both intellectually and emotionally. Teachers, in this case, student teachers, must possess knowledge about the subject being taught, the curriculum, suitable teaching and learning strategies or methods, and the abilities, interests, and personalities of the learners. More so, teaching, for the first time, has never been easy for anyone especially the student teachers who have to transit from being “learners” themselves to being “teachers”. This is supported by Strom and Martin (2016) who argued that what student teachers gained from the lectures does not automatically transfer into classroom practices, thus they advocate that several enabling and compelling features and elements influence the pedagogical decision making and the presentation of teaching practices. This means that most student teachers start understanding real and authentic teaching during the classroom interactions with the learners and content. It is also during this time that their true selves are created in the classroom as they use different teaching strategies that define their teaching philosophy.

Furthermore, Britzman (1991:8) added that “Learning to teach – like teaching itself – is always the process of becoming: a time of formation and transformation, of scrutiny into what one is doing, and who one can become”. He also argued that when we learn to teach, we do not just apply decontextualised skills or mirror prearranged images, but we put into action all that was learnt in the past, present, and future in a dynamic way, and this makes teaching complex as no one knows what to expect. Oduaran and Mokoena (2015, in Taole, 2015) also argued that teaching is complex, thus it is critical that teacher programmes should identify and document specific and general forms of effective teacher behaviour that could enhance student performance and good teaching skills. They also attributed the complexity to the fact that all teachers including student teachers must possess the ability to accommodate learners’ varied temperaments and personalities, design and manage the classroom activities, master technology, and, at the same time, be reflective teachers who are able to change and continually develop within their subjects.

Accordingly, to do all that has been mentioned above, teachers require high quality characteristics and skills from their practice, in other words, teacher professional knowledge (Darling-Hammond, 2006). Korthagen (2010) also supported this view by stating that the sheer complexity and difficulties of classroom life require an integrated understanding of the relationship between teachers' changing awareness of classroom activity, the increasing awareness of concepts and principles that are formed in practice, and the theoretical understandings that are produced from a range of different sources. In other words, it calls for professional learning, which focuses on central and vital all-inclusive transformations and not just the superficial or shallow acquisition of ideas, information, and skills which sometimes takes place in the lectures. The implication drawn from all the above authors is that teaching is a complex task that needs innovative training that can assist in the enhancement of student teachers' performance in the classroom.

Student teachers have to be active participants in constructing their identity and PCK as they proceed through their training. These expectations have to do with how they teach as student teachers, how they interact with learners, the advancement of learning, how they construct and manage the classroom activities, and what level of PCK they have (Darling-Hammond, 2006). More so, teachers must possess the ability to accommodate every learner's temperament and personality. Furthermore, Hudson (2010) posited that since teaching is an interpersonal, emotional, and social profession, teachers should ensure that they are competent in twenty-first century technologies to support and mentor others, over and above formal teaching and learning. Additionally, Shulman (1986) asserted that for teaching to be of high quality, teachers have to possess more intricate, elaborate, and professional knowledge, which is core to professional development of a teacher, which is PCK.

Desimone (2009) argued that teachers' professional learning should be characterised by active learning, reflective thinking, and collective participation instead of passive learning. Thus, the context of the school plays a role in shaping and reshaping their understanding of teaching and (re)construction and deconstruction of their professional identities (Flores & Day, 2006). In addition, student teachers' transition to a different environment may cause considerable anxiety because of the unfamiliar context of the classroom, and the taking on of the different status of being a teacher with high expectations from learners, the school, and their tertiary institutions. When the teachers move from preservice teacher education to the actual teaching environment, they are often overwhelmed by the shock of entering the workplace when they are in a classroom and have to be with children for the whole day. Knowing that they are responsible for the children's wellbeing and their learning can

be intimidating to new student teachers as they begin to perceive themselves no longer as students but as practitioners (Van Veen, Slegers & Van de Ven, 2005; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2006). This then calls for student teachers to be equipped with both the conceptual knowledge – which is disciplinary knowledge or content, and contextual knowledge – the didactics and practical knowledge aspects necessary for classroom practice (Dreyer, 2015, in Taole, 2015).

I therefore conclude that student teachers must be supported with effective reflection methods and tools appropriate to maximise their capabilities and skills to function in diverse classroom environments. The study was designed to explore whether the use of dialogic online tools might aid the achievement of these objectives. Traditional training and preparation should be minimised to include online reflections to facilitate and encourage student teachers' cooperation, collaboration, and group discussion (Rytivaara & Kershner, 2012). Currently student teachers only reflect at the end of WIL, giving the holistic reflection of their experiences. Similarly, Mahlangu (2018) supported the preceding conclusion by asserting that technology can be implemented as a tool to learn and can be utilised to eradicate the barriers and challenges present in students learning off campus. Bell, Douce, Caeiro, Teixeira, Martín-Aranda and Oto (2017) added that employment and application of technological tools affords a consistent delivery of content, because online materials such as videos can be pre-recorded and shared with the rest of the class online. Furthermore, students are afforded the means of supporting learning processes, cooperation, and flexibility. Teacher education should also make wider distribution of education and training possible and allow for more effective assessment of content and skills. It is against this backdrop that online affordances were implemented to assist student teachers to reflect collectively with their peers on their WIL experiences as a means of coping with the complexities of the teaching. I contend that this gap exists in how most teacher education institutions use reflection tasks. Very few, if any, teachers in South African education simultaneously use both the discussion board and blogs to support student teachers during WIL reflection debriefing sessions.

Thus, the research question of this study is: "To what extent do an online discussion board and blogs enhance reflective practices of student teachers during WIL?"

The aim was to explore the extent to which the online discussion board and blogs enhanced reflective practices of student teachers during WIL.

Work-Integrated learning (WIL)

WIL is an indispensable part of teacher education which is compulsory and serves as a means of assisting student teachers to experience the classroom practice and atmosphere before starting their careers (Moosa, 2019). Through teaching practice, student teachers are afforded an opportunity to practice what they learnt theoretically during lectures in an authentic classroom context. The Council on Higher Education (2011:4) defined WIL as:

an approach to career-focused education that includes classroom-based and workplace-based forms of learning ... an educational approach that aligns academic and workplace practices for the mutual benefit of students and workplaces ... WIL is primarily intended to enhance student learning.

WIL plays an integral role in the formation of the student teachers' professional identities, and it is an authentic space for them to experience the real world of teaching. It also serves as an ideal space for the student teachers to practise becoming effective teachers. During WIL, student teachers are afforded the time to interact with the school, staff, learners, and other role players. Du Plessis (2010; 2013) described teaching practice as a method of WIL wherein all aspects of student teachers' teaching practices are expected to be based on the main structures of WIL. Thus, WIL and teaching practice are usually used interchangeably with concepts such as practicum or teaching experience. Furthermore, the student teachers are also afforded an opportunity to learn from observing their mentor teachers and intervening in and influencing the classroom activities as a whole (Milne, 2006; Moosa, 2019). Thus, the Department of Higher Education set teaching practice as compulsory for all student teachers, with the duration ranging from 20 weeks for BEd and 10 weeks for PGCE students under the supervision of experienced mentor teachers (Du Plessis, 2010; Dreyer, 2015, in Taole, 2015).

Unfortunately, WIL issues in South Africa are intricate and complex because of how they are organised. Each institution determines how and when their WIL will be conducted. There has not been agreement and any similarity in how student teachers should do their WIL or interact with their mentors. Different universities design their own rules and guidelines of how student teachers should do WIL and be mentored (Moosa, 2019). This dissimilarity prompted the university in question to introduce the debriefing – a face-to-face group reflection – to deal with any challenges the student teachers might experience during WIL. Consequently, the researcher found it critical to use the online tools such as

the discussion board and blogs for student teachers to reflect on their classroom practice. As a result, student teachers were afforded the opportunity to tap into and uncover challenging and problematic issues that cannot be addressed in a one and a half hour face-to-face debriefing session.

Context of the study

This study was conducted at one university in Gauteng. The focus was on the History student teachers – Bachelor of Education 4th-year students (BEd) and PGCE students. These student teachers were required to report back on campus three weeks after their seven-week WIL to debrief and deal with challenges they experienced. The debriefing was scheduled for one and a half hours, and the module lecturer had to deal with all the issues raised within that time. Student teachers had many challenges, and the time was not sufficient to deal with all the different issues or to give satisfactory advice and feedback. This debriefing session was also formal in nature and some student teachers did not want to open up about their challenges in front of their peers.

Thus, the introduction of the online discussion board and blogs from 2016 to 2020 was to afford the student teachers an innovative opportunity to talk and interact with their peers and the lecturer – the researcher – without fear of being ridiculed or shamed. The online discussion and blogs were introduced from the first week (see below) of WIL with the student teachers' reception to the seventh and last week of WIL. Student teachers submitted the reflection task once a week. The study reports on the 78 BEd students – divided into six diversified groups of 10 and two of nine – and 28 PGCE students – divided into four diversified groups of eight History Further Education and Training (FET) student teachers. The division of the students were to assist with manageable groups and to ensure diversification of ideas. Thus, the implementation of online mentoring and debriefing was used during the entire seven-week WIL for discussion and was facilitated through different tasks and discussions with the student teachers. The blog section was used to answer the tasks and the discussion board was for students to share and discuss aspects of interest, and the highlights and challenges relevant to teaching and learning. Below are examples of when and how the entries were made:

Week 1 Blog - Task 1

Reflection on the first three days of observation

1. Reception by the school: Positive and negative aspects.
2. 1st day of observation of your mentor teacher. Focus on the following:
 - Teaching strategies
 - Use of examples and illustrations
 - Incorporation of media
 - Questioning skills
 - Learners' behaviour
 - What have you learnt from aspects in number 2 that will benefit your teaching practice and enhance your teaching as a student teacher?
 - How can we assist you with your challenges?
 - Comment on the reflection of all your group members.

Week 2 Blog - Task 2

Reflection on personal teaching

- Share your first day experience of teaching and focus on the following:
- Lesson planning
- PCK
- Questioning
- Classroom management
- Challenges, experiences, and areas to be improved
- Need for scaffolding
- Give advice where necessary on what members of your group have posted.

Week 4 Blog - Task 3

Reflection on personal teaching

- Share your five days' experience:
- Share the highlight of the week with regard to your teaching
- How did you address the following issues?
- Diversity
- Learning styles

- Controversial issues
- Dealing with biasness
- Challenges experiences and areas to be improved
- Need for scaffolding
- Give advice where necessary on what members of your group have posted.

Week 5 Blog - Task 4

Reflection on personal teaching

- Share with us any section you taught – what went right and what went wrong?
- Teaching strategies and media used
- Assessment
- Teaching and learning barriers
- Any achievements or challenges
- Give advice where necessary on what members of your group have posted.

Week 6-7 Online Assignment - Task 5

Individual task: Reflection on the seven weeks of WIL

- Reflect on your teaching experience as a whole for the seven weeks.

Focus:

- Philosophy of teaching, worldview – need for change.
- Compare your philosophy of teaching to the gained knowledge and experience.
- What will I change/ improve?
- Do you think you were sufficiently equipped with theory and practice (skills) during the seven weeks to be able to practice as a teacher? Substantiate your answer.
- Any highlights and/or additional comment.
- Submit on the online link.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical lens that informed this article was the five-factor model of mentoring for effective teaching by Hudson (2007; 2010). The five-factor model includes personal

attributes, system requirements, pedagogical knowledge, modelling, and feedback (Hudson, 2007; 2010). According to Sempowicz and Hudson (2011:2), “this model has associated attributes and practices which provide a theoretical framework for gathering data around mentoring, and are specifically used for interpreting and understanding the mentoring for effective classroom management”. This theoretical framework underpinned the need for improved support and mentoring by the History student teachers. In this case, the lecturer and fellow student teachers served as mentors. Fellow student teachers and the lecturer joined hands in responding to the needs of each student teacher using online tools. The five factors of mentoring for effective teaching are discussed below.

Personal attributes: Support was given to the mentees by scaffolding them and providing guidance through interaction and communicating, listening, and paying attention. The mentor’s personal qualities and characteristics were a tool for encouraging the mentees’ reflection on their classroom practice. The mentor also built positive attitudes, imparted confidence, and developed a positive self-concept in mentees. In this study, the student teachers were supported and guided by creating an opportunity to communicate via a discussion board and blogs. The student teachers took the lecturer into their confidence by openly having online dialogue without fear or shame. In cases where an issue was too sensitive, student teachers were allowed to submit anonymously. They received attention and support through positive comments from their lecturer and peers through the discussion board.

System requirements: The aims of mentoring, policies, and the teaching and learning plan as a means of allowing a conducive learning environment and curricula required by an education system must be clearly articulated. Even so, pedagogical knowledge is essential for executing the system requirements. Thus, the aim and purpose of the online debriefing sessions were clearly articulated to student teachers as “a means of enhancing student-teachers’ WIL”. The student teachers were given the tasks which hinged on the curriculum for BEd 4th-year students and PGCE students. Furthermore, the student teachers were given weekly tasks based on the pedagogical knowledge. Issues such as biasness, controversial issues, and emotive issues in History were discussed. The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) FET formed the basis of what was discussed. The tasks given also emphasised skills such as classroom management, using essential questions, and managing student behaviour.

Pedagogical knowledge: The focus was on the mentor’s planning of teaching and

setting scheduled lessons for the mentee. Student teachers' plans and tasks were designed each week; in this case, five weeks, to be precise, with clearly articulated tasks and due dates. Furthermore, preparation for teaching needed to be discussed, including the use of resources. Since student teachers had to do their WIL in the geographical area of the institution, it was easier for them to use the institution's resources such as the library, computers, and the Wi-Fi. The skills and teaching strategies were checked including the student teachers' content knowledge to ensure that they did not diverge from the CAPS requirements and phase and grade level. Thus, the key concepts in the teaching and learning of History in the FET phase Grades 10 to 12 were emphasised. The student teachers had to respond or comment on their peers' posts using the procedural or substantive concepts as prescribed in the teaching of History.

The nature of the online debriefing itself equipped student teachers with problem-solving skills because it allowed them to deal with their challenges and those of their fellow student teachers as they engaged online. Furthermore, student teachers learnt from the varied assessment and teaching strategies, use of resources, and different ways of managing their classroom as they engaged in the blogs and discussion board with their peers.

Modelling: Exhibiting and demonstration of teaching and the classroom practice is important for student teachers. The mentor has to show the mentee how to encourage the positive rapport between teacher and learner therefore creating a relationship as well as modelling proper respectful classroom language that encourages mutual respect. The phase and subject knowledge also have to be demonstrated. Thus, the student teachers, with the permission of the mentor teacher, recorded the lessons during the first week of observation. These were analysed online, and different opinions were given by their peers. The issues of diversity were observed, and the use of unbiased language was analysed as per the History curriculum. Furthermore, the student teachers had to analyse and evaluate video-recorded lessons by practising teachers who were former students of the institution.

Feedback: The need for effective feedback characterised by articulated expectations and advice was necessary in this section. Feedback was provided as student teachers and the lecturer commented on the posts of those who posted. Concise and detailed feedback was provided by group members, by other groups, and the lecturer. The feedback was done timeously and showed pedagogic knowledge based on the tasks

given. The student teachers were also afforded an opportunity to consolidate and share their experiences and future expectations.

Data collection methods and analysis

The five-factor model attributes and practices in relation to debriefing informed data gathering in all areas of the study. All the questions asked to the participants were based on the five-factor model to explore how student teachers experienced the online debriefing.

The study adopted the qualitative research paradigm in order to understand the feelings of the student teachers and gather their opinions and personal experiences (Creswell, 2007). The student teachers were required to report back on campus three weeks after their seven weeks' WIL to debrief and deal with challenges they experienced in the weeks at their different WIL sites. Thus, the interpretive paradigm was used to give the researcher an opportunity to interpret and understand the experiences of the History student teachers with regard to the benefits and impact of the online enhancement programme (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). This was also an attempt to equip student teachers with the necessary mentoring, support, and guidance in reflective practice during the seven weeks' WIL with regard to History FET PCK. FET PCK, as a process of enquiry, addresses the eight skills as stipulated in the CAPS document as well as the substantive first-order concepts and the five procedural second-order concepts, namely: historical sources and evidence; multi-perspectivity; cause and effect; change and continuity; and time and chronology. All the content has to be facilitated through questions conveying history as an enquiry and not just received knowledge, as historical knowledge is open-ended, debated, and changeable. By ensuring active participation of learners, facilitating history lessons around the intrigue of questions, and encouraging research, investigation and interpretation are conducted and directed through questions (Department of Education, 2011). The PCK is the same with minimal differences in the senior phase and is combined with Geography – referred to as Social Sciences – and emphasises memorisation of all content and includes a research project. Permission to use the students' content was granted by the students themselves and the university faculty ethics committee. The comprehensive clearance certificate *Sem 2-2020-015* under the theme "Student-teachers' identity and the teaching of high school History" was granted.

The selection of the study sample was done by purposive sampling which is a non-probability sampling method (Saunders *et al.*, 2009). All the 4th-year BEd and PGCE student teachers in the History module participated, and they were diversified in terms

of gender, language, race, and socioeconomic status, to name a few (Kvale, 2007). The diversity of the sample helped in accessing different views and experiences of 78 BED students – divided into six diversified groups of 10 and two of nine – and 28 PGCE students – divided into four diversified groups of eight History Further Education and Training (FET) student teachers. Data was collected by means of observing micro lessons and lessons presented during WIL by the researcher. The other method used was analysis of documents by the lecturer, such as lesson plans through marking and comparing to the lesson presented, marking and analysing discussion board posts, and submitted tasks on blogs. Lastly, semi-structured, face-to-face, individual interviews were used for each group or individual as a means to follow up what was observed or posted on the discussion board and blogs. These interviews were conducted by the lecturer after the seven weeks of WIL, observations of micro lessons, and analysis of all documents.

The researcher had access to information-rich cases because the student teachers were directly involved with the phenomenon, and were able to reflect on personal accounts, thoughts, and perceptions of the online support versus the face-to-face debriefing and the impact on their WIL. Data analysis using content analysis based on the five-factor model of mentoring was used (Merriam, 2002; Marshall & Rossman, 2016). All the data from the observations, analysed lesson plans, online posts, and interviews were analysed using the content analysis method. Each student teacher's responses were analysed separately in order to draw out their feelings, experiences, and uniqueness of their meaning (Ryan & Bernard, 2003; Gibbs, 2007). The recurring themes were identified from the student teachers' data and later classified as the final emerging themes. These were grouped according to the five-factor model for mentoring, namely personal attributes, system requirements, pedagogical knowledge, modelling, and feedback (Hudson, 2007; 2010).

Findings

All the findings were based on the qualitative design only and no statistics were gathered from the interviews. Again, most of the participants agreed that the online support benefited them to a certain extent although it was sometimes time consuming. The following question was asked to get participants' general feelings and experiences about the online discussion board and the blogging: "Based on your observation and experiences, how would you compare the online discussion board and the blogging to face-to-face one day debriefing?" Almost all the participants (98%) agreed that it was beneficial because it afforded them time to work from the comfort of their different spaces and homes, with 2%

unsure of the answer.

RV: I just feel that the faculty doesn't take us as students serious, what can one say in one hour and few minutes about our burning issues? Schools are not easy and it is tough out there ... we must be given enough time to talk about our problems.

PD1 hailed the importance of the online debriefing as follows:

Thank you for asking, Dr. I am so empowered as a result of the online debriefing, and have since improved, and the standard of my teaching is high. I found so many benefits with it, because I came to realise that as students we go through the same challenges. Before the debriefing, I always thought I was the only one with teaching practice problems ... as soon as my classmate commented and wrote about their experiences, I came to realise that it is all of us and not me alone.

ZK: The online debriefing is a blessing to me because I can talk without being intimidated, but it takes away data and money. It also gives me an opportunity to guide my peers and to talk to those students I have never spoken too before... we are able to help each other as students and not depend on the lecturer with respect, guided by the questions. ... I can also share my great achievements of the day of in the discussion board.

However, one student said:

Jam: The online debriefing is better than the face-to-face, but it demands too much from students because we must always be on the computer unnecessary so ... it is just a waste of time and resources.

Personal attributes

To understand the development of personal attributes the student teachers were asked three questions:

- What is your understanding of personal attributes?
- What personal attributes do you think History teachers should possess?

- To what extent do you think your participation in the online discussion board and blogging was able to help you gain the History teachers' attributes you mentioned?

Varied responses showed understanding and misunderstanding of the personal attributes needed: 85% showed understanding, while 17% showed partial understanding. When it came to the second question, participants discussed aspects such as patience, love, courage, self-control, self-regulation, care, confidence, the ability to withstand challenges and to accept failure, collegiality, positive self-concept, good character versus bad character, and good traits. Lastly, with the third question, all the participants indicated that they had developed most of the attributes they mentioned.

Understanding the importance of personal attributes as a teacher

Student teachers were able to transform their personal attributes as a result of this programme. All of them, especially PGCE student teachers reported that their misguided and mistaken conceptions about the attributes of a teacher had changed and improved. They were impacted positively by understanding the characteristics needed to be a teacher. Their views were demystified and elucidated as they engaged in the online discussions. One participant reported the following when asked: "To what extent do you think your participation on the online discussion board and blogging was able to help you gain the History teachers' attributes you mentioned?"

JJ: A lot, a lot, mam. It has afforded me an opportunity to know about what it means to be a teacher and how I should behave. ... I have learnt that being a teacher needs one to love, care and be humane. Promote human ... and understanding, forgiving and self-care.

Hudson (2013:107) supported Evertson and Smithey (2000) by stating that, "There is ample evidence that effective mentoring can have a positive effect on a preservice teacher's pedagogical practices. This evidence extends to advancing specific teaching practices such as managing students and their behaviours in classroom." In other words, student teachers are afforded an opportunity to build the characteristics that will enable them to deal with classroom challenges.

Improved self-concept and confidence

Again, most student teachers who had previously received negative and destructive criticism from teachers reported that they found it difficult to trust in their abilities and to trust others. The results were as follows:

- 69% of them indicated that their experiences with mentors and lecturers were so bad that their self-concept was eroded and they masked it by being aggressive or pretending to be shy. Others just avoided issues or talking to those who posed a threat to them.
- 11% indicated that their loss of personal confidence came as a result of the criticism from fellow student teachers.
- 20% indicated that talking to peers without being seen had actually enhanced their confidence.

LP: It is important for a teacher to know who he is, before he can help learners with their identities. Teachers must be conversant with their personality especially being confident and controlling emotions. Through interacting with my classmates, I was able to face my fears of lacking confidence especially with regard to English. It helped me to communicate well, contribute to fellow students and to articulate my feeling without fear of being ridiculed.

GR4: I have learnt that being emotionally aware of my emotions can help me communicate effectively.

By the same token, Goel and Goel (2010:24) emphasised what the participants stated, namely that:

Teacher education for preparing humane and professional teachers needs to be holistic. Along with content and methodology, there is also a need to integrate emotional competencies, such as self-awareness and self-management, social sensitivity and social management. It is also essential to integrate life skills, such as self-awareness, empathy, interpersonal relationships, effective communication, critical thinking, creative thinking, decision-making, problem-solving, and coping up with emotions and stress with teaching and learning.

The implication here is that the personal attributes of the student teachers are important in ensuring that their classroom practice is successful. It also means that they carry their persona to the classroom which might impact their classroom management and teaching either positively or negatively.

System requirements

Student teachers will not function well, accept, or see the value of mentoring if they do not understand its relevance to their teaching practice or how it will benefit them during WIL. This was the reason why the aim and purpose of the online support were clearly articulated to student teachers. Thus, in following up whether the purpose and aim of the online discussions were achieved, the following questions were asked:

- According to you, were the outcomes of the online debriefing clearly articulated?
- How did the outcomes relate to the CAPS policy?

The responses revealed that 98% of student teachers agreed that the aim, purpose, and lesson planning were clearly articulated. They also alluded to the fact that the lesson plan was linked to the CAPS FET policy and demystified the confusion they had as they were able to share ideas and assist and give guidance where necessary. Only 2% either disagreed with the clear articulation of the aim or purpose or were still unsure of lesson plans and the importance thereof.

BJ7: I am not sure if they were achieved. I can't really write a good lesson as a PGCE student, I feel that I'm still weak even after sharing ideas with others on blackboard. I am worried because I need a lesson plan to teach. No teacher can teach without one ... it is worrisome but I will consult my classmates.

Supporting this finding, previous literature also indicated that preservice teachers lack experience regarding planning and managing teaching activities, consequently there is a need for support (Nilsson, 2009). In this regard, Choy, Wong, Lim, and Chong (2013) stated that lesson plans reflect teachers' interpretations of subject matter, as well as the way they adapt instructional materials, influenced by the extent to which the teacher is

informed about learners' prior knowledge and the topic to be presented. Lesson plans help in observing whether preservice teachers can transform learning theory into practice.

DIS: Yes, and no. ... Yes, I saw the purpose and it was explained in class, yes, my group helped a lot with lesson planning but I'm still struggling here and there with incorporating History concepts in the plan ... that can't be left out ... I can say I am better than before in the previous three years.

In the study of preservice teachers' perceptions of planning, Sahin-Taskin (2017) indicated that lesson plans assisted them to decide on activities to include in their teaching, when to use them, and in being more organised.

SR3 reflected on the blog as follows:

My ability to write a lesson plan based on CAPS principles and the two History concepts has tremendously improved through communicating with my group. All is well with me and my mentor-teacher at school liked my plans, I know I will be able to teach a well-prepared lesson.

In this case, the aims of mentoring, policies, and the teaching and learning plan as a means of creating a conducive learning environment and curricula required by an education system must be clearly articulated. Even so, pedagogical knowledge is essential for executing the system requirements. Thus, the aim and purpose of the online debriefing sessions were clearly articulated to students as "a means of enhancing student-teacher's WIL".

Pedagogical knowledge

Wiggins and McTighe (2011) argued that content has to be "unpacked" to recognise the big ideas worth understanding and the essential questions worth exposing. Furthermore, they argued that there should be clear evidence of understanding seen when students apply the gained knowledge in authentic contexts – in other words, transference of knowledge to real-life situations.

- The interview schedule and the observations were guided by the following questions:
- What is your understanding of PCK?

- Name the aspects of the History PCK that you learnt from your group and fellow students as you engaged online?
- To what extent did the online discussion board and the blogging tasks enhance your implementation of History procedural and substantive concepts in your teaching and classroom practice?

The student teachers' responses varied. Most of the PGCE student teachers indicated that the importance of PCK changed their thinking about teaching. RV2 explained: "To me, teaching was just mere talk and textbook explanation, especially teaching History because it was just like past stories".

Others also indicated that they thought that the knowledge of the textbook content would enable them to teach well. In other words, and as Wiggins and McTighe (2010) maintained, understanding must be developed by the learner, in this case the student teacher. Teaching for understanding simplifies meaning making by the student teachers and equips them to successfully transfer their learning to authentic contexts. This was shown when student teachers used illustrations and examples from learners' contexts, current affairs, real-life experiences, and allowed learners to make meaning of the content through linkages with their lives. Furthermore, during the observations of the student teachers' lesson presentations, it was found that there was a great improvement with regard to PCK and implementation of the History concepts – the substantive and procedural concepts – both in the lesson and assessment activities.

The student teachers also gave a detailed reflection of their own actions in the classroom. Most student teachers reflected and gave a description of how their teaching style, philosophy, and approach moved from being teacher-centred to learner-centred. They learnt from the analysis of the videos posted by their groups and from the online discussions that direct teaching and dominance of the teacher deprives learners of meaningful learning and should be minimised. According to Darling-Hammond (2006), teachers also need to understand the person and the spirit of every child and find a way to nurture it. They need the skills to construct and manage classroom activities efficiently, communicate well, use technology, and reflect on their practice to learn from and continuously improve it.

MY8: The online discussion helped me to learn about different resources and activities. ... I welcomed the use of blogging tasks as important because they forced me to get deep into learning about things I took for granted such as, learners' role, PCK and the power of technology.

Other improvements were mentioned as follows:

- 70% reported on the improvement of taking learners' background knowledge into consideration and incorporating it in their lessons;
- 91% gained from planning intervention and remediation for learners from the blogs;
- 73% improved on assessment strategies;
- 81% reported on improvement in questioning skills, using essential questions, and designing learning activities;
- 8% said their classroom management skills and dealing with learners' misbehaviour had improved.

This was also evident from their lesson plans and lesson presentations during WIL evaluation. Above all, about 69% of school mentor-teachers also reported improvement in lesson presentation and classroom management as they observed the student teachers.

Modelling

Direct modelling in this study was limited to videos and online discussion and blogs. Student teachers saw the modelling of the lesson from the videos recorded by their peers, former students of the institution, and some sampled videos of the school mentors posted on the discussion board by each group. These videos were analysed in terms of good classroom practice. The analysis was based on incorporation of the resources, assessment, classroom management, dealing with learners' behaviour, and interactive teaching strategies. Student teachers had varied experiences in this regard; some felt that the videos limited demonstration and modelling of learners, while others felt that at least they had had a glimpse of what was expected in the classroom. Many of them complained about the quality of the videos with some students feeling that it was more of a performance than an authentic lesson.

Question: "Do you think the lesson presentations and classroom practice were clearly demonstrated through the recorded videos"?

BD16: To a certain extent I did, even though there was a fair endeavour to show the teacher-learner interaction through the video, I felt the video was limiting because I could have love

to see it done physically.

GY3: I like it, I mean the video analysis of the lesson presentation, management and it is good that there were videos, though these videos, about four, were a bit blurry, I struggled to see some of the things and to hear the discussion in some instances. All the same I can say I gained but wish to have seen more.

ST9: No, no, no ... the screechy noise of one video was really disturbing. I feel as though some of the things were staged for the video, but I did gain here and there ... more so the discussion of the video helped me with classroom management and handling misbehaviour.

Feedback

The question that was asked was the following: “To what extent do you think the discussion board and blogs’ feedback benefited and supported your teaching?”

The responses received in this regard were overwhelmingly positive, in that student teachers appreciated working in groups and were grateful for the support shown by their peers when they asked questions or needed help. It emerged that even those student teachers who would not ordinarily speak in the lectures or answer questions had a voice. The self-reflection and the guided weekly tasks were strongly appreciated by all the student teachers. When researching PGCE students, Frick, Carl, and Beets (2010) found that, through reflection, student teachers can learn about their self in context, and that support and mentoring can be an element that enhances this learning process. The student teachers felt that they were spoilt for choice with regard to feedback from their peers and the lecturer. Some compared the formal lecture feedback which takes several days to weeks to the feedback received within minutes through the online tools. They felt that the discussion board afforded them a spontaneous platform to clarify aspects of a lesson they did not know or understand. The impact of the feedback was also shown in their lesson plans, assessment, reflections, and the type of resources or media used in their lessons.

KK: My lesson planning has improved tremendously from the time I started engaging with my group. At first, I was sceptical but now I know they have my back and I have theirs. Actually, I can say we have each other's backs and we can rely on each other.

According to Brittin (2005), teachers (mentors) should create a conducive learning atmosphere where student teachers can learn and grow in planning lessons and teach effectively.

BK6: I was struggling with relevant interactive teaching strategies and to answer the blog questions. I then went to the discussion board and vented my frustrations, and ... within few minutes there were more responses than I expected. Imagine if I had to wait for whatever time to ask, I would have waited for ever. ... Blogging for me and reflections played a big role. The History family is great. I am a better teacher and understand teaching strategies, inclusion, diversity and the importance of learners' participation in a lesson because of the blogs and tasks that were given.

Du Plessis (2013) supported this assertion by stating that feedback for students should not be kept until the end of the teaching and learning encounter but should be used to assist them to analyse and reflect continuously during the teaching session or series of sessions.

Discussion and conclusion

In this article, I have attempted to explore the enhancement of History student teachers' teaching during WIL through the implementation of an online discussion board and blogs using the lens of the five-factor model of mentoring (Hudson, 2010). Although there were a handful of participants who expressed negative views, with some unsure of the success, the overwhelming proportion of participants were positive about the use of digital discussion tools. The study found that student teachers responded positively to the use of the online tools with less than 5% giving negative feedback. The findings revealed that the face-to-face debriefing was not preferred by most of the participants. Most student teachers felt that it was just a formality and failed to address their immediate needs or enhance their teaching. Student teachers expressed themselves online without fear of judgement or ridicule from their fellow student teachers. More so, peer online scaffolding was appreciated as well as the reflection on personal teaching philosophy. There were also minor challenges highlighted by student teachers such as access to computers and data, especially for those students who were dependent on the government funding for their education. The issue of time was highlighted by student teachers as some of their peers in their respective groups would

take time to give their input and some would just do it as a formality and give irrelevant information.

With regard to personal attributes, it was found that the student teachers' understanding of the importance of personal attributes and self-concept as History teachers improved. Student teachers gave positive feedback on the improvement in their self-confidence including their self-concept and self-regulation and how this would influence their lessons. The online discussion board helped them see the importance of collegiality, collaboration, and interdependence as future teachers. They highlighted that they were now able to withstand criticism from mentor teachers and fellow student teachers. This is supported by Du Plessis (2013) who stated that a mentoring structure is significant because it develops appropriate competencies for teaching and also affords a strong humanist element in that it focuses on the person of the student teacher.

Furthermore, Sahin-Taskin (2017) emphasised the importance of planning to enhance proper teaching and learning. Thus, with regard to the system requirements, specifically aims, policies, objectives, and lesson planning or planning as a whole, student teachers showed improvement. The relevance and aim of the online tasks and discussions were appreciated by the majority of student teachers. They perceived this platform as an enhancement of their lesson planning in relation to the policy documents and classroom practice. Student teachers were also enabled to think through what they taught, how they taught, and how they could evaluate their teaching (Ruys, Keer & Aelterman, 2012).

Although there was no direct mentoring, the student teachers appreciated the indirect online modelling through the discussion board and blogs. They emphasised the importance of viewing and analysing the videos by the mentoring schoolteachers and their fellow student teachers, although some students complained about the quality and sound of videos. The pedagogic knowledge gaps showed that they need to be grounded in the PCK. Thus, demonstrations and discussions with mentors and fellow student teachers were invaluable. The majority indicated challenges with the incorporation of the two History concepts, namely, substantive and procedural concepts, although the application of various teaching strategies, classroom management skills, and the incorporation of History aims and skills were successful, despite a few students saying that they had only partially achieved them or did not achieve them.

Lastly, in previous studies using the same five-factor model, it was found that the mentor did not dominate the conversation, but used feedback where necessary, which was the case in this study. Student teachers received varied and timeous feedback from

their peers and lecturer. The comments of the student teachers as shown in the previous section indicated the need for student teachers to be supported and to have the preference to engage in dialogue with their peers and their institutional instructors during WIL. The participants' responses support the argument by Yusuf (2005), that ICT is a change agent because it changes the content, teaching strategies, and quality of teaching and learning. This ensures a constructivist approach by student teachers who should change and adapt what they learn in lectures to the practical environment. This is supported by Baldwin and Trespalacios (2017) who asserted that online instruction can demonstrate best practices to students which may assist them in the achievement of desired aims and outcomes.

It is true that the advent of technology and particularly the Fourth Industrial Revolution has placed enormous demands and challenges on the education system. Thus, all education sectors must incorporate technology and expose all stakeholders to their use. This means then that the value of technology cannot be taken for granted but should be used by higher education institutions to enhance teaching and learning at ordinary schools. Mentoring does not need to be only done face-to-face, but can also be done online using the five-factor model. Student teachers can be given an opportunity to be mentored within their own context and at their own pace without fear of judgement even though there might be limitations in terms of accessibility to computers, time, and data.

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Online teaching in Education for the subject group History under COVID 19 conditions

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Abstract

As tertiary institutions globally transitioned into an online teaching framework as a consequence of the Covid-19 pandemic, it is critical that history education lecturers reconsider their teaching and learning strategies. This article reports on the planning and implementation of an online teaching programme within the History in Education subject group at the North-West University (NWU), in South Africa. The author is the subject group leader of the subject group and from observations and experiences, this article will report on how this program was implemented. First and foremost, how we handled teaching in an online setting is vastly different from a face-to-face setting. Few lecturers might have taught students studying in distance programs for some time, but for many lecturers and students who are accustomed to face-to-face instruction, the online world may often be new and even intimidating. The existing scenario calls for a full rethink in teaching and learning. Through proper preparation, we will not only provide our lecturers through greater versatility in the delivery of online classrooms, but also represent our students when making the best of the opportunities we have at our disposal. This article wishes to undertake a critical experiential evaluation of this online teaching strategy that was used in 2020 in the History Education subject group at the North-West University. A literature review focusing on online teaching, History in Education online teaching as well as COVID-19's impact on tertiary education. The methodology of the research is then discussed, followed by the initial planning stage, culminating in the lessons learned and possible future changes to this plan.

Keywords: Distance education; Online learning; Remote teaching

Introduction, background and context

Anyone who has ever worked in a conventional classroom setting as a teacher or facilitator knows first-hand that with different classes or individual learners, the same content will never yield the same results (Shahabadi & Uplane, 2015:132). In addition, information may be relevant to the learning style of an individual, while the same information may be worthless in fulfilling the learning goals of another individual (Masie, 2002; Zenger & Uehlein, 2001:56). In response to this empirical reality and its ramifications for teaching material delivery through online platforms, researchers may argue that, in the end, it is the behavioural indicators of students that must be considered when creating and implementing e-learning programmes to develop Self Directed Learning (Shahabadi & Uplane, 2015:132). Consequently, the researcher agrees with Codreanu and Vasilescu (2013) that the emphasis is on the students and their needs and requirements; it is crucial to evaluate the effect on any programme developed and delivered through internet-based technology. From this point on, we will use the broad term of e-learning.

Rosenberg and Foshay (2002:51) described e-learning:

“as the use of information communication technology to provide information and guidelines to individuals, predominantly via the intranet or the Internet. Research has shown that, while terminology such as computer-based learning, remote learning, digital learning or web-based training is sometimes used, e-learning will ultimately prevail as most organisations preferred concept.”

There are a number of synchronous e-learning types. Shahabadi and Uplane (2015:131) describe “synchronous e-learning [as] live, real-time (and usually scheduled), facilitated instruction and learning-oriented interaction. In this type of learning, learning experiences are in real-time.” Another popular method of synchronous learning includes actual ‘chat’ sessions when students sign in simultaneously to collaborate on certain themes (Shahabadi & Uplane, 2015:131).

Today, the bulk of e-learning is asynchronous in nature. Shahabadi and Uplane (2015:132) describe “asynchronous e-learning as comparable to synchronous e-learning in a general sense which is a learner-centred process, which uses online learning resources to facilitate information sharing regardless of the constraints of time and place among a network of people.” Asynchronous e-learning has the benefits of computer-mediated

communication (CMC) “to achieve the promises of learning anytime and anywhere through asynchronous online discussions, which is based on the constructivist theory, a learner-centred approach that emphasises the importance of peer-to-peer interactions” (Shahabadi & Uplane, 2015:132). The researcher argues that in an online environment, the system needs to cater for learner-centredness, which is embedded in constructivist theory, as alluded to above. The researcher utilised this asynchronous method in this project, by using screen casting or interactive PDFs and PowerPoints of study units, which has been pre-recorded for students. Less prominent is synchronous e-learning, which is ‘absolute’ and necessitates all participants to be in front of their computers at the same time. This method was difficult to follow due to a lack of infrastructure. A mixture of technology and classroom-based learning are used for blended classes, or ‘blended learning,’ and is becoming a prevalent method for teaching (Mahaye, 2020:10; Masie, 2002; Zenger & Uehlein, 2001:56). However, due to the nature of the teaching and learning during the COVID-19 pandemic, the university opted for a fully online remote teaching strategy, as no classroom-based learning could be used.

The manner in which the program was implemented was asynchronous, as not all students had access to data or hardware. All assessment tasks were communicated at least a month in advance, to give students sufficient time to complete them.

To keep students interested, multiple interactive strategies (e.g. hyperlinks and buttons) have been implemented for the student to engage with the module content (Subandi, Choirudin, Mahmudi, Nizaruddin & Hermanita, 2018: 246). Engagement and understanding, including multiple choices and transfer files, are also encouraged by different modes of instruction.

Comer and Lenaghan (2013:262) argued that asynchronous online learning offers an excellent probability to build a learning-centred surrounding that stimulates rich interactions between lecturers and students and among students. Through an online asynchronous panel, “computer and internet technologies enable communication via the generation of discussion messages amongst participants” (Han & Hill, 2006:30), that will generate more constructive engagement and connection compared to many conventional face-to-face environments.

COVID-19 and move to online teaching

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, tens of thousands of schools in South Africa were suspended in 2020, as was the case in many other countries around the

world. While schools started partially reopening later that year, severe controls remain in place, and predicting when the closures will end completely appears to be difficult at present. As a result, teachers face major difficulties in transitioning to online education, ensuring a minimum level of contact with students, and promoting students' learning and growth. However, it is unclear how well teachers have handled these difficulties and the considerations are most important.

The COVID-19 pandemic has created unparalleled obstacles for students, forcing them to transition to teaching online. Until March 2020, the traditional school teaching situation was characterised by students congregating in classrooms according to their timetables and teachers covering the regular content of their subjects, often by structured lecturing. Students were expected to pay attention to their instructors, act alone or in groups, and primarily reproduce information in tests. In comparison, ICT use was limited (Fraillon *et al.*, 2019).

While the transition to online instruction was sudden and swift as a result of COVID-19, it occurred as part of a larger ICT transformation phase in educational systems (Selwyn, 2012; McFarlane, 2019). Digitalisation in classrooms has increasingly gained popularity. A main concern applies to narrowing the 'gap' between students' traditional development and learning at school and "the experiences and skills that our youth need to enter the information economy" (Kozma 2011:106). The school curriculum should be increasingly interwoven with ICT, and students should be given the opportunities to use advanced technological tools and digital resources for creative and interdisciplinary work (Kozma 2011:115).

Research Methodology

In this study, an autoethnographic methodology was employed. According to Maréchal (2010:43), "Autoethnography is a form or method of study that includes self-observation and reflexive investigation in the sense of ethnographic field work and writing." Carolyn Ellis (2004:9), another well-known autoethnographer, describes it as "research, writing, narrative, and process that relate the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political." However, reaching an agreement on the meaning of the word is difficult.

In the 1970s, for example, autoethnography was loosely described as "insider ethnography," relating to studies of the (culture of) society of which the researcher is a participant (Hayano, 1979). However, as Ellingson and Ellis (2008:449) point out, "the definitions and uses of autoethnography have changed in such a way that accurate

classification has become difficult.”

Autoethnography differs from conventional ethnography, a social science approach used by anthropologists and sociologists, in that it accepts and emphasizes the researcher’s subjectivity rather than suppressing it. If ethnography is commonly thought of as a qualitative approach in the ‘social sciences’ that explains human social phenomena through fieldwork, autoethnographers are the primary participant/subject of the study in the process of writing personal stories and narratives.

Autoethnographers shed light on their complete engagement with the environment by making their every emotion and thinking clear to the reader by embracing personal opinions, emotions, stories, and perceptions as a means of explaining the social context they are researching. This is diametrically opposed to theory-driven, hypothesis-testing analysis approaches focused on positivist epistemology.

In this context, Ellingson and Ellis (2008) regard autoethnography as a social constructionist project that denies the deeply embedded binary oppositions between the researcher and the studied, objectivity and subjectivity, method and product, self and others, art and science, and the intimate. This study used my experiences as a lens, where I report on what I have seen throughout the entire process of migrating to online learning in 2020. Through this process, observational qualitative research was employed. Among qualitative data collection methods, direct observation has been defined as the gold standard (Murphy & Dingwall, 2007).

Observing individuals in their natural habitat not only removes the issues associated with self-reported accounts (Mays & Pope, 1995), but may also expose insights not available by other data collection techniques, such as systems, procedures, and activities that interviewed participants might be unaware of (Furlong, 2010). Methods of observation include directly witnessing and tracking how research participants interact within, and react to, their physical and social world as it happens (Mays & Pope, 1995; Mulhall, 2003).

Observation “provides insight into relationships between behaviours and groups; highlights the overall picture; records context/process; and communicates about the effects of the physical environment” (Mulhall, 2003:307). Approaches to observation differ depending on the research’s political perspective and the position participants take on the spectrum from observer to sample (Walshe, Ewing & Griffiths, 2012). Observation approaches range from non-participant observation, in which the observer has no further relationship with the group being observed, which includes shadowing (Quinlan, 2008), to participant observation, in which the researcher is also a member of the team being examined (Bloomer, Cross, Endacott, O’Connor, & Moss, 2012). In this study, I was a

participant observer, who was a part of the team.

Methods of documenting vary from formal template recording to unstructured field noting (Walshe *et al.*, 2012). More significantly, video-recording methods have proven to be an effective means of capturing findings (Carroll, Iedema, & Kerridge, 2008; Collier, Phillips, & Iedema, 2015; Cronin, 2014; Forsyth, Carroll, & Reitano, 2009; Iedema, Merrick, Rajbhandari, Gardo, Stirling, & Herkes, 2009). In this study, field notes were taken, as well as video recordings of methods used. The field notes were mostly taken from minutes of school and subject group meetings, in which the new procedures for moving to an online learning environment were discussed. Policy guideline documents as well as workshop presentations from experienced academics were also utilized to make informed decisions on adapting teaching and learning to this new approach. Personal conversations were held with the school director, as well as other academic staff who are a part of the History in Education subject group, regarding their experiences of the online teaching shift. Video recordings of mine as well as other colleagues' online lessons were also scrutinized, as well as the assessment tasks posted on the LMS. In analysing this anecdotal data, the researcher reflected on how the system was put into place at the onset of remote online teaching. Afterwards, another reflection took place to see what worked and what did not work, and how the system can be improved.

Conceptual framework

Distance education

Distance learning is the umbrella word for all learning that takes place over distance and not in a conventional classroom (Firat, Kılınc & Yüzer, 2018:63 —70). Distance learning has a long tradition, and many forms are available today. These include: email discourses that are conducted via daily mail with no contact; telecourses, where the material is broadcasted on radio or television; CD-ROM courses, where the content is stored on a static device; online learning, where classes are delivered either synchronously or asynchronously; and mobile learning, using platforms such as smart phones or portable audio players (iPods, MP3 players, etc.) (Firat *et al.*, 2018:63 —70).

Online learning

Online learning includes enrolling in an online course and learning through online lessons

and assignments. Online education has increased in popularity over the past few years, empowering students to learn at home and in their own time (Dhawan, 2020:5 —22). The benefits of online learning are that it is very easy and helps students to live a regular life and hold a career while studying. Online learning is also more accessible; it is convenient for adults who have a busy lifestyle. Online learning allows one to learn anywhere in the world as long as a secure internet connection is maintained. There is no need to leave a job and one can continue to make a living as courses are completed online. Online learning can save time and money, including by removing or limiting travel costs, and normally allows students to learn at their own pace. However, some negative aspects of online learning include that not all courses are offered online, and that there is no intimate connection between the student and the lecturer. Maintaining a secure internet connection and a compatible computer is needed to access these courses. Without the lecturer making constant contact with you, it is easy to give up on your online research (Dhawan, 2020:5 —22).

Remote teaching

In comparison to the experience that has been prepared from the start and built to be online, emergency remote teaching (ERT) is a temporary change from instruction delivery to substitute delivery due to disaster circumstances (Hodges, Moore, Lockee, Trust & Bond, 2020:1 —12). It includes the use of entirely remote teaching solutions for training or curriculum that may otherwise be provided face-to-face or as mixed or hybrid courses, and that can revert to the original model after the situation or emergency has ended (Hodges *et al.*, 2020:1-12). The primary goal in these situations is not to re-create a robust educational environment, but rather to provide temporary access to education and preparation in a manner that is easy to develop and reliably accessible during an emergency or disaster. If we interpret ERT in this way, we can start to distinguish it from “online learning” (Hodges *et al.*, 2020:1 —12).

Proposed plan at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic

Learning Management System (LMS) page

The Learning Management System used at NWU is called eFundi. It integrates various tools such as chat rooms, online testing and resource management, to make online teaching more

efficient. Each module and LMS module page were developed and effectively maintained as the LMS is the cornerstone of the online environment (Weaver, Spratt & Nair, 2008). Most students were acquainted with the LMS site; however, management urged each instructor to create a brief video to help students if they needed new resources that they have not used before. This was sent to WhatsApp or Telegram using the Notification Platform or Chat Groups.

Since lecturers did not see their students frequently in the classroom, it was vitally crucial that a very straightforward semester schedule be provided for each LMS module site to ensure that students knew at all times what was going to happen in each module and when it was going to happen. Students considered it incredibly useful if lecturers updated this program again at the beginning of each week through a notification or in the chat groups, so that the students were aware of it and could follow the work schedule (Weaver *et al.*, 2008). The semester schedule contained projects or assessments that were sent for evaluation. This was also helpful for students when the semester schedule specified which presentations would be submitted and which study units would be completed as part of the student's self-directed learning cycle.

The Learning Management System was the primary tool for students. Lecturers concentrated on the successful usage of the LMS to provide all students the ability to obtain content, providing the greatest opportunities for all students to excel (Ip, Morrison, Currie & Mason, 2000). Lecturers were required to upload information to make it easier for them to access certain tools. The lecturers need to communicate clearly that the students can search for anything on the LMS.

The use of the Polls feature to post a question(s) to find out how students feel about a particular topic was very useful. If the lecturers did not want to use external apps (for which students would require data), the wiki platform was a fantastic resource for students to work together and generate their own content (Ip *et al.*, 2000).

Image 1: Below is an example of an assessment plan that included the aspects mentioned in this section:

Module and assessment plan HISD 512				
Week	Assignment to be submitted for assessment	Submission date of assignments	Self-directed learning	PowerPoint presentations
20/04-24/04	Assignment - Source-based essay	24/04	Review study units completed up to date.	
27/04-01/05	Feedback on Essay	01/05	Study Unit 4: sections 1 and 2	PowerPoint with voice-over on LMS
04/05-08/05	Unit 4: Assignment 2.1	15/05	Study Unit 4: sections 3 and 4 and Study Unit 5: section 1	PowerPoint with voice-over on LMS
11/05-15/05			Study Unit 5: section 2	PowerPoint with voice-over on LMS
18/05-22/05	Digital jigsaw collaborative activity	22/05		Power-Point with voice-over on LMS
25/05-29/05			Review all work done during the semester, work on exam assignments and prepare for the exam.	Study group

Web resources

Other web resources can, however, be used. For History Education it was vital to obtain any Open Education Resources (OER) that could be found and were relevant to the topics presented to students. Several forms of resources were obtained, including videos, articles, cartoons, maps and photos. These were used as teaching and learning support material in the online setting.

Regarding the use of web material, it was quite easy to find numerous open educational resources, from websites such as <https://www.teachithistory.co.uk/>, <https://www.teachinghistory.org/>, as well as <https://www.oercommons.org/>, that were quickly adapted for the subject group's needs. The ability to share these resources easily on the university LMS allowed the subject group to tailor assessments that were aligned across all campuses and all modes of delivery, including distance learning. This, from a lecturer perspective, made things extremely simple, however, the same cannot be said for the students who had to access this material. That is discussed in the following section.

Communication

Constructive and continuous contact is the secret to online education (Lamy & Hampel, 2007). Types of resources that may be used for this function include LMS chat conversations, community forums on LMS, WhatsApp/Telegram (it is important to not use your personal number or anonymise your phone number) or online face-to-face applications such as Zoom, Google Meets, Skype, and so forth.

WhatsApp and Telegram were also a wonderful way to easily supply short videos to the students to provide them with positive and quick support (Lamy & Hampel, 2007). When using WhatsApp or Telegram, it is necessary to have specific guidelines, such as times when students may ask questions. Therefore, setting restrictions on when and how often students can communicate with the lecturer was crucial. Lecturers could also use the Google Suite Communication Apps should they choose to set up project workgroups, such as Google Docs, which allowed for synchronous editing and commenting on a single document shared between student groups. Good contact between lecturers and students is often assured by frequent LMS updates that are relevant to students and their learning (Lamy & Hampel, 2007).

Again, this entailed preparation for lecturers, because not all lecturers were familiar with the groups and community conversations on the LMS site. Most lecturers are still ignorant of the large range of multimedia outlets that may be used for digital interactions.

Study groups

It was important to encourage the students to set up virtual study groups. Students were comfortable because they learned together and collaborated together (Brindley, Blaschke & Walti, 2009). Most students were also part of communities that exchanged research, resolved topics of interest in the academic community and encouraged each other (Brindley *et al.*, 2009). For example, there were current WhatsApp Groups in the BEd Intermediate Process for each year group. When having a student mentor and WhatsApp or Telegram communities, make the student mentor part of this community so that your assistant may help them and keep the lecturer aware of anything that the students might be dealing with (Brindley *et al.*, 2009).

The study groups comprised of between four and six students per module, but the composition of these groups changed per assessment task, to allow students to work with different people on different tasks. All Google Docs links were shared between students on the WhatsApp groups, so that all members could participate in editing and commenting on their work.

Video recordings

The video clips mentioned here would be specific for each lecturer. It was recommended that the lecturer capture at least one presentation for each study unit that he/she has in the study guide for that specific section (Hartsell & Yuen, 2006). This was normally about 20 minutes, not to burden the students with long presentations where they lose focus. The amount of content normally dictated the number of recordings, as each unit would require some video recording.

Software that were used included: *Please see overleaf*

Software	Use	Keep in mind
PowerPoint – Record slide show	With the record slide show option lecturers could record themselves while presenting the PowerPoint.	The students may have an older PowerPoint so it was best to save the recording as a mp4 to make sure that they will be able to open it. Recommended not to make 40min recordings. Remember these students are sitting at home. They could be distracted. If lecturers record a 40min session, the students would not sit through it. Rather break it up in short sections. In addition, for consideration, voice recordings on WhatsApp to talk students through a short PowerPoint presentation as much less data was used and the voice recording may be easily accessible on the smart phone. It was important to communicate with them exactly in which folder to look for the particular PowerPoint presentation on the LMS (Hartsell & Yuen, 2006).
YouTube	Live session, short orientations of what they need to work on.	The students were familiar with YouTube, the lecturer could stream the class in the time they would have had class or record a short orientation session of what students need to work on during that week. Uploading it to YouTube and making the link private so that students can only access it if they have the link was done. It was important to keep in mind though, that not all students may have had data to access YouTube (Hartsell & Yuen, 2006).
VideoScribe, Powtoons, Doodly and Toonly	Make explanatory videos	Lecturers explained concepts to students with animated videos (Hartsell & Yuen, 2006).
Active Presenter	Screen recorder	Recorder that recorded the lecturers' screen and webcam. This enabled lecturers to record themselves while presenting their PowerPoint (Hartsell & Yuen, 2006).

Lecturers who had access to tablets captured their PowerPoints using a screen recorder and submitted them to the LMS. Lecturers were provided the requisite technical resources and have received training to film images on their computer screens. These videos were also posted to the LMS websites (Hartsell & Yuen, 2006).

Activities on LMS

The students needed to remain consistently engaged in their research during the online teaching period and not only sporadically work on tasks throughout the remainder of the semester (Ip *et al.*, 2000). This directed the successful involvement and engagement of students in specific modules during the semester. It was recommended that students be provided smaller assessments or tasks (Meyer & Murrell, 2014). Assessments or tasks on the LMS were assessed automatically, so that it might not present unnecessary work for the lecturer. Many programs that lecturers could use may have required the following (Weaver *et al.*, 2008):

Pictochart	Create Infographics	Create infographics. Make one-page explanations of what you would have explained in class.
Interactive PDF	Create PDF's with buttons	Create PDF's that when students click on spaces audio play or another file open. This gets the student involved and get them to engage and not only scroll through the information (Meyer & Murrell, 2014).
Google Suite	Group work	Get your students to conduct group work by creating documents where they need to collaborate in a group on one document. They can create webpages, PowerPoint like slides and documents (Meyer & Murrell, 2014).
Socrative	Online tests	You can create tests that students can complete at their convenience. It is better to use LMS as the marks will be captured in the Markbook (Meyer & Murrell, 2014).
Padlet	Let students create idea boards	On Padlet students can post pictures, audio and video on a topic as an assignment or discussion point (Meyer & Murrell, 2014).

Perusall	Comment on documents	Perusall is an online platform where students can read articles and comment on their peers' comments (Meyer & Murrell, 2014).
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Assessment

It was advised that smaller assessment tasks were given, on which continuous feedback ought to have been provided to drive the learning process, that culminated in a large, summative activity with a heavier weighting (Salas-Morera, Arauzo-Azofra & García-Hernández, 2012). The lecturer systematically evaluated this summative function.

Academic development was achieved where students were required to interact with the components of the curriculum on a consistent basis instead of just focusing on one or two 'major' tasks or performing a basic LMS test at a low cognitive standard for final summative evaluation. Using the peer-assessment method in the LMS, where students had to read and report about other results, not only improved their knowledge of work, but also allowed the students to learn what their peers were doing (Salas-Morera *et al.*, 2012). It was recommended to also use longer academic essays as a major form of assessment. However, the LMS could not mark these automatically, and digital marking was required.

Academic accountability

Academic personnel were responsible for storing videos, tasks, daily messaging as a way of engaging with students and the services provided by students. Module Leaders (lecturers in charge of planning a module) were responsible for maintaining frequent, direct contact with students and for creating and uploading research notes and materials. Module Leaders were respectfully asked to engage in close cooperation with Subject Chairs (leaders of subject groups, such as the History subject group) who wished to comment on the success of the academic curriculum in a different topic area at daily meetings with the School Manager/Deputy Director (oversees a whole school, for instance, School of Commerce and Social Studies).

After each study class, a brief questionnaire was attached to the LMS page (Weaver *et al.*, 2008) and completed by the students. It provided the Module Leader and the Subject Chair with an idea as to how the Module owner has submitted all the necessary material

which provided the Module owner with useful statistics during the semester about whether students have viewed it in a specific class. The Module Leader and the Subject Chair were introduced to the LMS sites so that they could take care of the students' responses.

Participation marks

Just as participating in a face-to-face setting required the engagement of students in the classroom, participation must also be part of the online presence of students (Grieve, Padgett & Moffitt, 2016). The use of the LMS polling resources, such as asking questions to get the students interested and to gauge their progress. It was not all about the lecturer simply capturing and sharing lectures; the students were involved and took responsibility for their own learning (Salas-Morera *et al.*, 2012).

It is imperative to reconsider the significance of a participation mark in an online environment. If lecturers focus entirely on homework, they cannot be confident whether students are involved in the module, so this is why online polling resources, forums and chat rooms were important, so that live conversations became an essential aspect of the engagement level (Grieve *et al.*, 2016). Continued participation in small learning tasks required more than one main task in an online environment (Grieve *et al.*, 2016).

Experiential reflection on what worked and did not work

What worked and why

The use of the university LMS, eFundi, which is a university cloud storage and resource centre and online teaching tool for the NWU, worked well once everything was in place and the storage space for uploading material was increased. The university did not foresee such a demand for storage space on their LMS at first, which created a bottleneck, but fortunately, this was fixed quickly in a matter of a day or two. The IT department needed to allow more storage space for Dropbox resources, for both lecturers uploading resources, and for student downloading them. The various functions of the LMS, such as the chat room function and polling function, worked wonderfully in order to maintain communication and give feedback to students. After every essay assignment was marked, using the comment function in Adobe Acrobat Reader, whereupon I would reload the annotated essays to the LMS, I would schedule a chat room session with my students, to give them

some more direct feedback. They engaged with me quite well, for every major assignment that was completed. In the beginning of the semester and at the end, I created a poll on the LMS, to gauge the students' views regarding online teaching and learning. In the beginning, I asked questions like "Are you prepared for online teaching?" or "Do you have stable access to the internet?" At the end, I asked questions like "How do you feel now that you have completed an entire semester of online teaching?" or "Do you think that online teaching has prepared you sufficiently to master the content and outcomes, compared to normal face-to-face teaching? Explain." These questions changed, as in the beginning, I wanted to gauge their preparedness as a form of orientating the students, and at the end, the questions took on a more reflective form, to gauge effectiveness of the tools and methods we used in online teaching. The results of these polls were quite positive.

The use of video recordings, at first, seemed to be the answer to all the history lecturers' and students' prayers regarding presenting material to students and affording some instructor to student interaction. They did solve the problem of almost allowing the student into a virtual classroom, and it did work better than some cases of live synchronous presentations over platforms like Zoom or Google Meet, which requires a stable and fast internet connection. A vital component to making videos viable was the idea of compression, which I initiated within the faculty. The software called Handbrake was recommended, in order to curtail the issue of massive MP4 files spanning several 100 megabytes or even gigabytes, to compress them to sizes that are more acceptable.

Regarding assessment, the activities themselves remained unchanged, and diligent consideration had to be given for students concerning finding resources online, as many students did not have sufficient data or devices to download these articles. This was definitely carried out, as I would attach articles for the students on the LMS, which was given zero data access by cellular network providers. This came as a result of finally understanding that the initial almost romanticized optimistic phase of online teaching was ending. The assessments, which ranged from academic essays to more practical lesson plan activities, to methodological tasks such as creating worksheets, were all done very successfully.

One could use the analogy of a war or battle, in which the lecturers are the generals, and the students are soldiers on the front lines. The goal is to defeat an enemy, in this case, overcoming the limitations brought on by COVID-19. In battles and wars, a distinction can be made between strategy and tactics. Strategy could be compared to the overall planning stages for online teaching, the intended goals. However, strategies normally do not always work, and it is up to the generals to employ tactics IN the field, adapting to how the enemy is fighting back. So, tactics could be regarded as the practical adaptations brought on by

online teaching that did not necessarily work out according to the battle strategy, or ideal planning. In the end, it would seem to me that the battle was won. Victory came at a cost of some casualties, with some students still not passing their modules.

However, a few positive points did emerge from this experience. The first of which involved the faculty of education initiating a drive for all staff to report to their line managers on a weekly basis on what work they have covered and what problems they were experiencing. As the subject leader for the History subject group, these weekly reports were sent to me. I would monitor every lecturer's performance, and where they indicated that they had issues, I would try my best to assist. An example came from when a colleague needed assistance with video compression, and I quickly recorded a video explaining which software to use and even gave an example on the steps to take. Nevertheless, we do not live in a perfect world, and this shift to online teaching brought with it numerous problems. This next section will look at some of the more challenging issues, as well as how the History subject group worked around them.

What could have worked better?

Regarding the LMS, what did not work right away was the bottleneck created when all lecturers were told that they had to use the LMS for all of the content uploading and resources for students. The LMS could only handle a set number of users at one time, and when several thousand students were trying to access the LMS concurrently at the same time, the server crashed, on more than one occasion. This made working online a literal nightmare, as the IT department was working night and day to free up more space for resources. Fortunately, this issue was resolved in a few weeks.

It might be useful to have training sessions with some of the lecturers, as certain LMS platforms are still not used to optimize efficiency, for instance, post forums, to allow the students to reply on queries (Ip *et al.*, 2000). Using the question method in the lesson and apply a mark to it and make sure students understand it. This will enable students to work on and report on the details.

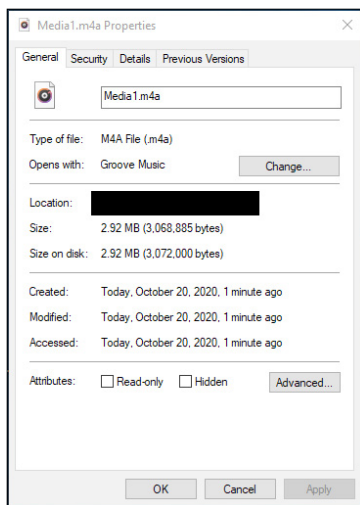
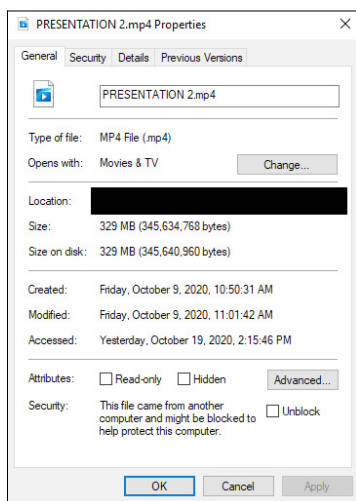
Some functions of the LMS worked better than others. For example, the chat room was indispensable, but the test functionality was extremely limiting. The only types of questions that could be asked were all lower order cognitive questions, such as multiple choice, match the columns or true and false. For a History lecturer, this is as good as dirt. We work with sources and require deep analysis and argumentation. This would not be sufficient for my needs. I used a Dropbox tool within the LMS, which fortunately has Turnitin

functionality, to scan students' essays for plagiarism. I therefore completely avoided the test function, and instead asked the usual essay questions. However, I adapted to a source-based essay approach, where I would also include snippets of sources (to avoid copyright infringement) to better assist students who do not have access to data or devices to look for more resources. This solved my assessment problem.

Regarding the video recordings, despite the compression solution working well in the beginning, several students still complained that even a 30MB video recording was still too large and was eating up their data at a fast rate. Another idea was needed here. Fortunately, and even for the rest of the year, we as the History subject group formulated a novel approach of imbedding voice overs, very small and short 30 second snippets of a voiceover per slide. These voiceovers, however of a lower audio quality (somewhere between 64kb/s to 128kb/s), were still audible enough, and considerably reduced the size of the recordings, from between 30MB to 50 MB for the older recordings, to a much smaller 1MB to 3MB. The students were very satisfied with this new approach. As can be seen from the example below, on the left, the audio of the entire 20-minute presentation was reduced to 2.92MB, compared to the original MP4 that was compressed to 329MB.

Compression of video presentation

When it came to assessment, at the very least, the activities remained unchanged. However, what did change was the medium of how it should be marked. Normally, we as the History subject group would always use our LMS for assignment submission through Turnitin, which is a similarity index tool. So, moving to an online teaching mode did not alter this



practice in the slightest. Our students are used to converting essays to PDF and to submit online to the LMS. However, the issue came from the lecturer's side... the marking. Under normal conditions, the students would in tandem submit a hard copy of their essays, along with the digital submission. Due to COVID-19 restrictions, the campus was completely shut down, and there was no way the students could submit a physical copy. Therefore, the only answer was somehow to mark the essay digitally. At this stage, no one had an answer for this. Should we just read it digitally, and without making any comments, just award a mark? This did not work for our subject group. More than 95% of my students submitted their tasks and uploaded to the LMS before the due date. However, as with any module, there are always stragglers, who would email me with several excuses. This happens even in the face-to-face traditional paradigm, so this was not really a problem. The marking of these assessments, at first, were seen as a frustration due to the significant amount of time it took to assess digitally.

Fortunately, we have some technology experts in the group, who all sat together to discuss a way forward. What we came up with would really help the entire faculty, as we decided to use the comment functionality of Adobe Acrobat reader, the PDF reader. Once the student essays were downloaded from Turnitin, those PDF reports would be assessed in Adobe using annotated comments. As a lecturer, you could change the colour of the text to red, to simulate the normal marking experience. Adding text comments helped provide proper quality feedback to students at specific points in the essay. Since the Turnitin report was marked, the plagiarism detection would also be visible, giving another layer of feedback to the student. Check marks could also be cut and pasted at certain points. Totals could be enlarged on the first page with borders, to give the student their final mark. Digital signatures could also be used, to add another layer of accountability. However, the overall procedure of adding comments and typing out the final mark, when compared to doing it by hand, took far too long to do digitally. We made our suggestions to the faculty and to the IT department. They are in the process of developing a streamlined one button solution to mark PDFs in the near future.

Regarding accountability, some negative issues did emerge. Moderation became an issue. Due to the fact that the NWU has 3 campuses, most of the History modules presented via online teaching were all aligned across these campuses. That meant that planning for the semester was done in collaboration with all module presenters. All of our assessment tasks were identical, and the weighting was the same. We could use Google docs to synchronously edit our planned assignments. However, another issue emerged. We could moderate the planning stage; however, the moderation of marked assignments was still an

issue. I led a drive to initiate a post moderation strategy in my subject group. After using the Adobe comments, 10% of those marked assignments would be uploaded to Google Drive, whereupon a link would be sent to the module lecturers on the other campuses. Again, using the comment function in Adobe, and changing the colour to green, we were all able to moderate one another's work. Once again, the issue of time was raised. Hopefully we will solve this problem with the new PDF marking tool that is currently under development.

In terms of the ideal plans that the History subject group put in place, the idea of using recordings backfired, and therefore planning had to change immediately. Digital assessment using Adobe was thought of as the ideal idea for marking, but also turned out to be very painstaking and slow. Therefore, new plans were also put into place, allowing lecturers to print out hard copies on campus in order to mark by hand. The main thinking behind this idealistic planning was primarily drawn from those examples found in other institutions internationally that had already used online teaching before. The best solutions were taken from those examples, where it was innocently but sincerely hoped that those experiences could fit and work in a South African context. We were obviously completely oblivious at the time. The South African context is vastly different, requiring a nuanced approach concerning asynchronous sessions as opposed to synchronous live broadcasts, as the data limitations made this virtually impossible with students in rural areas. The other major reality was that the South African context required low immediacy and low access. Therefore, the deadlines need to be flexible, and the access to learning material should be standard and not require additional software or hardware. Consequently, several adaptations and adjustments had to be made on the fly so to speak, as the problems were coming in, new plans had to be made. These will be discussed in the next section.

What has changed in terms of my practice?

In terms of my practice as a History lecturer, several things had to change with the move to online teaching. Firstly, my daily routine changed dramatically working from home. A paradigm shift of note in terms of trying to juggle work time and off time, family time (especially in the beginning of the lockdown, where everyone was at home), and just trying to get by, day to day. I tried to make shifts work at first, taking an hour to work in the morning, and then take another hour break spending time with my family. This however did not always pan out properly, when urgent meetings scheduled at the 11th hour had to be attended for further clarity on what to do. Therefore, I decided to take it a day at a

time, meaning that certain days the routine would be different, depending on the workload. However, every day I would take a 2-hour break if I could during lunch, just to refresh my mind.

Secondly, another major change to my practice came with how I manage my work time, and what I was working on. Never before did I invest so much time in communicating with my students as I have before with face-to-face teaching. It was crucial to constantly monitor the chat room on the LMS daily, and sometimes more than once a day, especially in the build up to submission of assignments. Sometimes, the chat room would not work ideally, for instance the LMS would crash due to too many students logging in simultaneously. Therefore, I created a WhatsApp group for each module and shared the link to the group on the LMS. This really worked for me, but not necessarily for everyone. I monitored the group daily, clarifying certain aspects as needed. This was a total change, and the students have told me on several occasions that they prefer this type of communication, instead of either emailing directly, or talking to me face-to-face in the office.

A third change to my practice was the turnaround time for feedback, and how that affected my marking, especially with the aforementioned digital marking. In the beginning, before I got into the rhythm of doing things with Adobe, I would mark into the early hours of the morning, which several of my colleagues also reported doing in the early days of the shift to online teaching. This was not a healthy option, so what I did instead was to communicate to my students that they could submit their essays early, and those who submitted before the others, I would digitally mark their work first. Basically, it turned into a daily routine to check the assignments, and start marking small batches of early bird submissions, which worked wonderfully.

Fourthly, the manner in which I present content, and then either video record or use voice overs, had to change in terms of the depth I would go into. Time was a precious resource, and several other lecturers started complaining that their students were not able to download large presentations, or even worse, that their students were not paying attention to an hour-long recording, which makes perfect sense. To bore students with such long presentations is counterproductive. Instead, my practice changed to splitting up my study units into smaller chunks, whereupon I would do voice overs for that part, which would not be longer than 10 to 15 minutes each. Every week, my practice changed to doing these voice overs and uploading them on the LMS. I would then also facilitate discussions in the chatroom each week for these study unit chunks. This was totally different to the hour and a half contact session during normal face-to-face instruction, but it worked well.

Conclusion

Online teaching is not just taking your PowerPoints and presenting them in the same way as you would during contact sessions. Put yourself in the shoes of your students. They are at home, their attention span may fall drastically, and they may not have access to platforms for which loads of data are required. Thus, all video and audio recordings should be shorter than those for a traditional class should and ought to be accessible on LMS. Try to engage your students, get them involved as much as you can with online forums, discussion, chat groups (LMS, WhatsApp, and Telegram).

Effective and continuous contact is the most critical feature of a successful online teaching environment. If the students realize what is going on and what is required of them, they will not slip back or feel confused. Communicate with students and assist them. This is a fresh opportunity for contact students. They are going to feel confused, they are going to have a ton of concerns, so whether we lend much needed guidance as lecturers or with the aid of Supplemental Instructors leaders, they are going to have a greater chance of success.

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Developments in history education in Ghana

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Abstract

This article employs historical records, cultural traditions, and insights from recent interviews with history teachers to trace the beginnings of history teaching and the political landscape that has shaped school history and history curricula in Ghana. The article argues that history education in Ghana has survived the ravages of time, Western historiographical ideals and imperialist ambitions as well as politically motivated legislations and reforms. The article concludes that history education is regaining its grounds in Ghanaian schools and raises implications for teacher education and resource provision in schools. The article contributes to an understanding of the evolution of history education in Ghana and the impact of colonial and political forces on curricula, teaching and learning of African history.

Keywords: Ghana; Education reforms; History curriculum; History education; Teacher education; Schools

Introduction

Perspectives on the aim of history teaching in schools as expressed by historians, educators, students, politicians, and the public are many and contested (see Rautiainen, Rääkkönen, Veijola & Mikkone, 2019; Chapman, Burn & Kitson, 2018). Yet, in many places across the world, history as a school subject is a powerful medium for intellectual and democratic training and values acquisition which positions students to understand society-in-context and contribute towards decision making. In Ghana, history is increasingly regarded as a tool for the development of critical minds, for deriving veritable lessons for the present and future, and for the formation of people who can contribute effectively to national development (Cobbold & Oppong, 2010; Adjepong, 2013). Understanding a community or a nation's history sets the stage for a clearer understanding of present social, economic, and political conditions. School history, therefore, should serve the common good by developing active and democratic citizens who can attend to present-day issues using their understanding of past developments as a building block (Barton & Levstik, 2004).

Ghanaians are interested in the past and current achievements of their nation, the political and socio-economic organisation, and the cultural heritage of Ghana¹ and its people, thus making history an essential ingredient in the nation's development efforts. Despite Ghana's long and rich historical background, there has not been consistent attempts to document the history of history education in Ghana and changes in history curricula except the pioneering work of Buah (2002) and Dwarko (2007) and the more recent work of Adu-Gyamfi and Anderson (2021). This article delves into the historical records and cultural traditions to trace the beginnings of history teaching and the transformations history education has undergone from precolonial times to the present. Unlike the 'traditions' approach adopted by Adu-Gyamfi and Anderson (2021), this article discusses history education in Ghana and the political landscape that has shaped school history, as well as the pace, direction, and focus of history teaching, using a largely chronological approach. This article contributes to an understanding of the nature of history education in Ghana since relatively little is known about history teaching in Ghana and Africa in general. The article also contributes to a clearer understanding of the impact of colonial and political forces on curricula, teaching, and learning of African history. To

¹ Ghana, until independence in 1957, used to be called the Gold Coast. This name was given by early European traders upon the discovery of large amounts of gold which they coveted for their commercial interests.

achieve a systematic presentation and understanding of the main argument of this article, a brief historical overview of education in Ghana precedes the discussion.

Overview of education in Ghana

This section provides a brief background to educational developments in Ghana from pre-colonial times to date. The aim is to introduce the reader to the political, historical, and contemporary context within which history education is conducted to enable the reader to appreciate the complexities surrounding the teaching and learning of history in Ghana.

Ghana has a rich tradition of education dating as far back as the pre-colonial times. In pre-colonial Ghana, the system of education was primarily traditional in nature. It was based on the values of obedience and apprenticeship whereby the elderly taught the young ones to assume roles and responsibilities in the traditional community. Many children accompanied their parents to the marketplaces, farms, and other places of work and learned directly under their instruction. Parents were responsible for ensuring that their children learned essential moral behaviours that accorded with societal standards and acquired practical skills through observation and learning by doing. The norms, taboos, and regulations of individual communities served as the guide for parenting and socialisation. Generally, the central focus of education during this time was on domestic, character, and practical training for the growth and continuity of society, with the home serving as the main and immediate agency responsible for the education of individuals.

The sixteenth century saw the introduction of a Western form of education which began following the arrival of European merchants who established schools as part of the means to advancing their economic interests. Historians observe that the foremost form of school education, which became known as *Castle Schools*, took place in the forts and castles that were built along the coastal towns by the merchants where their children² as well as children of some Ghanaian chiefs and famous African traders were educated (Amenumey, 2008; Ampadu & Mohammed, 2006). Prominent among the castle schools were those established by the Portuguese in 1529 and the British in 1694 in the Elmina and Cape Coast castles respectively. This form of education was technically oriented and more structured, as it followed a specific curriculum which featured subjects such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious education, as well as practical courses such as masonry, carpentry, sewing, and agricultural training. Teachers acquired professional training in these

2 The children which the European merchants had with local Ghanaian women were called *Mulattoes*.

technical subjects (Abosi & Brookman-Amissah, 1992). The castle schools were followed by *Mission Schools* which were established following the arrival of several missionary groups in Ghana including the Wesleyan, Basel, Bremen, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic Missions during the 1830s. These schools were located in and around the coastal towns of Cape Coast, Dixcove, Anomabu, Accra and as far inland as Akropong (Gyedu, 2014). According to historians, the missionaries intended to provide schools where children could have access to education and be converted to Christianity in the process (Abosi & Brookman-Amissah, 1992; Amenumey, 2008). The subjects taught were English grammar, catechism, arithmetic, bible studies, and the history and geography of Europe. Unlike the castle schools, the missionary education tended to train a clerical workforce and not many technical hands that could contribute to wide-scale development. The missionary societies spearheaded the provision of Western education in Ghana for much of the period before the twentieth century. However, education provision became an official policy of the British government in Ghana in 1850 and was institutionalised in 1852 following the passage of an Ordinance to regulate the structure and quality of education in Ghana (Abosi & Brookman-Amissah, 1992; Amenumey, 2008).

When Ghana became a British colony in 1874, the colonial administration applied more systematic efforts to regulate education in the country. An Education Ordinance that was passed in 1882 for the entire British West African³ region aligned the system of education in the region to the British setup and provided grants-in-aid to both public and missionary schools based on their efficiency (Antwi, 1992). The twentieth century witnessed the full commitment of the British colonial government to the provision of schools in response to the rising number of children of school-going age (Bening, 1990). Each successive governor implemented policies that sought to improve access to, and quality of education in Ghana. Perhaps, the most comprehensive educational development under the colonial administration occurred during the governorship of Gordon Guggisberg (1919-1927). His *Sixteen Principles of education* advocated for the provision of universal primary education, quality secondary education, equity in education for boys and girls⁴, trade schools with a technical and vocational education, and quality university education

3 British West Africa was used to collectively refer to West African countries that were colonised by the British – Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia.

4 In indigenous Ghanaian cultures, boys had better chances to obtain formal education than girls. Girls were usually expected to undertake domestic duties in preparation for marriage. In present times, girls have increased opportunities to achieve formal qualifications in schools through policies that enhance the education of the girl child.

for men and women. These principles constituted a major educational policy direction for Ghana until the 1960s (Amenumey, 2008; Kimble, 1963; McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). Even though critics argue Guggisberg discriminated against African medical officers (Gale, 1973), contributed to increased government expenditure on education (Williams, 1964), and did not operate in the best interest of the people of Ghana by virtue of him being a colonial official governor (Agbodeka, 1972), his contribution to improving the standard of education in Ghana cannot be missed even at present. The educational effort of the colonial government was complemented by the missionary societies who expanded the scope of their initial activities to include secondary education and teacher education. The colonial legacy of education in terms of the provision of schools continued after colonial rule and the gaining of independence in 1957 (Kwarteng, Boadi-Siaw & Dwariko, 2012).

Developments in education continued after the first independent government came into office in 1951. The Kwame Nkrumah-led administration implemented two main objectives for the provision of education in Ghana. First was the extension of education to many parts of the country in order to widen access. Second, there was training and equipment of people with skills needed for administrative and industrial services. To achieve these objectives, the government designed policies such as the Accelerated Development Plan of Education of 1951, and the Education Act of 1961. With necessary modifications, these policies became the blueprint for Ghana's education for about two decades and produced some positive changes to the system that was inherited from the colonial administration (Kwarteng et al., 2012; Graham, 1971). After the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah's government in 1966, several attempts were made by successive civilian and military regimes to improve the education sector. The National Liberation Council (1966-1969), the Progress Party (1969-1972), the National Redemption Council (1972-1975), the Provisional National Defence Council (1981-1987; 1987-1992), National Democratic Congress (1992-2000; 2009-2016), and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) (2001-2008; 2017-present) have all contributed to educational developments in Ghana.

Brief overview of major educational reforms in post-independence Ghana

The post-Nkrumah period witnessed a series of educational reforms. Committees were formed at various times to recommend changes to the structure of education in Ghana. Key among these committees was the Dzobo Committee of 1973. In 1974, the Dzobo Committee published a new report on the structure and content of education which reduced the number of years of pre-university education from 17 years to 13 years. Before

this report, pre-university education in Ghana comprised a six-year primary school, which ushered students into a four-year elementary education. After successful completion, students proceeded to a five-year secondary school course and wrote the Ordinary Level examination. Pre-university education ended at the sixth form which had two stages - Lower Six and Upper Six, after which students wrote the Advanced Level examinations for admission into the university. With the Dzobo report a six-year primary education was followed by a three-year junior secondary school, and a four-year senior secondary school (Ampadu & Mohammed, 2006; Antwi, 1992). The recommendations were aimed at preparing people for the world of work. However, the recommendations did not yield the expected outcomes upon its implementation in a few experimental schools (Palmer, 2005). The Dzobo Committee report provided a foundation for the 1987 educational reforms under the Provisional National Defence Council. The 1987 reforms reduced the Dzobo recommendations further to twelve years. Primary and junior secondary school retained their six years and three years durations respectively while senior secondary school was reduced to three years. The Common Entrance Examination and the General Certificate of Education examination were also replaced with the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) and the Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSSCE)⁵ respectively. A priority focus area at the junior and senior secondary levels at the time was the development of technical and vocational skills (Ampadu & Mohammed, 2006; Antwi, 1992).

Twenty years after the 1987 reforms, a new reform was introduced in 2007 to streamline education to meet the changing development needs of Ghana. Particular emphasis was placed on STEM education and the development of vocational, technical, and ICT skills in order to produce skilled human capital. The report on which the reform was based proposed a two-year kindergarten in addition to the existing 12-year pre-tertiary education (Republic of Ghana, 2002). In implementing this reform, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government renamed the junior secondary school and senior secondary school levels as Junior High School (JHS) and Senior High School respectively. The number of years at the SHS level was increased from three to four years. However, the National Democratic Congress government who won the 2008 general elections, citing inadequate human and infrastructural resources, reversed the number of years of SHS education to three years. At

⁵ The Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSSCE) was changed to the West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) in 2006. WASSCE is an international standardised examination organised by the West African Examinations Council for member countries - Ghana, Nigeria, The Gambia, Liberia, and Sierra Leone.

present, the NPP government is undertaking curricular reforms at the basic and secondary school levels. The brief historical overview of education in Ghana shows that political interest has been a major force in determining the system and structure of education in the country.

Ghana's education system is centralised whereby major policy regulations are designed and implemented by statutory bodies such as the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service with support from key stakeholders and professional associations. Currently (June 2021), the education structure comprises a two-year preschool, six-year primary, three-year JHS, three-year SHS, and a three to four-year tertiary education as shown in Figure 1. Students write the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) at the end of the ninth grade (JHS 3) which is used as the criterion for entry into the secondary level. Generally, candidates who successfully complete the BECE proceed to the SHS. Others enrol in technical and vocational institutions to acquire practical skills training, while some take up an apprenticeship⁶ or trade in the informal sector and proceed to the world of work. The secondary education level runs a three-year program and is composed of SHS, vocational, and technical institutions. At the SHS level, students choose from six different course groups – General Science, General Arts, Visual Arts, Home Economics, Business, and Agricultural Science. Students select up to four elective subjects from one of the six courses in addition to four core subjects – Mathematics, English Language, Integrated Science, and Social Studies. SHS graduates, subject to sufficient passes in the West African Senior School Certificate Examinations (WASSCE), can then proceed to the tertiary level.

6 In Ghana, most trade apprenticeships take place in the informal sector. However, some forms of apprenticeship also occur as part of the training in vocational and technical institutions. For example, a person might learn carpentry under the tutelage of an established carpenter outside a school setting. Similarly, a student who is studying carpentry in a technical institute might undertake a period of apprenticeship with a qualified carpenter in the same way trainee teachers embark on teaching practice.

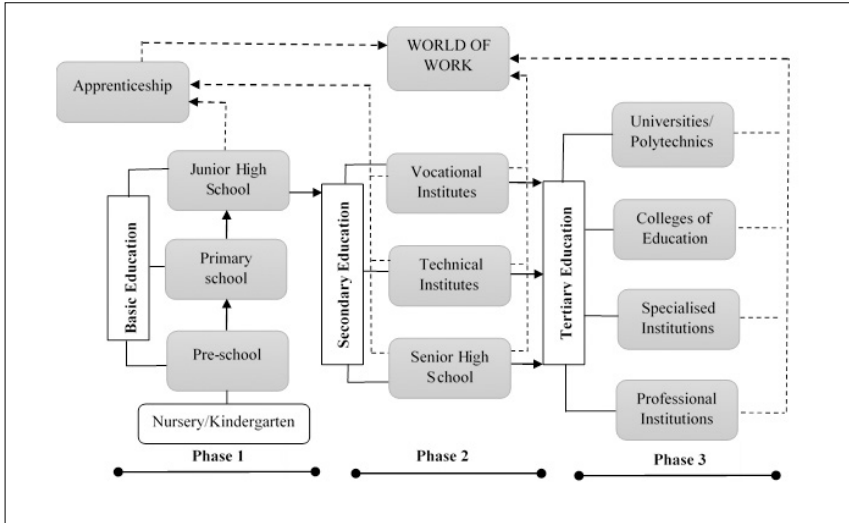


Figure 1: Structure of education in Ghana

History education in Ghana

This section begins with a brief history of African history to provide a premise for the discussion on history education in Ghana. This is done in light of the fact that notions about African history and historiography are directly linked to how our history is perceived and taught in schools (Boadu, 2020a).

The Ghanaian education system comprises several subjects, many of which have undergone significant revisions and reforms since the colonial era, in response to political influence. Among these subjects is history. Even though the history of Ghana covers several centuries and highlights several important developments, there has been lack of consistent focus on history teaching. Africa was generally regarded by early Western scholars as unhistorical due to the lack of systematic methods of recording and presenting events. In the view of these scholars, the only history worth recording about Africa is the history of European presence in Africa. A famous German philosopher, Georg Hegel, and Oxford historian Hugh Trevor-Roper were two figures known for discrediting Africa's significant past. Hegel, for instance, sought to dismiss Africa's history and rationality and described the great civilisations of North Africa as belonging to Europe and Asia. He wrote:

“At this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the World; it has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movements in it – that is in its northern part – belong to the Asiatic or European World. What we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature” (Hegel, 1956: 99).

Years later, Hugh Trevor-Roper made a similar controversial argument during a public lecture in 1963 that was published in 1965:

“Perhaps in the future there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none, or very little: there is only the history of Europeans in Africa. The rest is largely darkness, ... and darkness is not a subject for history” (Trevor-Roper, 1965: 9).

However, evidence shows that before the 15th century, there were indigenous ways of recording events and presenting past information in Africa (Akubor, 2015). In Ghana, traditional experts of the past known as *praise singers* recounted the stories of their society through various means including traditional music, folktales, rhetoric, and art forms (Fynn, Addo-Fenning & Anquandah, 1991). In homes, parents and grandparents often educated children about the struggles and achievements of the past and presented them with useful lesson for the present and the future. A defining characteristic of this period was that oral accounts about the past were handed down from generation to generation (Falola & Fleming, 2009). Aside from the moral lesson these oral accounts presented, they were also a medium for cognitive training since children were expected to understand, remember the accounts, and apply the lessons derived.

Following a series of nationalist developments in Africa and the diaspora in the 19th and 20th centuries, many African scholars have contested the Western notion and have, instead, emphasised a strong sense of African historical consciousness and erosion of the misconception that history is only learned from the history books (see Ranger, 2013; Ahuma, 1971; Nkrumah, 1970; Verharen, 1997). Also, some Western scholars, pointing to the achievements of Egypt and Carthage, have admitted that historical inquiry in Africa before the 18th century was more advanced than it was in Europe, with Africa’s only challenge being the presence of dominant European powers (Black & MacRaild, 1997).

“Historical writing in ... the Islamic world of sub-Saharan Africa, ... was, in many ways, much more advanced than in medieval Europe. In Africa, the great civilisations of Egypt and Carthage had been considered part of the story of civilised history by Greek and Roman historians since Herodotus’s day. The main problem for African civilisation has been the relative and growing strength of European powers” (Black and MacRaild, 1997: 28-29).

In Ghana, for instance, the first known Ghanaian attempt at the systematic documentation of Ghanaian history began with Carl Christian Reindorf and his book *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, which covered more than three centuries (1500–1860) (Reindorf, 1895). Besides Reindorf, historians argue that the effort of many indigenous Ghanaians to investigate the past of the peoples, states, and kingdoms in Ghana during the precolonial and colonial periods were undermined by the efforts of Western historians (Adjepong & Kwarteng, 2017). Consequently, the inaccurate Western views about African history, which were based partly on the absence of early written accounts and formal school settings and ill-informed understandings about African culture and practices, cannot be considered valid. Besides, Black and MacRaild (1997) argue that oral tradition was also central to Western history. The lack of formal methods of recording the African past in earlier times and the notion that Africa had no history prior to the contact with European nations led British authors to document Ghana’s history from a British perspective, thus leaving few or no local accounts to be studied and appreciated (Baku, 1990; Reindorf, 1895).

Little has been written about the genesis of school history in Ghana. Analysis of historical records shows that the teaching of history in formal school settings began in the schools established by the missionaries and the British colonial government. In these schools, history featured in the curricula along with other subjects such as English Language, Arithmetic, Religion, and Geography. However, it was not until the 20th century that history became well placed in Ghana’s school curriculum. During this period, most of the work of Ghanaian intellectual historians were focused on asserting a Ghanaian historical consciousness and encouraging the people to denounce the uncritical adoption of Western ways of life (see Sekyi, 1997; Ahuma, 1971; Hayford, 1969; Nkrumah, 1963). Particularly, Ghana’s first president, Kwame Nkrumah, was committed to using history as a tool for developing African’s conscience and personality. Nkrumah encouraged the teaching of history in both regular and technical schools, causing history to enjoy an

enviable position in Ghana's school curricula (Adjepong & Kwarteng, 2017). From the years following 1920 up to 1987, history was a core subject at Standard 7, senior school, and formed part of the Middle School Leaving Certificate Examinations. At the secondary level, history was an elective subject from Form 1 to Form 5 for students not in the science stream who attempted the School Certificate and General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level examinations. Students who proceeded to Form 6 continued to read history as it formed part of the subjects written at the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level examinations (Dwarko, 2007). When the 1987 educational reform was introduced, history began to lose its privileged position in schools. With the expunction of the middle school system, history was removed, integrated with other subjects, and taught as social studies at the basic school level. Similar developments occurred at the secondary school level where history ceased to be taught as a core subject and was instead made an elective subject for General Arts students (Dwarko, 2007). This could be a consequence of global developments during the 20th century, when history assumed a social science context in many regions across the world (Tilly, 1981; MacRaild & Taylor, 2004; Skocpol, 1987). Changes to curricula have accompanied changes to history teaching in Ghana over time. An overview of these changes is discussed in the sections below.

Curricula during the colonial period: pre-Guggisberg

During much of the precolonial and colonial periods, the history curricula in both the missionary and public schools centred on the history of Great Britain. The emphasis on the achievements of Britain as a leading power in Europe at the time, came at the expense of studying Ghanaian and African history (Adjepong & Kwarteng, 2017). At this time, Ghanaian historians had not focused much attention on the documentation of the history of Ghana. This was most likely influenced, and possibly impeded, by the increasing influence of the British in the country's administration and the attempts by local intellectuals to seek redress for several injustices in the administration of the country. Evidence suggests that as early as 1874, about 16 pseudo historical books had been published on Ghana by British authors and that this trend continued until 1900 with an average of two books published per year by British authors in Britain, and from a British perspective (Baku, 1990). As a result, although the students were African, none of the subjects they were taught, nor their content, dealt with Africa, which denied them the opportunity to study their own nation's history in school. As Adjepong and Kwarteng (2017) argue, the exploitation of history for the imperialist motives of the colonial government was evident.

Curricula during the colonial period: Guggisberg era

The period of Gordon Guggisberg's governorship witnessed some improvements in history curricular as students were instructed in their local history, languages, and customs (Antwi, 1992). The institution of Achimota College in 1927 sought to extend this interest in African history and culture (Adu-Gyamfi & Anderson, 2021). At this time, the content of history featured topics on Ghana, West Africa, and Egypt. It further addressed thematic areas in economic history, European history, and world history. The content, owing to its variegated nature, appealed to students from diverse backgrounds and therefore attracted much interest in the subject, making it very popular in schools (Dwarko, 2007). For instance, one of the key contributors to history teaching and curriculum development at Achimota College, W.E.F. Ward, was known for his dedication to sensitising the African youth about their own history, and his book, *Africa before the white man came*, drew useful links between several African states (Adu-Gyamfi & Anderson, 2021).

Curricula during post-Guggisberg and post-independence era

The focus on the study of African history was short-lived, as the regional and local aspects of school history declined after Guggisberg's governorship. For instance, during the early 1950s, the secondary school history curricula (titled *The Development of Tropical Africa*) that were used across Commonwealth West Africa, contrary to its title, contained little content about Africa. Instead, in addition to content topics on Greek and Roman antiquity, they consisted of four main sections:

- Section A:** Early attempts at exploration, trade, etc.;
- Section B:** The slave trade, internal and overseas;
- Section C:** Exploration and colonization by Europe, and
- Section D:** Post-World War I developments in Anglophone countries of Tropical Africa (Buah, 2002: 141).

The justification for the little focus on Africa, the colonial government argued, was the lack of books on African history as well as the dearth of trained African history teachers. Buah (2002) further observes that, before 1966, six alternative curricula programs temporarily replaced the *Development of Tropical Africa*. Following this, schools adopted several other curricula until 1988. The post-1966 curricula of the West African Examinations Council

(WAEC)⁷ for the General Certificate of Education/School Certificate comprised two sections: World history from AD 1750, and West Africa from AD 1000, which reduced the concentration on European history and allowed for a broader focus on West African history. Another positive feature of the curricula was that its focus on a short period (1918-1960s) allowed for a detailed exploration of African history which contributed to student interest in the subject. Consequently, the Ministry of Education and the WAEC adopted a West African Advanced Level history course that was a combination of the Cambridge High School Certificate and London Advanced-Level curricula. According to Buah (2002), the examinations feature two papers:

- Paper 1:** African History: Either
- a) Ancient African Civilizations, or
 - b) Modern African Kingdoms and empires
- Paper 2:** One of the following:
- a) European and British History (1830-1939)
 - b) Islamic History
 - c) World Affairs
 - d) USA (1783-1865) and
 - e) Russian History, (1935-1945).

The focus on Africa was welcomed for its educational value and the change it brought to the educational space. As at 2002, the history syllabus that was in operation focused on three main sections:

- Part 1:** Landmarks of African History to 1800 (Thematic)
- Part 2:** History of Ghana from earliest times to 1900
- Part 3:** History of Ghana since 1900 (Buah, 2002: 144).

This shows more focus on Ghana and Africa, but Buah (2002) argued that it was educationally not balanced in its focus on local history and that it was too prescriptive and broad for examination purposes. Nevertheless, other historians maintain that the focus on Ghanaian and African history was to ensure pre-tertiary students' understanding of the

⁷ The WAEC was established in 1952 regulate high-stakes examinations for Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Gambia.

meaningfulness and relevance of history (Adjepong & Kwarteng, 2017). Compared to the 2010 senior high school history curriculum, which is still in operation, the thematic areas of the 2002 history curriculum have not changed much. The 2010 senior high school history curriculum is discussed further below.

History at the SHS level

At the SHS level, history currently falls under the General Arts course as an elective subject, together with other elective subjects such as French, Literature in English, Religious Studies, Economics, Geography, Government, Ghanaian Languages, and in some cases, Elective Mathematics. Out of these options, students study a maximum of four elective subjects together with the core subjects (Mathematics, Integrated Science, English Language, and Social Studies), depending on how the General Arts course is organised in schools. As such, even among General Arts students, subject combination options might differ within and among schools since not all students might opt to study history. History is therefore not a compulsory subject, and although some aspects of the subject appear in citizenship education and social studies at the primary, JHS, and SHS levels (Ministry of Education, 2010), historical knowledge gained through these subjects is not enough to provide the foundation for a higher-level study of the subject. Buah (2002) notes that, considering the organisation of the subject at the SHS level, a significant proportion of school children cannot get the opportunity to study history.

Currently, history has low enrolments at the SHS level compared to other General Arts elective subjects. Data from the WAEC shows that even though there was an upward trajectory in the number of students who studied history between 2006 and 2009, and between 2012 and 2015, this growth falls below that of those who studied other General Arts elective subjects, as shown in Table 1. Likewise, research indicates that both the image of history, and interest in it, are in decline (Dwarko, 2007; Adjepong, Oppong & Kachim, 2017). Researchers have attributed the decline in the study of history to factors such as insufficient qualified teachers, memory-based teaching and learning strategies, the economic and technological dictates of the contemporary job market, government policy, and negative perceptions of the subject (Adjepong et al., 2017). Similarly, in my recent interview with SHS history teachers in Ghana, some of them expressed concerns about how students perceived job prospects in history. One teacher said, “The challenge is that most of the students think that when they do history, they will not get many job opportunities” (face-to-face interview, October 2017).

In the post-colonial era, it is concerning that history is not more prominent in Ghanaian school curricula, given the controversies surrounding the study of African and Ghanaian history. It appears that even though Ghanaians are generally interested in remembering the past of their nation and celebrating their cultural heritage, their interest in the study of history in schools is not profound.

Table 1: Enrolment in WASSCE between 2006 and 2015

Year	History	Government	Economics	Geography
2006	15, 282	30, 057	34, 992	22, 331
2007	16, 466	35, 335	39, 600	25, 299
2008	16, 054	37, 937	41, 218	26, 505
2009	18, 649	46, 134	49, 134	30, 949
2012	20, 266	58, 506	59, 456	36, 608
2013	48, 703	145, 148	144, 872	87, 865
2014	31, 719	93, 423	91, 675	55, 540
2015	36, 806	104, 014	103, 544	64, 814

The current SHS history curriculum

Ghana practises a top-down approach to curriculum development and implementation. In this approach, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment designs and disseminates the history curriculum to schools. Teachers are expected to implement the curriculum as designed and presented to them in order to achieve its objectives. The current SHS history curriculum covers three years – SHS 1 to SHS 3 – and outlines the rationale, aims and objectives, contents and methods, profile dimensions, and assessment strategies to be employed for teaching the subject.

Rationale

The rationale for the teaching of history at the SHS level highlights the broader national aspiration for history and provides justification for the subject and the implementation of

the curriculum. The rationale statement explains that SHS history is aimed at developing students' sense of awareness of the relevance of their national past in order to take pride in their national heritage and contribute to building on the achievements of the past generation. It further addresses the significance of harmony and tolerance for divergent cultures and viewpoints (Ministry of Education, 2010). The rationale reflects two underlying motives – pedagogical motive and nationalistic motive. The pedagogical motive draws attention to history being an analytical subject whose study should not be limited to memorisation. The nationalistic motive highlights the development of such dispositions as patriotism, national consciousness, and democratic participation which are useful to the nation's development efforts.

General aims

The aims and objectives of the curriculum are linked to the rationale. The general aims show that SHS history in Ghana seeks to equip students with the skills to locate, analyse, and interpret historical sources objectively. This means developing students' ability to investigate and critique historical information to arrive at informed conclusions. History also aims to equip students with the intellectual toolkit to redirect the study and interpretation of Ghanaian and African history from an insider perspective through a detailed study of the past. Further, it is aimed at developing students' awareness of Ghana's relationship with the wider world and their appreciation of the role of history in present and future development. The general aims are translated into specific objectives which recommend that teachers address the learning needs of students through active student involvement in order to achieve the specified general aims (Ministry of Education, 2010). This suggests that the subject needs to be portrayed in ways that are intellectually and practically engaging, consistent with constructivist ideology. To this end, teachers are expected to employ practical teaching-learning activities such as brainstorming, individual and group activity, role play, source analysis, class discussion, and field trips (Ministry of Education, 2010).

Scope of content

The contents of the SHS history curriculum are organised chronologically around three main sections:

Section 1: Landmarks of African History up to AD1800

Section 2: Cultures and civilisations of Ghana from the earliest times to AD 1900

Section 3: History of Ghana and her relations with the wider world from
AD 1900 to 1991

These sections reflect significant themes on Ghana, Africa, and the world. A comparative analysis shows that there has not been a significant change to the central foci of the curriculum as the current curriculum focuses on themes that are similar to the syllabus that was in operation in 2002. Generally, the scope of content of the curriculum reflects the concerns of Buah (2002) that the syllabus is too expansive and prescriptive. Current history teachers share similar concerns. In a recent interview about history teaching in Ghana, history teachers described the curriculum as overcrowded with topics that cannot be effectively taught within the time allocated. One teacher, for instance, stated:

“The topics are too many and I have to finish them in two and half years. There are more than 40 topics and I need to teach everything. The way the syllabus is structured is posing a limitation on the real performance of teachers” (face-to-face interview, October 2017).

This suggests that even though the contents are useful, the scope and the time available for its completion could serve as a barrier to the realisation of the aims of SHS history. Recent research shows that even though many history teachers recognise the need for constructivist practices in the classroom, they tend to teach history as grand narratives in their attempt to achieve quick coverage of the curriculum (Boadu, 2020). In regard to teaching materials, the Ministry of Education’s certified textbook titled *History for secondary schools* and several other textbooks written by private publishers are the main resources for history teaching. Teachers also rely on maps, historical sites, and other primary sources to facilitate their teaching.

Profile dimensions

The SHS history curriculum specifies three profile dimensions for teaching, learning, and testing in history – knowledge and understanding (KU), use of knowledge (UoK), and attitudes and values (AV). Teachers are encouraged to allocate a weight of 30% each to KU and AV, while UoK is allotted 40% (Ministry of Education, 2010). The emphasis on UoK is

to encourage students' application of historical knowledge in different contexts. The profile dimensions serve as the basis for assessment in history. The curriculum recommends a criterion-referenced assessment, meaning that teachers need to assess the extent to which students have attained each curriculum objective. The recommended forms of assessment such as projects, experiments, investigative study, practical work, and group exercises suggest emphasis on constructivist practices.

History teacher education

History teacher education in Ghana aims to prepare teachers who are equipped with knowledge and skills in the theory and practice of history teaching. History teachers at the SHS level usually complete a four-year university degree involving theories in historical content, teaching methodology, a twelve-week microteaching with their peers, and a twelve-week supervised teaching practice at a practice school to prepare them for the teaching profession. Alternatively, people with non-education degrees in history are required to complete a postgraduate diploma course in education to qualify as history teachers. The training and assessment of pre-service history teachers are based on a range of criteria including source analysis and interpretation which are aimed at developing their skills for effective teaching of the subject at the SHS level. Research shows that there is a deficit of qualified history teachers in Ghana (Oppong, 2012). Consequently, the system operates a *hybrid* approach whereby teachers of other related subjects such as social studies are sometimes engaged to teach history. Also, history teachers are mostly trained in two subjects (history and another subject). Therefore, it is common to find history teachers who teach another subject in addition to history. Further, there are cases where history teachers who studied history as a minor subject during their training teach history as their main or sole subject in schools. This situation makes the call for the training of specialist history teachers in Ghana more resounding (Boadu, 2020).

Conclusion

This article has historicised teaching of history in Ghana and drawn on current curricular and instructional developments to provide an understanding of the structure and position of history education in Ghana. The article has argued that history education in Ghana has gone through several stages as a result of the impact of dominant Western perspectives and imperialist ambitions as well as the implementation of politically motivated legislations

and reforms. However, unlike the system of education under the colonial government and the immediate post-colonial regimes, history education in Ghana currently experiences appreciable consistency in structure, and its contents are streamlined to incorporate significant issues on Ghana and Africa. Even though the NPP government's decision to introduce history at the primary school for completely unprepared teachers is problematic, it is expected that this policy will increase enrolment numbers at the SHS level, where history is currently less patronised. History education is gradually regaining its grounds in Ghanaian schools for the first time since the 1987 education reforms. This growth has significant policy implications for adequate resource provision and for the training of specialist history teachers at both the primary school and SHS levels.

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Heads of Department's role in implementation of History syllabi at selected Zimbabwean secondary schools: an instructional leadership perspective

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Abstract

This qualitative study explores the school-based instructional leadership role of Heads of Department (HODs) in the implementation of different History syllabi. It seeks to establish the practices that History HODs carry out in order to improve the teaching and learning of the subject. HODs are subject specialists who are responsible for establishing and ensuring high standards of teaching and learning in their subjects. This study is a response to the claim that History HODs often fail to rise to expectations in ensuring effective curriculum implementation in the subject. Qualitative data was collected through the study of circulars and policy documents and by conducting structured, in-depth interviews with fifteen key informants sampled from selected schools in the Glen View/Mufakose district in Harare. The key finding from this study is that the HODs were the de facto instructional leaders during the implementation of the History syllabi and that their level of involvement determines the success and/or failure of History syllabi. The paper concludes by asserting that HODs play a critical role in the implementation of History syllabi, since they are at the chalk face and directly supervise the implementation of changes in the subject as illustrated at five secondary schools used in the study.

Keywords: HOD; Instructional leadership; Implementation; History Syllabus; Supervision.

Introduction

One of the universally central issues facing modern education is the inculcation of a culture of effective teaching and learning (Grissom, Loeb & Master, 2013). Such a thrust has resulted in the acknowledgement of the key role played by Heads of Department (HODs) as instructional leaders in the effective improvement of schools (Jinga, 2016; Manaseh, 2016; Mpisane, 2015). HODs are given different names in different countries in the world. In the United States of America (USA), they are referred to as departmental chairs while in the United Kingdom they are known as curriculum coordinators or subject leaders. In South Africa, they are referred to as departmental heads or middle managers (Bambi, 2012). In Zimbabwe, they are known as heads of department. In this study, the acronym 'HOD' will be consistently used. As part of a school's management, HODs have a responsibility to create and sustain conditions under which quality teaching and learning can take place (Smith, Mestry & Bambi, 2013). HODs' management tasks include planning, organising, coordinating, and controlling (Everard, Morris, & Wilson, 2004). These tasks underpin the daily activities of HODs (Bush, 2008). The idea is that HODs work closer with the teachers, therefore HODs should be the catalysts in supervising teaching and learning (Mpisane, 2015). HODs therefore have a direct impact on the implementation of syllabi in the subject area.

In modern education trends, school heads are no longer the sole instructional leaders of schools (Moreeng & Tshalane, 2014). Instructional leaders, such as HODs, have been continuously empowered to execute contemporary instructional practices by properly and routinely supervising teachers so as to ensure maximum benefits for learners during curriculum implementation (Sengai, 2019). The central role of HODs, as instructional leaders in the daily operations of a school and the impact they have on the tone and ethos which are conducive to teaching and learning in the school, is critical in the process of building a sound culture in curriculum implementation. Ideally, HODs are the academic leaders in their disciplines, and they work closely with their school heads and other HODs to deliver strategic objectives of their school (Tapala, 2019). Their specific role is to provide leadership in relation to discipline specific matters in the school.

Purpose of the study

This study was motivated by the enthusiasm to unpack the instructional leadership practices that History HODs use to improve instruction in the subject during the implementation of

different syllabi. The main research question that this study addresses is: *what is the role of Heads of Department (HODs) in the implementation of different History syllabi?* Apparently, HODs have not yet been fully acknowledged as key instructional leaders, yet they do the bulk of work as they supervise teaching and learning (Mpisane, 2015). The school head claims all the credit if a school performs well academically, forgetting that HODs are the driving force behind the success of teaching and learning (Bush, Joubert, Kiggundu & Van Rooyen, 2010). HODs do this by monitoring teachers' work inside and outside classrooms and by talking and listening to teachers. HODs are the leaders of learning, as they spend a lot of time on the supervision of teaching and learning and mentoring teachers, thereby making a huge impact on improving teaching (Mpisane, 2015). This study unpacks the appointment of History HODs, their perceived roles and responsibilities, the regularity of their supervision of the History teachers, as well as the different approaches they employ to ensure the effective implementation of different syllabi.

Review of related literature

Several studies have been conducted on the different roles of HODs (Tapala, 2019; Jinga, 2016; Malinga & Jita, 2016; Manaseh, 2016; Mpisane, 2015; Naicker, Chikoko & Mthiyane, 2013; Bambi, 2012). The studies concur that the core duty of HODs should be to spearhead supervision of teaching and learning in schools. Ali and Botha (2006) carried out a study in the Gauteng province of South Africa in which they focused on determining the role of the HODs, their effectiveness, and their importance in contributing to school improvement. Their key finding was that HODs play a key role in the improvement of teaching and learning in schools. They observed that due to the Outcomes-Based Education (OBE), the responsibility of instructional leaders has shifted towards achieving high quality outcomes. They noted that in order to significantly improve teaching and learning in schools, HODs need to spend more time in supervising the teaching and learning activities that take place on a daily basis in their departments. They went on to recommend that HODs should receive professional training according to their observed needs in order to make them more effective. Their study, however, did not investigate how HODs were appointed into their posts or the different approaches used by HODs to ensure the effective implementation of different syllabi, an area which this study interrogated.

Mpisane's (2015) study, conducted in two high schools located in the Ugu district, KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa, asserted that HODs, being middle managers in schools, have a significant role to play in the improvement of teaching and learning through supervision

and control. Proper time- management is necessary in order for them to execute this duty effectively. Although the study agreed with scholars who have declared that instructional leadership should be driven by HODs since they play a key role which determines whether teachers teach the learners effectively (Smith *et al.*, 2013; Mestry & Pillay, 2013; Naicker *et al.*, 2013; Bush *et al.*, 2010), it observed that HODs experience challenges in performing this role. HODs encountered challenges in implementing the prescribed goals due to teacher absenteeism and lack of punctuality, managing classwork, and giving feedback, which was attributed to the abnormal workloads that they themselves have. The overcrowded classes also worsen the teachers' predicament by inhibiting the giving of individual attention to learners (Mpisane, 2015). The study also explored the role of high school HODs as leaders of learning. In their role-function as outlined by the Department of Education, HODs supervise teaching and learning, ensuring that class activities are undertaken, and that written work is given, with marking and feedback timeously done. The study established that apart from conducting departmental meetings and assessing teachers' performance, HODs also have their own teaching allocation as well as extra and co-curricular activities. Therefore, HODs would experience challenges in their role as leaders of learning due to their seemingly overwhelming responsibilities (Mpisane, 2015). The study recommended that HODs should introduce mechanisms to closely supervise and monitor class activities, strictly enforce teacher professional discipline, encourage the attendance of workshops and the provision of constructive feedback by teachers during staff meetings, and involve parents of learners in monitoring class attendance.

Malinga (2016) explored practices by HODs of Natural Sciences departments in South Africa in an effort to provide instructional leadership to teachers in a multidisciplinary context. This work reveals that, as middle managers, HODs are under immense pressure because they receive inadequate support from subject advisors and principals, thereby compromising the optimal implementation of the Natural Sciences curriculum. The study concluded that HODs' position as middle managers compromise their instructional leadership capacity.

Tapala's (2019) study used the South African context to investigate the curriculum leadership training programmes of HODs in secondary schools, based on the premise that HODs are an integral part of school leadership. Since their main function is to lead and oversee curriculum support and delivery in schools, HODs are uniquely placed to influence the quality of teaching and learning in their departments as well as within the entire school. The study established that HODs are an important bridge between the school management team (SMT) and the teachers. However, the study highlighted the need for curriculum

leadership training for HODs so as to help them to understand what their roles are and how to go about executing those roles so that their influence can be appreciated more.

Jinga's (2016) study in the Gutu district in Zimbabwe explored the policy and regulatory framework that guides instructional leadership, particularly the roles and expectations of the vocational and technical education (VTE) HODs in carrying out their instructional leadership mandate in schools. The findings revealed that there are no uniform criteria for employing HODs in the various schools within the Gutu district. The school heads exclusively made the appointment decisions, sometimes considering or not considering the prospective leader's qualifications, experience and, in the case of church-run schools, church affiliation. The study revealed that the lack of a uniform criteria for appointing the subject leaders sometimes resulted in strained relations between the teachers and their appointed leaders, with negative consequences for subject leadership in the schools. The study also established the need for consistency and improved quality with respect to the enactment of the various practices of instructional leadership by the HODs. The variations in terms of the quantity and quality of supervision practices, particularly the number of lesson observations conducted in each subject or for each teacher, and the guidance activities, including staff meetings to discuss subject-related matters and capacity-building practices, such as the provision of subject-focused professional development opportunities across schools and sometimes within the same VTE department by the HODs, made the practices look arbitrary and rendered them rather ineffective in terms of their potential to influence teachers' knowledge and classroom practices.

Sango, Chikohomero, Saruchera and Nyatanga's (2017) study examined the supervisory strategies being used in the Zimbabwe school system so as to ascertain their appropriateness in guiding teachers in the implementation of the revised curriculum in both the primary and secondary schools. The study established that internal supervision was planned and implemented by school heads, deputy school heads, HODs, and teachers in charge (TIC). The study established that school heads, deputy heads, HODs, and TICs (in the case of primary schools) were overwhelmed with administrative tasks. Many of the school-based supervisors doubled up as administrative officers and full-time class teachers. The study found out that some of the education supervisors did not have sufficient skills for supervising teachers effectively. The study confirmed Chikoko (2009), who noted that school heads did not seem to have sufficient competence to be instructional leaders. The study also found out that there was lack of a collegial relationship between the supervisors and teachers due to the hierarchical relationship that existed between them. It would seem as if teachers were seen as subordinates to be instructed, and not as colleagues to

be mentored, encouraged, and motivated. Instructional leadership is described as an influential relationship that motivates, enables, and supports teachers' efforts to learn and change their instructional practices (Mestry & Pillay, 2013). The study further revealed that the most critical resource that seemed to affect supervision in Zimbabwean schools seemed to be time for supervision, as it was so limited that supervision programmes developed by both school-based, close-to-school, and external supervisors rarely saw the light of day. Instead, routine rounds to schools and classrooms for quick "dip-stick" assessments and recommendations seemed to be the norm. Sango *et al.*'s (2017) study then recommended that the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education initiates capacity building programmes that focus on retooling school leaders with collegial leadership techniques and teachers with professional teacher collaboration etiquette.

Most of the literature reviewed above show that capacity and managerial competency are the standard criteria when selecting HODs (Rorrer, Skrla, & Scheurich, 2008; Kotur & Anbazhagan, 2014). Scholars also place emphasis on the appointees' competencies in the organisation and management of the subject matter (Hallinger, 2012). Aguele, Idialu and Aluede (2008) assert that when appointing HODs, only those teachers who have demonstrated outstanding performance, not only impressive examinations pass rates, and have also shown leadership competences, should be accorded the opportunities to lead in the departments. The core business of a school's existence is to strive for the improvement of teaching and learning (Hallinger, 2012) so this should be given primacy in the appointment of HODs. Bush (2008) asserts that HODs are the *de facto* instructional leaders in the schools since school heads and other senior staff members are usually occupied with other managerial commitments.

The limited literature about the role of HODs in the supervision of curriculum implementation in Zimbabwe in general and on History teaching and learning in particular indicates that there is a dearth of research on the role of HODs in the school instructional leadership hierarchy. The limited research done on HODs' supervision of teaching and learning in Zimbabwe's education system and elsewhere within the region either explored issues involving VTE subjects (Jinga, 2016; Rajoo, 2012) and natural sciences (Malinga, 2016; Jaca, 2013) or examined their role in instructional supervision within schools in general (Tapala, 2019; Sango *et al.*, 2017; Mpisane, 2015; Ali & Botha, 2006). The instructional leadership role of HODs in marginalised subjects like History has apparently been overlooked, perhaps due to contestations over the utilitarian value of the subject (Sengai, 2019). This study therefore attempts to address this disparity.

Theoretical framework

This study was guided by the instructional leadership theory. Instructional leadership is defined by the leader's skills and knowledge with regard to curriculum, instruction, and academic improvement, or rather, by his/her ability to serve as a leader for instruction (Grissom *et al.*, 2013). Within this definition, strong instructional leaders possess the skills to be hands-on leaders and are involved in the classroom through observing and interacting with teachers, and they are visible within the school and its classrooms (Horng & Loeb, 2010). Instructional leadership is the dynamic delivery of the curriculum in the classroom through strategies based on reflection, assessment, and evaluation, to ensure optimum learning (Cordeiro & Cunningham 2013). This shows that instructional leadership has to commence in the classroom with the teacher being supported by the HOD and other line supervisors up to the school head. Instructional leadership involves sharing a vision with followers, monitoring the instruction and assessment standards, allocating resources, and reflecting on the outcome of the instruction (Lai & Cheung, 2013). The instructional leader is better able to strive for excellence in education by working with teachers, parents, and even the community as a whole, to redefine educational objectives and set school-wide or district-wide goals for improvement (Thaba-Nkadimene, 2016). The understanding of instructional leadership that this paper adopts is one that is inclusive of the curriculum leadership duties and the responsibilities performed by the teacher in the classroom, the HODs, as well as the school head, and the other members of administration. Instructional leadership should therefore embrace leadership actions that facilitate the totality of instruction together with teacher and student learning (Grissom *et al.*, 2013). The term 'instructional leadership' therefore describes a focus on instructional improvement with the ultimate goal being the improvement of learner outcomes (Thaba-Nkadimene, 2016). DeVita, Colvin, Darling-Hammond and Haycock (2007: 8) observe that instructional leadership has recently emerged as "a bridge to school reform", with the ability to link further reform strategies. This appears to call for the metamorphosis of curriculum leadership to be more acceptable to the instructional leaders and their subordinates.

The duty of transforming schools is too intricate to expect one person to achieve without help since the principle of a superhuman leader is now obsolete (Lashway, 2006). In Zimbabwe, school heads delegate responsibilities to their deputies, senior teachers, HODs, and teacher leaders (Jinga, 2016). Leadership therefore involves the collective efforts of several individuals and takes place through a well-designed web of staff relations and interactions. Leadership is no longer perceived as gravitating around an individual,

but as a shared responsibility (Cordeiro & Cunningham 2013; Lashway, 2006). This study explored how HODs are apparently accorded the leeway to effectively contribute to the improvement of school-based instructional leadership practices in the implementation of History syllabi at selected schools. The study was particularly interested in how HODs encourage creativity and innovation among teachers so as to boost morale and efficiency, especially in the teaching and learning of History.

Research methodology

In this qualitative study, purposive sampling was used to select the participants. Since the correct numbers of participants in a qualitative study are not rigidly fixed (Gay, Mills & Airasian, 2011), the researcher solicited information from fifteen interviewees. The interview questions in this study interrogated the appointment of HODs, the perceived roles and responsibilities of History HODs, the regularity of the HODs' supervision of the History teachers, and the policies and parameters which delimit their instructional leadership practices. Five school heads, five History HODs and five History subject teachers from five secondary schools out of the thirteen that make up the Glen View/Mufakose district in Harare Metropolitan province, were interviewed. The interviews were conducted at the respondents' workplaces and ranged between 60 and 90 minutes. The respondents were advised in advance about their right to stop the interview whenever they felt that it was not in their best interests to continue (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2013). All interviews were held either during lunch or after work to avoid disturbing the work routines of the respondents. Through probing, the researcher ended up with a 'thick' description of the research findings (Denzin, 2011). Data from the interviews were divided into sub-themes to help address the research questions. Being a qualitative study, the research findings may not be generalised (Chawla & Sondhi, 2014), but would rather deepen understanding of HODs' instructional leadership practices in the implementation of the History curriculum.

Document analysis also assisted to explore the instructional leadership practices, the assigning of duties to the key players and the policies that guide the implementation of their duties and responsibilities. Briggs, Coleman and Morrison (2014:297) highlight that, "Documents such as education policy ..., regulations and legislation can provide another level of public narration and insight into how organizations and institutions work, and what values and practices guide decision making". The researcher managed to access some key policy documents in the form of ministerial circulars and minutes of meetings which were

kept in departmental files at all the five secondary schools.

The researcher sought informed consent from participants, which facilitated voluntary participation, especially during interviews. In order to protect the identities of participants in this study numerical numbers are used as pseudonyms so that data may not be matched with any participant (Chawla & Sondhi, 2014). The names of five of Zimbabwe's liberation war heroes were also used as pseudonyms for each of the sampled five secondary schools so as to protect the reputation (Cohen *et al.*, 2013) of the teachers, HODs, school heads and the schools. Before the participants signed the consent forms, the researchers assured them of the confidentiality of the data that they would provide.

Findings

The data presented in this section deal with the appointment of History HODs, their perceived roles and responsibilities, the regularity of their supervision of the History teachers, as well as the different approaches they employ to ensure the effective implementation of different syllabi.

Appointment of History HODs

Evidence suggests that HODs are key players in the running of successful departments and schools (Tapala, 2019; Jinga, 2016; Malinga & Jita, 2016; Manaseh, 2016; Mpisane, 2015; Naicker *et al.*, 2013; Bambi, 2012). In view of their pivotal instructional leadership role, the appointment of HODs is carefully planned and follows clear guidelines so as to recruit the most suitable professionals. Consequently, the researcher sought the perspectives of the school heads, History teachers and the HODs themselves on the appointment of History HODs. According to the Provincial Director's Vacancy Announcement Minute No. 1 of 2011: Head of Departments: Harare Metropolitan Province, applicants are supposed to meet the following criteria:

- Be a senior teacher in possession of a Diploma/ Certificate in Education with at least five years' experience.
- Be a certificated graduate in the relevant subject for 'A' level schools.
- Demonstrate ability to recommend, implement, and monitor policies/systems and procedures in dealing with relevant academic issues.
- Have an organisational ability and commitment to provide leadership in both

academic and administrative issues.

- Be capable of working with the public pleasantly, for the achievement of the school's vision and departmental, school and ministry's mission.
- Be mature, committed and hardworking.
- Be able to lead by example.

The involvement of the office of the Provincial Education Director (PED) in the appointment of History HODs in schools in the province bears testimony to the importance of HODs as instructional leaders in schools. Nonetheless, despite the strong recommendations for higher qualifications, these do not always transform into capacity (Jinga, 2016). Evidence in this study suggests that factors other than qualifications were often considered in appointing HODs for the History departments in the five secondary schools in the Glen View/ Mufakose district that were sampled for this study.

At Tongogara High School, the History HOD's (HOD 1) appointment by the school head seems to have been based on hard work and commitment to duty. When asked about how he was appointed, the incumbent (HOD 1) opined:

"When I arrived at this school three years ago, History was among the most unpopular subjects due to the low pass rate associated with the subject at 'O' level. I then worked tirelessly in my first two years and the results for the pupils I taught were very impressive. That is why you see me today as the HOD, despite the presence of very senior staff members in the department."

The interview above clearly shows that the appointment of HOD 1 was based on a good track record in his instructional performance. Interestingly, the school head of Tongogara High School (H 1) was guided by the competences laid down by the provincial circular, as hard work is one of the key expectations in appointing HODs. This was confirmed by the school head (H 1):

"This man completely led a turnaround in History from being one of the most unpopular subjects to one of the most popular in the school so I felt obliged to elevate him."

At neighbouring Chitepo High School, HOD 2 confidently asserted that his appointment was based on seniority since he was the most experienced teacher in the History department and even in the school:

"I have been in the teaching profession for the past thirty-eight years so I strongly believe that the head appointed me due to my experience. I am actually more experienced than the head and when she was appointed to this school I actually informally inducted her."

Probed on how he thought his experience would benefit History teachers and learners in the school, HOD 2 expressed the following:

"Having taught History for such a long period of time, I actually know the strengths and weaknesses of different methods of teaching and can choose what to give to my pupils as well as which stuff to leave out. I also know how best to motivate staff in the department. Above all, I am really passionate about the subject and I strive to teach it well."

Again, the appointment of HOD 2 was procedural since seniority is a key requirement for appointments in government departments. The responses by both HOD 1 and HOD 2 reflect a selection process where the school head is the final authority in the appointment of HODs (Kotur & Anbazhagan, 2014; Ling, 2014). This was confirmed by the Head of Chitepo High (H 2):

"Normally I consult other senior staff members for recommendations before making the final decision on who to appoint as an HOD."

When asked about the criteria used to appoint him, HOD 3 at J.M. Nkomo High School stated:

"As a very senior staff member at this school I actually applied for this post when HOD posts were officially announced by the PED through a circular and the Head strongly recommended me. I also hold a Master's degree in History."

The appointment of HOD 3 appeared to be above board as confirmed by his school head (H 3):

"HOD 3 is among the very few substantive HODs in this district. As a school, we are really privileged to have a senior, highly qualified and competent professional like him. He is the current chair of the History Association at district level and has demonstrated his selfless commitment to duty through the assistance he renders both to other History teachers and pupils in the whole district."

It is clear, according to the above interview that the school head knew the best attributes of his staff members, so he recommended the best candidate for appointment to the post of History HOD. This is shown by the way in which he speaks positively about his HOD. The data shows that such appointments are very instrumental in facilitating effective instructional practices in the subject since the best candidates strive to maintain higher instructional standards in the subject. Such appointments are also supported by the rest of the teachers who then do everything possible to improve instructional practices in their subject, thereby immensely benefitting learners. This fits well into the thrust where teachers are expected to lead in areas that match their strengths and are aligned with the school vision (Harris & DeFlaminis, 2016).

The situation at Mazorodze High School was a bit different from the other four schools used in this study, since the History HOD was appointed on affirmative policy grounds. This was revealed by the incumbent (HOD 4):

“When I asked the school head why he settled for me in particular, he clearly explained that it was now national policy to empower women by uplifting those with the requisite qualifications into positions of authority in government institutions. He went on to highlight my sound professional attributes such as seniority, hard work and high academic qualifications. This left me really convinced that despite the presence of equally qualified male staff members in the department, I also merited the appointment.”

The above scenario demonstrates the integral role played by government policies in the appointment of instructional leaders in schools. Interestingly, there is a deliberate effort to only appoint those candidates who meet the competence and skills stipulated in the Provincial Director’s Vacancy Announcement Minute No. 1 of 2011. However, the affirmative policy has a bearing on the fact that where several candidates possess the same credentials, the advantage will be given to a woman among them. According to one teacher (T 1):

“It really makes no difference to have a woman or a man as HOD in History since the thrust is on professionalism. Women are actually better HODs due to their patience with other staff members and they work equally hard for the betterment of the subject.”

The above shows that contrary to some negative perceptions about the competence of women as History HODs, they are also considered as ideal candidates for such posts.

From the empirical evidence above, there are basically four criteria in the selection and appointment of HODs in Zimbabwe. These include work experience, qualifications, outstanding professional attributes, and hard work. In all the five participating schools there is some consistency in the consideration of the four characteristics by the school heads. Although the issues were considered in all the five schools, the importance given to each of them varied from one school to the other.

History HODs' instructional leadership practices

Evidence from this study also revealed that History HODs make use of several instructional leadership practices in order for them to be effective in their supervision duties in their departments. They made use of ministerial guidelines on weekly work coverage, lesson observations and book inspection, team teaching, encouraging, and facilitating the training of History teachers as examiners, participation in subject panels and involvement in the Better Schools Programme in Zimbabwe (BSPZ) activities.

Implementation of the guidelines on weekly work coverage

The respondents all pointed out that the instructional leadership practices of History HODs were guided by the ministerial guidelines on the amount of written work to periodically be given to learners. In 2006, the Ministry of Education released the Director's Circular No. 36 of 2006. This followed countrywide school inspection reports which indicated that generally, the amount of written work administered by teachers to their classes was inadequate. The purpose of the circular was to lay out the minimum expectations for written work in different subjects. Most school heads delegated the HODs to be the key instructional leaders tasked with implementing the ministerial guidelines. According to a school head (H 4):

"The circular provided teachers with the minimum expectations which could be exceeded whenever it is found that the situation on the ground warrants increased pupil activity. The circular reminded teachers to supervise all written work by pupils and such work include class exercises, notes given to pupils by the teacher, notes made by the pupils, tests and assignments as well as diagrams, maps and projects."

History teachers were encouraged to prepare thoroughly for lessons and to use

“charts, pictures, and objects within their school environment, literature from periodicals, magazines, newspapers, drama, songs and external resource persons in order to make lessons more vivid and interesting” (Director’s Circular No. 36 of 2006:1).

Educational trips to relevant historical monuments like Great Zimbabwe and places with rock and cave paintings were also recommended. The circular stipulated the minimum work requirements in History for both junior and senior secondary school pupils as one objective type of written work per week and one essay type question after every two weeks. These minimum requirements could however be exceeded by teachers, and this was one characteristic of an outstanding History teacher. The instructional supervision duties of History HODs meant checking for the syllabus implementation activities of History teachers through lesson observation and book inspection. The duty of the History HODs therefore involved the supervision of the extent to which the History teachers were following the ministerial guidelines on weekly work coverage. One HOD (HOD 3) supported these requirements:

“The circular made our work quite easy as HODs since it clearly stipulated the minimum requirements of written work for History and other subjects. My duty as the HOD was to simply follow up and ensure that the teachers in my department were sticking to the work requirements stipulated in the circular.”

However, HOD 5 reserved the right to differ:

“The problem with some ministerial pronouncements is that they are one-size-fits-all policies which hardly consider the situation on the ground. Some schools have very large classes and teachers are really strained to the limit. The ministerial stipulation for the teacher-pupil ratio is 1:35 but most classes go up to between 50 and 60 pupils. To expect a teacher to frequently give written work to such large classes and mark effectively every week is rather unfair.”

The excerpt above shows the lack of harmony between national instructional leadership expectations and the situation on the ground during implementation since History HODs appear to be facing non-conformity challenges from teachers due to their large classes. Due

to their proximity to the classroom, instructional leaders like HOD 5 are more pragmatic to the extent of sympathizing with the teachers' arduous work requirements.

Lesson observations and book inspection

History HODs were identified as the ones to whom school heads mostly delegate the supervision of History teachers in the schools involved in this study. The HODs conduct lesson observations and document inspection of schemes of work, record of marks and learners' exercise books for the teachers in their departments to try to maintain high instructional standards. In all the five schools sampled for this study, the History HODs checked schemes of work at the beginning of each term and subsequently on a weekly basis for updates and timely evaluation by the teachers. In four schools, the History HODs inspected learners' exercise books once every month while in one school the HOD inspected them twice per term. Detailed reports were supposed to be produced by each History HOD after the lesson supervision visits and exercise books inspection. The History HODs in all the five schools consistently carried out brief post lesson observation conferences with teachers where they discussed the key aspects of the lessons observed. Such aspects include the appropriateness of the methods used during the lessons, the extent of teacher to pupil and learner to learner interaction as well as the extent to which the objectives were achieved. The comprehensive narrative reports produced after such exercises were an oasis of motivation for most teachers as they highlighted the teachers' strengths and weaknesses as well as recommendations on how to improve. A History teacher (T 4) remarked that:

"Our HOD is a very good motivator because every time when he observes me teaching, his main thrust is to emphasize on my strengths before merely 'flying past' my weaknesses. To me, this has been a source of motivation and I always keep his assessment reports neatly in my file as souvenirs. This is because his comments are not damaging but encouraging while the recommendations are more of suggestions on how to deliver effective lessons."

In the same vein, this study discovered that lesson observations, book inspections, and other related activities by the History HODs greatly facilitate the passing on of good practices to junior teachers by the History HODs, thereby professionally developing them. This is done through the comprehensive narrative reports written by the History HODs which they then sit down and discuss with the teachers during the post-observation interviews. The aspects that they pay attention to during supervision include teaching strategies, classroom

management, questioning techniques, learner participation, teacher to learner and learner to learner interaction, use of the chalkboard and other teaching media, teacher's comments, homework for learners, achievement of the lesson objectives, subject mastery by the teacher and general professional attributes. Interestingly, it emerged that during scheduled lesson visits by the administrators at their schools, the majority of History teachers interviewed prefer to be observed by their HODs rather than others within the school's corridors of power. A History teacher (T 5) claimed that:

“Our school occasionally arranges lesson visits by members of the administration including HODs. During such visits, I prefer to be observed by my History HOD. When I get a lesson observation from my HOD, it is different from being observed by other administrators who are usually fault-finding and witch-hunting. Since he is a specialist in my subject area, the HOD observes and gives me genuine feedback which I can benefit from especially going forward. On the other hand, when other administrators observe my lessons, their main thrust is normally to expose my weaknesses.”

A school head (H 5) confirmed thus:

“Teachers at my school seem to prefer being observed by their HODs so I respect their opinions since the HODs are subject specialists and they offer spot-on recommendations to teachers.”

Most History teachers interviewed during this study demonstrated a passionate dislike of having their shortcomings exposed during lesson observations, book inspections and other forms of supervision by school administrators. Nonetheless, this study found that the identification of teachers' weaknesses during supervision exercises actually forms the basis for staff development programmes within and among schools since the aim of teacher professional development (TPD) programmes then becomes to address the observed weaknesses together with other perceived shortcomings. The History HODs are also encouraged to highlight the observed strengths and weaknesses of their teachers during departmental staff meetings without mentioning any names so that the History teachers become aware of the good methods by their colleagues as well as the bad practices to avoid.

This study found that in order to cultivate cordial working relations, the History HODs conduct pre-observation and post-observation discussions with their teachers. One History teacher (T 2) said:

“Before the class visit, my HOD even asks me about the strategies I want to use in the lesson so that in the post-observation discussion he will frankly tell me whether I used the best methods to deliver the lesson. He is very informative and professional.”

The above interview highlights the importance of good rapport between the HOD and the departmental members. Image 1 below is an exemplar of a lesson observation inspection instrument.

<p>CHITEPO HIGH SCHOOL LESSON OBSERVATION INSTRUMENT NAME OF TEACHER.....EC NO..... STATUS: PERMANENT/TEMPORARY CLASS.....NUMBER OF PUPILS..... SUBJECT.....LESSON TOPIC..... PERSONALITY: (INCLUDING DRESS, ATTITUDE, ETC)..... PRESENTATION: (TO INCLUDE C/B WORK, MEDIA, PUPIL ACTIVITIES, METHODS, ETC) CONCLUSION AND WORK GIVEN AS ASSIGNMENT:..... ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES/ AIMS:..... STRENGTHS:..... WEAKNESSES:..... TEACHERS' SIGNATURE: DATE:e..... H.O.D'S SIGNATURE: DATE: SUPERVISOR'S SIGNATURE:DATE: DESIGNATION:</p>
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Image 1: Lesson observation/ inspection instrument

It is important that instructional leaders are experts in their various subjects and that they are able to draft protocols that are subject specific (Jinga, 2016). This is where HODs who are subject specialists become useful. Interestingly, in this study all the five History HODs were highly competent specialists in the subject with at least a first-degree qualification.

Closely related to the lesson observations, the researcher observed that History HODs also carry out routine inspections of exercise books, schemes of work and other records used by the History teachers. During book inspection, the History HODs pay attention to the frequency of written work, marking, comments in learners’ exercise books, appropriateness of the written work, scheme evaluation, recording of learners’ work, as well as whether the teachers were meeting the ministerial work requirements for the subject. These documents also had their own inspection reports which were written on forms almost similar to the ones used for lesson observations. Image 2 below is an exemplar of a Record of Work Inspection Form.

TONGOGARA HIGH SCHOOL	
RECORD OF WORK INSPECTION FORM	
DATE:	
Name of Teacher:	EC Number:
SUBJECT: CLASSES:	
EXPECTED NUMBER OF SCHEMES:	
ACTUAL SCHEMES SUBMITTED.....	
CYCLE NUMBER.....	
EXPECTED QUANTITY OF WORK FOR THE PERIOD.....	
ACTUAL QUANTITY OF WORK GIVEN.....	
ADEQUATE/ INADEQUATE	
OBSERVATIONS.....	
.....	
TEACHER'S SIGNATURE.....	DATE.....
H.O.D'S SIGNATURE.....	DATE.....
SUPERVISOR'S	
SIGNATURE.....	DATE.....
DESIGNATION.....	

Image 2: Record of Work Inspection Form

Team teaching

In all the five schools that took part in the study, History HODs encourage and organize team teaching as a common practice where History teachers at the same school share topics in the same class based on an individual teacher's competence. The HODs actually design rosters which the departmental members follow during team teaching lessons so as to avoid disrupting the school timetables. Team teaching refers to the cooperation between teachers in the same subject in a school in handling certain aspects of their teaching programme by sharing responsibilities (Taruvinga, 1997). For the purpose of achieving positive departmental milestones, teachers need to be able to work together. Spillane (2011) uses the term 'collective leading' to describe a situation where department members collaborate to co-enact particular leadership tasks. This enables teachers to effectively cover most aspects of the syllabus and ensures that learners derive maximum benefits from History lessons. Another form of team teaching discovered during this study is whereby one teacher would teach a lesson while the rest of the departmental teachers were in attendance, contributing to the lesson with comments and additions at the end of the lesson. Team teaching also extended to the collective marking of pupils' written work in the department to reduce the subjectivity by some teachers. During the marking of internal examinations, History teachers at all the five schools practised what was referred to by T 1:

"Different topics were also allocated to teachers based on competence. Even if the class is mine, I can still invite a colleague to come and conduct a lesson on a topic that I may not be comfortable with but which he/she is very good at."

Team teaching appears to be a good way of facilitating staff development among teachers because this encourages the sharing of ideas and resources. Above all, the History teachers admitted that it also facilitates collegiality among teachers, fostering cooperation instead of competition among departmental members. According to HOD 2:

"Team teaching was central in helping History teachers to deal with both the 2166 and 2167 History syllabi since the teachers came together to share experiences and ideas on how to tackle seemingly insurmountable concepts."

According to one History teacher (T 2):

“Team teaching really brought positive results to my pupils since my colleague was able to effectively teach some of the areas I was not so comfortable with.”

Another History teacher (T 4) also strongly supported team teaching thus:

“Since variety is the spice of life, it is always refreshing for pupils to hear a different voice in their History lessons so we regularly do team teaching at our school.”

All the History teachers interviewed in this study unanimously agreed that their HODs took the initiative in encouraging team teaching within their departments.

Training of History teachers as examiners

History HODs also encourage their teachers to be trained as examiners in national examinations. This is spearheaded by the national examinations body, the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (Zimsec), which offers History teachers contracts to mark public examinations during school holidays. History HODs play a crucial role in the training of their colleagues as examiners since the History teachers’ applications are considered on the basis of the recommendations from their HODs. According to one History teacher (T 3):

“Our HOD encourages us to train as History examiners at national level. Training and performing the duties of public examiners helps us in preparing our learners for the gruelling public examinations especially on issues to do with difficult aspects or questions such as part (c) of the History 2167 Syllabus Ordinary Level Papers.”

Teachers also appear to derive motivation and self-actualization due to their added status in the subject once they become public examiners. This came out clearly during the interviews. Another teacher (T 5) said:

“Obviously when one becomes an examiner there are some benefits that come with the responsibility. Apart from the monetary benefits, one also begins to feel more confident in the execution of duties. Other teachers also begin to look up to you with respect and expect some guidance in issues to do with teaching and preparation of learners for public examinations.”

The above sentiments show that such teachers are key sites of instructional leadership since they become leaders in their own right, especially through the assistance they render to other teachers and the cascading of critical information regarding the teaching of the subject. History HODs play pivotal leadership roles in staff development since they recommend teachers to attend training as examiners. These teachers in turn train other teachers, albeit informally, thereby contributing to better instructional practices.

The role of History subject panels

History HODs also work in collaboration with subject panels where History teachers meet periodically to discuss emerging trends in the subject. According to the Director's Circular Minute No. 13 of 2008, the appropriateness of the curriculum should be based on the extent to which it meets individual attributes, the economy, and the needs of society. In an effort to ensure that the curriculum is relevant and appropriate, a participatory approach in both planning and implementation is essential. Accordingly, the participatory approach in curriculum development can be effective through the use of subject panels where HODs are the key participants (Sengai, 2019). The purpose of establishing subject panels is to generate curriculum ideas from a broad spectrum of the teaching fraternity and to achieve national consensus on curriculum goals. Apart from coordinating the subject panels, History HODs also passionately encourage the participation of teachers from their departments in the activities of these key staff development forums.

The Curriculum Development Unit (CDU), which is a centralised curriculum development organ in the country, was tasked to carry out most of its activities through National Subject Panels (NSP). A History teacher (T1) explained thus:

“At subject panels, under the leadership of our History HODs, we usually discuss marking schemes for examination questions, teaching methods as well as the challenging topics where most of our pupils perform poorly in national examinations. The HODs sometimes invite resource persons to come and facilitate at subject panels.”

The challenges that merit consideration at such forums include topics that prove to be challenging for most History teachers, teaching methods/strategies, the minimum expectations of written work in the subject, sharing techniques on dealing with problematic History topics such as controversial issues, and challenging examination questions

like source-based questions and how best to prepare for public examinations. This was supported by another teacher (T 4), thus:

“History subject panels help us as History teachers to congregate and then share ideas on how best to teach our subject and also prepare for national examinations.”

On a brighter note, the History HODs are also exposed to new knowledge during subject panel meetings which they pass on to teachers in their departments through the cascading model of staff development. According to T 5, the HOD helped to unpack seemingly challenging syllabi such as History 2166, which appeared to present the teachers with seemingly insurmountable problems due to their lack of the abstract skills needed during the interpretation of sources:

“After attending History subject panel meetings, the HOD took his time to staff develop all History teachers in the department on how to interpret the syllabus. The HOD helped teachers in interpreting the sources or pictures to the learners as well as other key skills covered by the syllabus such as empathy, imagination, judgement and analysis.”

This shows that the HOD was actually professionally developing History teachers in his department. Some History teachers ended up developing keen interest in the 2166 History syllabus due to the assistance that they got from their HOD. All the other History teachers at the school also benefitted because they got help from the HOD, who particularly helped the teachers in tackling the questions on empathy and imagination. The History teachers ended up appreciating that the History 2166 syllabus was very rich, both in terms of content and the skills it emphasized. T 5 added that:

“Due to the tireless efforts by our HOD who went out of her way to try and help teachers in her department, we ended up appreciating the strengths and possibilities in the 2166 History syllabus. That syllabus was very rich and it produced fully-baked products. The 2166 History syllabus was blessed with a wide range of skills which helped to mould the History learner into a socially useful individual.”

The Better Schools Programme in Zimbabwe (BSPZ) activities

In its pursuit of improved instructional practices, the BSPZ, through the involvement of school-based instructional leaders, introduced the setting of district examinations for all

subjects at secondary school level. In the case of History, these examinations are actually set by HODs and other senior History examiners in the district and are written under strict observation of public examination regulations by all schools in a district. Marking schemes for such examinations are also designed by the History HODs and senior examiners in the district. According to a History teacher (T 2):

“Under the leadership of their HODs, History teachers in the district then gather to discuss and moderate the marking schemes. Examiners in the district are placed in charge of the moderation of marking schemes so as to avoid wide deviations between the markers. After marking the examinations, the best three scripts per school are forwarded to the district for moderation.”

BSPZ also introduced monetary awards for both the outstanding History student and the History teacher with the best overall results in the district. After these examinations, the district sometimes convenes a congress to discuss topical issues and difficult topics identified by History teachers and also reflect on pupils' performance in the examinations. The leading district's History HODs and examiners are then invited to facilitate discussions at seminars, thereby benefiting both teachers and pupils. Interestingly, the BSPZ works closely with the History Subject Panels and HODs in all their activities so as to improve school-based instructional leadership practices. The institutionalisation of district to school-based instructional leadership practices is, however, hampered by challenges associated with running public examinations at district level, such as the shortage of resources coupled with the absence of History subject Education Officers (EO) to spearhead and coordinate the processes.

Discussion

The key finding from this study is that the HODs were the *de facto* school-based instructional leaders (Bush, 2008), overseeing the implementation of the History syllabi. Their degree of involvement determines the success and/or failure of different syllabi (Tapala, 2019; Mpisane, 2015; Bambi, 2012). School heads normally delegate the supervision of History teachers to the HODs who then carry out lesson observations and document inspection on the teachers in their departments so as to try and maintain high instructional standards. Four out of the five History HODs interviewed in this study unanimously felt that the delegation of instructional leadership and managerial duties to them was actually a way of grooming them for higher administrative posts in the school system since their competence would

have been tested and proven. While the fifth HOD in the study did not have ambitions to assume an administrative post in future, she still felt that the assigning of extra managerial duties to her by the school head was procedural since it was part of her job description.

Secondly, the assigning of instructional leadership responsibilities by school heads, as established in this study, has led to the empowerment of History HODs to actively become involved in school-based instructional leadership for their subject. The practice is not just about the actions of individual leaders, but is fundamentally about interactions (Spillane, 2011). This study established that school heads have empowered History HODs to act as their foot soldiers in terms of routine supervision of teachers in classroom activities. This has the positive consequence of spurring History teachers to work harder since HODs are subject specialists who, in most cases, command genuine respect among the teachers (Mpisane, 2015).

Thirdly, this study established that the more rigorous the TPD programmes, the better the improvement in instructional practices in the subject. Since they are in charge of all the academic programmes in their departments, History HODs usually take the opportunity to attend workshops, subject panel meetings, as well as other staff development programmes to represent their departments. This study established that such duties actually give the HODs a chance to be trained in various aspects to do with the subject, thereby empowering them to deal with issues in their subject from an informed position. Resultantly, HODs become very effective in ensuring high quality instructional practices within their schools through the cascading of the issues to their departmental colleagues during departmental staff meetings (Tapala, 2019).

The focal point of HODs should be to assist teachers to engage in activities that have an effect on learners' growth, hence the need for teachers to be developed professionally to ensure effective teaching and learning of the subject (Tapala, 2019). This is what happened during the implementation of the History 2167 syllabus, thereby leading to its success (Sengai & Mokhele, 2021). The most influential instructional leadership practice at school level is promoting teachers' professional development (Blasé & Blasé, 2004). Instructional leadership should not be concerned with teaching and learning only but should also include the TPD which ultimately results in students' growth. Schools should therefore look for opportunities to increase the professional development and job performance of teachers, hence the need to explore the guidance and support teachers are given to enable this development (Tapala, 2019). However, Zimbabwe like most developing countries, has generally failed to demonstrate sufficient enthusiasm towards the establishment of TPD programmes at national level due to the government's failure to generously fund such

initiatives (Sengai & Mokhele, 2021). Despite the challenges, TPD is a key facilitator of the school-based instructional leadership practices, especially for the marginalised subjects like History (Sengai & Mokhele, 2020).

Lastly, this study also established that whilst the school heads set targets for the whole school, departmental goals and targets are set by the HODs in concurrence with the subject teachers. Due to the proximity between the HODs and their teachers in terms of instructional leadership, it becomes easier for them to interact more often in the implementation of the History curriculum. The interpretation of the general school or district targets into workable plans for the History subject teachers is thus the critical ingredient for effective leadership of the subject.

Conclusions and recommendations

This study concluded that it is the duty of History HODs to ensure that the subject is taught properly in the schools. This can in turn yield the implementation of rigorous instructional leadership programmes so as to facilitate improvement in instructional practices in the History classroom. Such instructional practices lead to improved performance by pupils in the subject, both in local and external examinations (Sengai & Mokhele, 2021). History HODs, as instructional leaders, are expected to play a key role in the restoration of the culture of teaching and learning. In light of their increasing administrative and managerial responsibilities in schools, school heads can no longer afford to be seen at the chalk face of instructional leadership (Hayward, 2008). HODs are expected to be the piston in the instructional leadership engine in schools. Their instructional leadership roles need to be grounded in their knowledge and skills, and not simply their prestigious position (Dean, 2002). Being subject and pedagogical experts should be a perennial source of confidence and motivation for HODs. Competent HODs may need the authority and autonomy to 'run with the ball' (Mercer, Barker & Bird, 2010). However, this could be another topic for further research.

The study therefore recommends that instructional leadership practices be more effective and stricter, but friendly at the same time, so as to cultivate respect and trust among the supervisors and supervisees in the subject. The study further recommends increased opportunities for more teacher involvement in TPD roles so as to enhance their participation in curriculum issues at school level, at the district and provincial levels as well as nationally. It is also recommended that the teaching loads of History HODs be further reduced in order for them to be more effective in their instructional leadership roles as well

as in the occasional administrative duties delegated to them by their school heads. The study also recommends the setting up of a BSPZ national coordinator for History to spearhead TPD programmes at the highest level which can be cascaded down to the schools. This will facilitate the improvement of school-based instructional leadership practices since the position should ideally be held by a former History HOD with hands on experience of the challenges and possibilities associated with instructional leadership of the subject starting at grassroots level.

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Teachers Voice

Experiencing teaching history during Work Integrated Learning (WIL) / Teaching Practice during the COVID-19 Pandemic

One aspect of history education that was radically impacted on by COVID-19 was the annual WIL/Teaching Practice undertakings by pre-service history teachers. In this, the July 2021 edition, we have tried to capture some of the experiences of pre-service history teachers related to this key aspect of their professional development. This was done by means of a series of short autoethnographic-like pieces in which prospective history teachers of six southern African universities have shared their experiences.

Mckinley Storm Reekie

University of Pretoria

The History classroom has greatly suffered under the COVID-19 pandemic as many teaching strategies have had to be altered or completely disregarded to accommodate for social distancing rules. This pandemic has shown me how heavily I relied on group work for activities, and it has made me aware of how important group work is in history for learners to not only grasp concepts but enjoy the subject.

Throughout my teaching practical, more challenges became apparent in the history classroom; groupwork was frowned upon, sharing resources between students was prohibited, and the school promoted hybrid learning, which meant that some students were on Zoom and others were physically in class. Hybrid learning became one of the biggest challenges in the classroom as both my mentor teacher and I had to prepare our history lessons to accommodate for learners in class and online, thus making any creative lessons quite hard to implement and incredibly time-consuming. Due to these lessons being difficult to implement, I found that the history teachers often opted to just read through the textbooks with the young learners and then asked them to do the activity that followed. This type of teaching method discourages students and promotes parrot-learning. I overcame this challenge by creating Kahoot! quizzes and a history bingo game to stimulate the learners. Learners online and in class could participate and it encouraged learners to pay attention to what was being taught. The response to these activities was heartening

and resulted in satisfying marks on their history cycle tests. Thus, I would advocate for the teaching method of gamification in the history classroom because it makes the lesson more enjoyable for the learners.

Furthermore, the pandemic highlighted the technological gap between well-off schools and poorer schools, which influences the way in which learners are able to learn history. The school I attended for my practical was a well-off school and every learner had access to a device, which made teaching history easier as the teacher could share sources on Google classroom and every learner would have access to these sources. One of the social science teachers came into contact with a Covid-positive person; however, this did not hinder their lesson as they were still able to teach via Zoom and give activities on Google classroom. With the increasing demand for technology in schools, due to the pandemic, I have seen the benefits of integrating technology into the history curriculum as technology can be used to give access to sources and examine them as well, which has increased the learners' understanding of content as they have interacted more closely with sources. Thus, I found that the integration of technology into the curriculum was not only beneficial in the history classroom but in most subjects.

Therefore, in the history classroom, groupwork was marginalised by integrating more technology into the curriculum and thus keeping the social distancing protocols in place to prevent the spread of Covid, while still keeping the subject interesting and interactive. My attitude has changed towards teaching history as I have had to come up with activities and lessons to accommodate for COVID-19 protocols which has given me a greater respect to teachers who have been doing this since the beginning of the pandemic and who have been keeping the learners eager to learn.

Nondumiso Ngcobo

University of KwaZulu-Natal

As part of my training, I did my first teaching practice at a secondary school in Mpumalanga Township, Hammarsdale. I taught history classes to Grades 10 and 11. Since we are in the time of COVID-19, my experience of teaching history had so many challenges. However, I also adjusted and did the best I could to make the experience worthwhile.

The school strictly followed all the COVID-19 protocols placed by the government regarding how the institution should function and the number of learners allowed per classroom. The learners were divided into small groups and attended according to shifts

based on their group timetables. However, teaching during a period of COVID-19 was still risky. The learners seemed tired of wearing masks and sticking to COVID-19 protocols. I also struggled to speak for long under my mask, and the learners would also complain that they could not hear me properly. I had to change from wearing a mask to a face shield which is less effective against COVID-19.

Since the history class had huge numbers, the rule of alternating attendance became a challenge for me because I ended up with multiple history classes that I had to teach. This meant that I had to repeat the same thing in almost all the classes that I took, which was an exhausting, time-consuming, and even boring, experience. Curriculum coverage was impacted negatively as the teaching practice time was rather short. This was made worse when my mentor gave me a Grade 11 class that had just moved from agriculture to the history class, meaning that they had no strong background in history.

Unfortunately, the school already had limited learning resources, partly because of lack of funding and also because of recurrent vandalism from outside gangs and thieves who steal textbooks, stationery and even laptops. Preparation for teaching history was challenging since it required a lot of reading, yet access to my university library was limited because of COVID-19 restrictions. I was unable to print notes for the learners because the school did not have enough stationery. Learners did not have personal textbooks and had to share. As a result, most of my history lessons were teacher-centred which required me to do a lot of talking while learners just sit and listen.

In spite of all these challenges, I noticed that I conscientised the learners about the value of history, as was shown by their curiosity and from the kind of questions that they asked in class. This was a positive experience for me in the history classroom. I left teaching practice having learnt about classroom and time management, how to do some of the paperwork, how to create worksheets and other tasks and how to assess following different cognitive levels. These are lessons that I will take with me even after COVID-19.

Zintle Dlungwana

University of KwaZulu-Natal

During the COVID-19 pandemic, which has led to many disruptions and deaths across the country, I had to do my teaching practice. I had both negative and positive experiences in the history classroom. It was also an experience in which I learned from my history learners, other teachers, and even support staff at the school. I also realized how the community in

which the school is based plays a large role on how the school operates.

I did my teaching practice in a senior secondary school. I had not visited the area, let alone the school itself, before. My first impression of the school was that it was quite neat and inviting, with flowers and plants in front of the classrooms. However, I quickly picked up evidence of learner indiscipline, as they were outside the classrooms during teaching hours. This was confirmed throughout my experience as the learners came to school late and over half of them did not attend the assembly prayer in the morning. Furthermore, there were a lot of cases of learner sickness in this school, including paranormal cases of some learners seeing things, screaming, and running away. All these problems, in addition to the COVID-19 situation, left me terrified and overwhelmed. However, the teachers – especially my mentor history teacher – were very nice and friendly to me, and they treated me like one of their own. The measures that were in place in response to COVID-19 were that before you were able to enter the gate you had to be screened to check your temperature and sanitize your hands. You also could not enter the gate without a face mask this – this was compulsory and very strict. Life did not continue as usual.

The school lacked teaching resources, particularly ICT. This made teaching very difficult, but I understood that the school was based in a rural area plagued by poverty and poor infrastructure, leading to learner underachievement. I accepted the challenge to improve learning in this school and to encourage learners to fall in love with history, just like myself. I was given Grade 10s, who were doing the French Revolution, and a Grade 11 class. The classes were full and on rotation. Monday it was Grade 10 then Tuesday Grade 11. Only Grade 12 came to school every day. I think this was a good idea in response to COVID-19, as learners did not come to school simultaneously to avoid the spread of the virus. I used methods such as class discussions, debates, and question and answer sessions. The resources I mainly used were pictures, charts, and the textbook, and I tried to be creative especially for visual learners. Implementing these methods and resources during COVID-19 was very difficult. For example, social distancing and the fact that learners were wearing masks made it very difficult to hold successful debates. Some students also made noise, and it was very difficult to identify where the distractions were coming from. Overall, it was very fulfilling to see my learners excited when I entered the classroom, such that some even asked that I do extra history classes, as they understood what I was teaching. I took this as evidence of the fact that the learners were falling in love with the subject. These are the positive experiences I had because even when I gave the learners tasks and tests, they passed impressively, showing that learning had taken place.

I also had bad experiences linked to COVID-19. Some learners in my history class were

very chaotic because they were wearing masks and knew that it was not easy to recognize them. It was also very hard to practice methods such as role play, since we had to avoid the spread of the virus. We also could not go to the computer lab to explore extra information or search for alternative explanations to what learners found difficult to understand. My own role as a researcher and scholar was also affected by the COVID-19 protocols, as I could not go to archives, and did not feel safe to be in the public libraries in search for more information.

To sum up my experiences of teaching practice experience, I experienced some negative issues as a result of COVID-19, and these compounded the already-existing issues in the school. However, I learnt so much from teaching real kids, and interacting with teachers, the principal, and the school environment as a whole.

Palesa Nqana

Sol Plaatje University

Since the outbreak of COVID-19 a lot has changed: many have been forced to adapt to the new culture of doing things, especially in the academic space. This brought many challenges to the teaching and learning process, in particular, in relation to emergency remote learning being introduced in universities.

Doing history in the time of COVID-19 has been extremely challenging, as it took away the opportunity for me to be the best history educator I can be, but it also opened-up room for improvement for me as a teacher. As the quote says, “where there’s a problem, there’s always a solution”. We were now forced to adapt, and must create new strategies of learning and teaching, because COVID-19 is now our new norm – the chances of things returning to how they were before seems to decrease with each passing day. Teaching history has been impacted a lot by the COVID-19 situation. History lessons are full of engagement, where we would have very meaningful class discussions that add to or advances the knowledge of an aspiring history teacher, but under the COVID-19 rules this has changed completely. We have had to move from traditional contact lessons to online lessons, which became quite challenging for me, as I love engaging in lessons. I prefer to ask if there is something I do not understand and contribute my input where I feel it’s necessary. With online lessons, this became more challenging, as strictly-timed lessons and technical issues limited us.

As much as COVID-19 has brought challenges to the teaching and learning of history, it has also brought us opportunities or ways in which we can improve. For instance, it has

helped teachers and learners to quickly familiarise themselves with remote teaching and learning, something that would be of necessity in the near future. COVID-19 has forced teaching and learning to be done remotely, which has allowed learners and students to maintain and still have access to learning materials and extra help thanks to online platforms such as televisions, telephones, and video conferencing, where they can easily engage with others to enhance their knowledge in the subject.

The current predicament has highlighted the need for schools and universities to adopt the improved, modern ways of teaching and learning, in order to ensure that each and every learner is able to get the best out of History, preparing both teachers and learners for the 4th industrial revolution as far as academics are concerned.

Dylan Muller

Sol Plaatje University

To say that the COVID-19 pandemic has had an impact on education would, quite possibly, be the understatement of the century. Teachers have had to adapt in ways which they may never have even considered, and student teachers, such as myself, and many others, have not been spared from the same challenges. Adaptation has been the key focus over the last year and a half, and for a subject such as history, adapting has proven to be a bigger challenge than I could have ever expected. History is a subject that relies quite heavily on engagement, and in a period in our history where face-to-face engagement has been limited, I, personally, have found teaching the subject to be quite challenging.

Earlier in the year I had the opportunity to physically go to schools for the purpose of observing classes. However, I was presented with the opportunity to teach several history classes ranging from Grade 9 to 11 and this was a good, albeit short, experience. This too, unfortunately, was not without its own challenges. Due to social distancing protocols, learners would come to school on alternating days. As a result of limited teaching and learning time, and the fact that the school did not want student teachers to use up “valuable time”, I often found it impossible to completely work through a specific unit. This was extremely disappointing, as I wanted to test my own limits as a teacher and my ability to adapt to difficult circumstances.

Following this short stint at school earlier in the year, another school visit, with the sole focus on presenting lessons in real classroom environments, was planned. However, due to COVID-19, this had to be cancelled. To take its place, we were required to present “virtual

lessons” in which we record ourselves presenting a lesson to an imaginary class and for someone majoring in history. I found this to be hugely disappointing. During the planning and presenting of my virtual history lessons, I oftentimes found it difficult to stay positive, as I felt that this was not what history teaching was supposed to be. Teaching a laptop screen just did not provide the experience I was looking for, as I had no learners to engage with, no learners to answer questions or to ask me questions, and no one to provide their own points of view or spark a healthy debate. The very essence of what history education is about was missing, and this proved to be a challenge which I found difficult to work through.

Ultimately, I have always maintained that a good teacher should be able to adapt to any situation which is thrown at them, and I reminded myself of this to try and present the best virtual history lessons I could. My hope is that sometime soon I will have the opportunity to get back into physical classrooms so that I may experience the true essence of history education.

Mlindi Manqina

University of Johannesburg

Teaching and learning during the COVID-19 pandemic is far from normal. When I was doing my WIL, I had to quickly learn to adapt to the new normal, as frustrating as it was. The first challenge was realising how much content the learners have missed in the previous year during lockdown. I found that the school had closed in March and only opened later in the year, and that they had no online programs, as it could not afford to have them. This then made it hard to introduce new content, as I would have to always go back to the previous year’s content and try to catch the learners up. In Grade 10, conducting a lesson about the French Revolution meant that I would also need to go back to Grade 9 content to explain concepts like democracy, or summarising a Nazi Germany unit because I wanted the learners to be able to effectively see different systems of government. For Grade 11, as we were dealing with Capitalism in the USA, I realised that the basics of what capitalism is have been missed, and I had to incorporate Grade 10 knowledge. This was very hard for me because, when planning lessons, I would have to also incorporate things from the previous grade just to give learners context.

The other challenge was that the school was operating in a rotational schedule to minimise the number of learners that come to school. This meant that classes were divided into two and each group was given a set of days to attend school. This was very frustrating

for me as progress was slow. I had to teach the same lesson more than once. The skipping of days also made it very hard to track progress, because learners would forget what they did two days ago when they last came to school. To mitigate the risk of having learners using the “off day” as a holiday, I would give them extra work to have them use the day productively. This was a good idea, but practically, it did not work. That is because the school is in an informal settlement, and I quickly learnt that the socio-economic environment that most of the learners live in is not conducive to learning. This challenge meant that it would take a week for me to get through content that would normally take two days.

Furthermore, group activities had to be minimalised. History is characterised by allowing learners to debate and voice their opinions, so I had to adapt the way I conduct discussions. To try and obey COVID-19 protocols, I would have the learners discuss with learners who were seated at the desk next to theirs. This allowed learners to engage with each other without infringing COVID-19 restrictions. This resulted in the class being a little noisy during these discussions because of the distance between learners, and because the learners had to raise their voice, as they could not hear each other with the masks on. As frustrating as the noise was, this was the only safe way that debates and discussions could take place. It was obvious then that group works would be very hard to coordinate. This was troubling for me because, through my course, I have learnt that learners also learn from each other. Finding alternative ways to coordinate group works then meant that I would have to rearrange the desks to form a group circle. All learners would sit at their own desk in the circle and complete the task that was given.

Thulo Atang

National University of Lesotho

There have been a number of constraints when doing teaching practice during the COVID-19 pandemic. Education faced a lot of challenges as a result of the abnormalities brought on by the pandemic. But the Covid-19 pandemic has not only impacted education – our entire lives have been impacted by this pandemic. The purpose of this contribution is to discuss my experiences of teaching history during Teaching Practice in Lesotho.

On one hand, there was an issue of lack of resources. In addition to the difficulties brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic, the Lesotho government had introduced an integrated curriculum, the response to which was very problematic. There were no teaching aids, such as textbooks and other ICT facilities, and the government used Covid-19 as an

excuse to not address that problem. As a result, the learners depended heavily on the teachers. In addition, if the teacher recommended that students use the internet as a source of information, many lacked funds to buy data. The teacher consequently became the sole source of information. Indeed, the lacking resource availability hindered the teaching of history, as the recommended learner-centred approaches were difficult to employ.

To avoid the spread of Covid19, other creative teaching methods were not employed in the teaching of History. For the effective teaching and learning of history, different teaching approaches should be employed within a lesson, however, during the pandemic, feasible teaching methods were limited, and often facilitated teacher-centred as opposed to learner-centred approaches. For example, group discussions, where learners will learn from each other, were prohibited in an attempt to minimise contact and reduce the spread of COVID-19 virus.

Field trips were also prohibited. Field trips are highly recommended in the teaching and learning of history, as the learners are able to make sense of what they learned in the classroom, seeing and experiencing history, as opposed to only listening to stories of the past. Covid-19 has limited or removed this as an option. For example, when teaching learners about San and Khoikhoi, the expectation is that the teacher will organise a field trip where learners will visit the caves where the San paintings are found. However, due to COVID-19, fieldtrips are totally prohibited.

In the teaching and learning of history it is of great importance for the teacher to know the learners by name. During the Covid-19 pandemic, this was very difficult, as learners come to school on alternating days so as to limit the number of learners in class. For example, where I conducted my teaching practice, the Grade 8 learners interchanged with the Grade 9 learners, further compounding this issue. When learners realised that their teacher did not know their names, they became demotivated, and lost interest in the subject, as they assumed that their teacher did not care about them, which was not the case.

On the other hand, teaching smaller groups of learners was advantageous, as the teacher was in the position to know the strength and the weaknesses of all learners. That enabled the teacher to employ different teaching approaches in the teaching of history to best suit the individual learner. The smaller numbers of learners in the class also enabled the teacher to create enough time for all the learners, and made the classroom experience more manageable

In conclusion, the challenges of teaching history during the COVID-19 pandemic include the lack of resources, restrictions on other teaching strategies, absence of field trips, and an increased difficulty for to get to know their learners by name, which can be

demotivating for learners. However, by limiting the number of students in a classroom to avoid the spread of Covid-19, teachers are able to bond with and get to know the learners on a one-to-one basis. COVID-19 compels innovation and creativity because, at the end of the day, teaching and learning of the History subject must continue.

Rasoeu Rakoa

National University of Lesotho

In Lesotho, every year hundreds of student teachers descend on schools for a few weeks of practical exposure in the classroom. They observe, prepare, and teach lessons, and are mentored by teachers. This period is a highlight of their degree, as they find themselves experiencing first-hand the fulfilment and challenges of being a member of the profession. Some months into the pandemic, schools started to open gradually, and student teachers were permitted to enter schools.

Theories of teaching and learning had to take on a new shape, and new questions challenged me as the student teacher. For example, history is a very debatable subject, but collaborative learning was not easy to arrange under conditions of social distancing. The masked situation also changed concerns about classroom distractions, and learners' excitement for learning could not be relied on in an atmosphere of anxiety.

Over and above the challenges of history classroom teaching, I had to face the reality that teachers did not have time to give me much advice, and the school meetings were minimal and even the staffroom was empty because of the limited numbers of people that can gather in any given space. History teachers were working hard to complete the curriculum as well as provide learners with support for well-being and mental health.

During my time as a history student teacher, I saw many challenges that I believed were brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic. The fact that learners spent almost a year at home because of the lockdowns made them more relaxed, but they came back not understanding English and it was difficult for them to respond to some of the topics we dealt with from the historical subject. One learner, for example, would raise a hand as a sign of giving a response, but to fail to express him/herself using English.

Moving on, the other issue was the one of fear. Some classes were packed in such a way that you would find 40-45 learners in a class, and I was concerned about the circulation of COVID-19, and even afraid that it might affect me. Sometimes I would avoid giving a lot of classwork as a form of assessment, because I was scared that handling their books may

expose me to greater risk.

In addition, in a classroom where the teacher moves around, the teacher can retain a certain amount of order. Due to the pandemic this was not allowed, and students became more relaxed, often losing focus. Some of the experiments in class required a learner assistant, but that was also not possible due to the fear of possibly spreading Covid-19. The fact that I refrained from touching anything in the classroom also shows how uneasy I was in delivering my content.

In closing, the school management and other teachers did welcome me warmly. The learners were also cooperative and respectful. They honoured my presence from the first day to the last. That made me feel proud my profession.



BOOK REVIEWS

Thomas Muir: Lad O Pairts The life and work of Sir Thomas Muir (1844-1934), Mathematician and Cape Colonial Educationist

ISBN: 978-1-920704-82-7

Cantaloup Press, France

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The book provides insights into the life journey of Sir Thomas Muir, his hard work, achievements as a mathematician, as well his dedication and determination in the Cape Colony. Sir Thomas Muir played a pivotal role in the Cape education system and eventually became one of the world's renowned mathematician. The era between 1800-1900, the Cape Colony was characterized by racially segregated amenities and institutions socially, economically and politically. Racial disparities played out on the education front. Resource allocation was largely informed by racial classification. White minority fairly benefitted from the unequal education system amid uneven distribution of resources. The majority of people were farmers and small-scale merchants. The mission of the Cape Colony at the time was to empower white minority educationally and economically.

Thomas Muir: Lad O Pairts, the life and work of Sir Thomas Muir (1844-1934), mathematician and Cape Colonial Educationist, was released in 2021 in two formats namely: An interactive e-book and a hard cover. The review will therefore focus on the structure and layout of the book and navigate the chapters in order to determine among other things, the extent to which visuals were able to capture the interest of the readers.

The book is presented according to different stages of Sir Thomas Muir's life which features the journeys he had undertaken as a mathematician and educationist in the Cape Colony. The opening chapter of the book covers the greater part of his early life and how he

navigated his world of existence through various episodes that finally led to his greatness. One considers this as the most critical part of the book, where the reader is provided with the genesis of the story so they can easily keep track of unfolding events in the entire book. The chapter details Muir's humble beginnings in Scotland where he grew up and the challenges he faced. However, the strategies he devised in order to mitigate his hardships, have not been sufficiently discussed. Taking the reader through the complexities of Muir's early life, would have been welcome. The second stage of the book is premised on his career as an educationist in the Cape Colony. Muir brought about reforms in the education space both as an educationist and mathematician. The following quotation clearly attests to that: *'There is one surviving record of Muir, the teacher, dating back to period only matter of months after he took up the reins of his high office in the Cape Colony. We gain some impression of his qualities as a teacher from his accounts of his visits to the convent in King Williams Town, Eastern Cape, on 8th of November 1892(p22...).'*

One of Muir's most remarkable contributions as an educationist and mathematician in the Cape Colony, was to effect some changes on the education system. *'In a colony with a predominantly conservative rural population, Muir had to pursue a policy of evolution rather than revolution (p25...).* *Muir's work on planning the reform of the School system resulted in a number of education bills which one of them was through the School board act of 1905(p28)'* Muir's wealth of teaching experience accumulated while in Scotland, enabled him to maintain a long and tactful planning in an endeavour to achieve educational goals that he had already set himself. He was the brain behind the architecture and state of the art of some school buildings within the Cape Colony. Rondebosch High School is one such school. The inclusion of visuals and photographs in this part of the book, paints a clear picture of his mammoth contribution to education.

Navigating through the chapters of the book has been made easier by the thematic guidelines provided. In the first chapter the writer details Sir Thomas Muir's early life in Scotland where he grew up. The genesis of his passion for a teaching profession and the odds he fought against in order to achieve greatness as a Cape colonial educationist and mathematician. Furthermore, the themes also provide insights into his family life, values and principles that he subscribed to. *'By a deed of gift, drawn up in 1920, Muir bequeathed his mathematical serials and books to the South African public library. He was a huge enthusiast of mathematical journals, which he felt encouraged and promoted original investigation. He said that they keep alive young students of mathematical journals in every University in town (p89...).'*

The visuals make better sense of the book from the family photos to the School

buildings as well as the tours he undertook. Muir learnt a lot from his travels and that helped him broaden his horizons. He also got the opportunity to interact with people from different backgrounds. Music was also one of his passions. *'Muir was also an enthusiastic singer himself, combining song with liberal quantities of alcohol (p.71)'*. The book succeeds in capturing the essence of Sir Thomas Muir's history and how he managed to reach the pinnacle of his success as an educationist in general and mathematician in particular.

The book comes across as a life story of shared memories of Sir Thomas Muir both in academic and historical contexts. It also provides incisive accounts on the tours that Muir undertook and the people he came into contact with. The practical lessons learnt from such interactions were covered extensively across themes in various chapters. It presents itself as a viable source primarily for researchers, academics, teachers and learners who are keen on tapping into the history of academic excellence in various fields of expertise. It would also be a valuable asset to schools, community, college and university libraries both locally and internationally.

Although the book did not say much about the reforms of the mixed race and blacks in the Cape Colony, it would have been more interesting to get a sense of how they would have been impacted by these reforms. A multi-perspective approach would have served the purpose in that regard.

Portraits of Survival – Volume 1: The Holocaust

South African Holocaust & Genocide Foundation (2021)

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The recent online publication by the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation (SAHGF), *Portraits of Survival Volume 1: The Holocaust* is a digital record of the experiences of thirty-four of Holocaust survivors who found refuge in South Africa. It documents their lives prior to the Holocaust, their experiences during the Holocaust, and their struggles and triumphs in rebuilding their lives in South Africa in the aftermath of the Holocaust.

For those readers who may be unfamiliar with Holocaust history, the Holocaust took place between 1933 and 1945 when the Nazis under Adolf Hitler and their collaborators co-ordinated and systematically carried out the state-sponsored murder of six million European Jews, as well as the Roma and Sinti, Black people, Jehovah's Witnesses, political prisoners, members of the LGBTQIA+ community, and ill or disabled people. However, the Jews were the primary target. The Nazis wished to annihilate them and came up with a plan that they called the Final Solution. The Holocaust wrought fear, trauma and havoc on European Jewry and many Jewish communities were decimated. Those people who survived faced further trauma as they tried to navigate their way forward after liberation, with many having lost their homes, families and friends, assets, and even the countries of their birth. Their plight also culminated in health issues to which many of them succumbed. One of the options to begin life anew was to travel abroad and this volume relates the stories of Jewish Holocaust survivors who came and settled in South Africa.

As the book reveals, from the depths of this tragedy have come lessons, reflection and connection and this is, in part, the purpose of *Portraits of Survival Volume 1: The Holocaust*. Peering back into the not-so-distant past through the lens personal stories of these South African Holocaust survivors, future generations of all races and religions are encouraged to move beyond the number six million and to understand that this number is not unitary. It is made up of ones – single people, single families and single communities. Also, as Stephen Smith, Executive Director of the University of Southern California's (USC) Shoah

Foundation notes in the foreword, 'each story in this volume is also a story of survival that was enabled through connection and friendship' (p. 6). The power of community and family to sustain the survivors, both then and now, is attested to in many of the personal stories. The book's other purpose is to serve as a store of memory.

Portraits of Survival Volume 1: The Holocaust was released online in early 2021 in three formats: as an interactive e-book; as an epub for Apple users; and as a .pdf. A hardcover version is to follow. The advantage of reading the book online is that the technology used enables the reader to take advantage of the magic of digital manipulation, which I will discuss later in the review. Also, the book being available on the websites of the three South African Holocaust centres, provides access to a wider audience. Shortly after the release of Volume 1, *Portraits of Survival Volume 11: The genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda* was also released – again online – and I will cover this book in a separate review.

Before delving into the aims, assumptions, insights and conclusions that the book offers, I will briefly examine the structure of the book and why it is presented this way.

There are numerous ways in which narratives and testimonies of survivors have been chronicled, such as books, podcasts, videos and on websites. For example, individual survivor stories are told as part of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's (USHMM) 'Behind Every Name there's a Story' project on their website. However, this format was not an option for the SAHGF as it does not have its own website; rather, each museum has its own website. The stories of the survivors from each region were therefore brought together in this publication. The format of the narratives is, nonetheless, similar to the USHMM's with the narrative texts enhanced by images.

In terms of its place in the broader body of similar works, *Portraits of Survival Volume 1: The Holocaust* (2021) is produced in the tradition of books such as *Survivor: A portrait of the survivors of the Holocaust* (Borden, 2017) and *Written in memory: Portraits of the Holocaust* (Wolin, 1997). Borden's (2017) book focuses on contemporary photographs of survivors, accompanied by a few written thoughts or memories. At the end of the book, there is a short biography of each of the photographed survivors. *Written in memory: Portraits of the Holocaust* (Wolin, 1997) also focuses on the visual, with the words of Holocaust survivors being imprinted on the images. Written narratives of Holocaust survivors can be found in *We must not forget: Holocaust stories of survival and resistance* (Hopkinson, 2021). In the latter, the stories of Holocaust survivors are first presented in the form of very short vignettes and then more broadly integrated into the wider history of the Holocaust as a historical text.

Portraits of Survival Volume 1: The Holocaust (2021) opens with a poignant foreword

by Stephen Smith which sets a reverential but informal tone. To contextualise the stories, the foreword is followed by a precis of events of the Holocaust for readers who might not be familiar with it. The stories, which comprise the body of the book, are divided into four themes and neatly echo the layout of the local Holocaust museums.

The first seven stories in the section titled 'Seeking Refuge' detail the experiences of survivors who sought refuge in South Africa during the early stages of the Holocaust when escape was difficult and dangerous but still possible, albeit limited by immigration quotas for Jews worldwide. The editorial on page 12 notes that in 1930, prior to the outbreak of World War II, 3 621 German Jews were allowed to enter South Africa but, by 1937, during the height of the Final Solution and transports to the death camps, only 220 Jewish immigrants were able to enter the country. Claire Lampel (p. 13) and Martha Levi (p. 19) were amongst the group of travellers who arrived on the liner, the *SS Stuttgart*. Gerde Goedecke (p. 34), on the other hand, undertook a circuitous journey through various European countries before settling in South Africa. While the stories are all very different in texture, the narratives in this section speak particularly to the trauma that the survivors faced when leaving their families behind and how they established new lives in South Africa.

In the challenging second section, 'Life & Death in the Shadow of the Holocaust', which consists of ten vignettes, the survivors describe their harrowing experiences in ghettos, concentration camps and killing centres such as Auschwitz. For Ella Blumenthal (p. 63), life in the Warsaw Ghetto was marked by starvation, malnutrition and disease. She describes how she and her sister, Roma, 'endured horrific experiences in Majdanek while working as "human horses"' (p. 67), being sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau to build roads, and finally being taken to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp where they were ultimately liberated. The survivors share their memories of the traumatic experiences. They do so in a factual and un-sensationalised manner, yet their horrifying accounts expose the reality of their situations – starvation, disease, terror, and trauma. The writer of Judy Diamond (nee Riff)'s story (p. 83), for example, relates:

Judy remembered the children's dormitory rooms filled with three-tier bunk beds so as to squeeze 32 children into a single room. She endured terrible suffering in the children's home. Illness was rampant, in particular typhus, and she was sick much of the time; their food rations were almost inedible and wholly insufficient. (p. 88).

Judy was 13 years old when she arrived at Theresienstadt ghetto.

Those living under these circumstances realised that there was no escape from this world in which Jews were dehumanised, tortured, and murdered on a daily basis and denied basic human rights. Even today, the telling of their experiences remains a difficult

task for many, such as Ervin Schlesinger (p. 90) who confessed that he remained silent for many years after the Holocaust as he found it very difficult to tell even his children about what he had endured. But as guides at the various Holocaust centres, some of the South African Holocaust survivors, share their stories with thousands of learners annually. For these guides, contributing to furthering an understanding of racism, discrimination and ultimately genocide provides meaning for them. Unfortunately, stories of pain, trauma, and loss through the horror of genocide are not unique to the Holocaust, a fact shown all too clearly in Volume II about the post-Holocaust genocide in Rwanda.

Changing the theme from death, darkness and destruction to that of hope and resilience are the next sections, 'Kindness and Courage' (nine stories) and 'Honouring the Past' (eight stories). 'Kindness and Courage' chronicles the survivors' encounters with people from various nationalities and religions who reached out to them, enabling them to survive. The rescuers hid or adopted Jewish children, smuggled people across dangerous borders with forged documents, defied the Nazis by producing anti-Nazi newspapers, bombed railway lines, generally exhibited civil disobedience at the risk of their own lives, or committed acts of bravery, such as taking part in acts of resistance. Illustrating one such instance is the story of Irene Groll (nee Kayem) (p. 126). She was rescued by a French family and her narrative account details how she found herself transformed from a Jewish German girl to a non-Jewish French one by her rescuers and the consequences of that decision on the rest of her life.

Finally, the fourth section, Honouring the Past, directs the reader to examine themes of renewal, perseverance and bearing witness, themes that document the manner in which many of the survivors chose to define their post-war lives. Giuseppe Cone, for example, despite his traumatic experiences, chose not to live the rest of his life as a victim, instead choosing 'optimism and resilience' (p. 189), thereby honouring his past. This is also true of Irene Klaas (p. 191), who did not to speak of her personal experiences during the Holocaust for forty years because she did not want people to pity her – she simply wanted to be 'like everybody else' (p. 196) while Pinchas Gutter (p. 229) found meaning in sharing his story for the purpose of 'improving humanity' (p. 230). Revenge was not on the minds of the survivors in this volume. They were too busy forging new lives and building new families in their post-war endeavours. Yet the past lingers and for some survivors, regret, longing, pain and unfinished business is also part of their ongoing Holocaust journeys, as Carmela Heilbron's story (p. 223) illustrates.

For many readers, their first instinct on opening the book might be to navigate the stories of people that they know personally or about whom they have heard, as I did. Some

portraits are relatively short and succinct, while others offer an in-depth exploration of the survivors' lived experiences.

The four category headings provide thematic guidelines as to the nature of the stories in each section. Furthermore, to assist readers to find key words or phrases, an editorial device is used whereby some of the text is highlighted in bold and in colour. This is attention-grabbing, which is useful for a reader browsing through the book, but ultimately, I found them somewhat distracting when I was trying to scan for other themes.

Also, while the four category headings certainly describe one aspect of the stories, because of the complex, diverse nature of the survivors' personal experiences, even when they experienced the same event, results in a great deal of cross-pollination of themes, making classification difficult. For example, Giuseppe Cone's story relates his traumatic experiences at Auschwitz (p. 186). Yet his story has been placed under the heading 'Honouring the Past' because of his 'huge propensity for positivity' (p. 189). This web of interconnected, cross-story themes makes categorisation difficult, so an index at the end of the book might assist researchers or students looking for particular themes. Also, there could be a final rounding off chapter as, for me, the book ended quite abruptly.

For me, some of the other themes that resonated throughout the book included: the advantage of having family members, friends or fellow travellers as a means of survival; the power of the desire to live; the sense of a lucky escape; and the deep insight gained by the survivors into the meaning of the lives in the shadow of the Holocaust.

The narrative of each story is supported by photographs illustrating events from the storytellers' lives. Many of the vignettes begin with a childhood photograph of the protagonists and end with a present-day one, often with the survivor surrounded by family, which almost serves as a moment of triumph. As in the museum experience, the accompanying photographs are linked to the theme of the text, but the book's portraits allow the reader to delve into the survivors' personal lived experiences in greater depth.

In addition to the interesting narrative text, the book is visually engaging. Original black and white images often appear to be frozen in time but some of the photographs are given a special colour treatment to bring the narrative to 'life' and draw them into the present. Readers of the digital version can switch between the treated and untreated images. This juxtaposition of past and present, digital versus old-school images, adds further depth to the texture of the narratives. Instructions on how to work with the images are clear, as are the narrative explanations in the images, captions and credits.

Through these deeply personal narratives, this volume draws together themes and images that highlight the complexity of Jewish experience during the Holocaust and are

part of the greater body of recorded Holocaust survivor narratives that contribute to teaching and learning about the Holocaust. For many of the narrators, the goal of revealing their intimate and painful experiences is not simply to relate what happened to them but to seek catharsis (Kearney, 2007:61), record their stories for posterity, honour those who perished or give greater social meaning to their experiences. As Donald Kraus's portrait reveals:

Don believed that, as a survivor, he was obligated not to forget, to bear witness, and to testify to what he saw and experienced. 'We and we alone know what really happened; it is we who must speak for those millions of men, women and children who are no more and whose voices will never be heard again.' (p. 202)

On this and many other levels, the book succeeds. The narratives, intertwined with historical first-hand accounts, peel back the layers of the personal lived experiences of the Holocaust survivors who came to live in South Africa.

However, despite my deep interest in the topic, fatigue eventually set in and the weight of the stories sometimes became overwhelming the further I delved into the book. This is not a book to be read from cover to cover as you would with a novel. While the reader wants nothing more than to linger and empathise with each storyteller, simply reading from story to story can be challenging. With thirty-four portraits to choose from, reading a few vignettes at a time might be easier than trying to read through the book from cover to cover as I did. It is understandable that the editors wanted to include as many stories as possible – each is a unique record of the Holocaust survivors' experiences from across South Africa – and which could be omitted?

Portraits of Survival Volume 1: The Holocaust provides a South African perspective of Holocaust history through the lens of the wide-ranging, personal lived experiences of Holocaust survivors who came to South Africa. As I ventured through the book, it felt like I was turning the pages of a family album with the storyteller standing next to me and guiding me through what had happened to them during Holocaust and beyond. This volume is like a family or community album of shared memories rather than an academic, historical text. Yet it provides a rich primary source for learners, teachers and researchers and is a valuable addition to the libraries of the local Holocaust museums as well as contributing to the now vast collection of Holocaust personal stories and testimonies worldwide.

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CHILDREN OF HOPE: The Odyssey of the Oromo Slaves from Ethiopia to South Africa

ISBN: 978 1 77582 276 9

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The book titled *Children of Hope: The Odyssey of the Oromo Slaves from Ethiopia to South Africa*, explores and sheds some light on the experiences of the sixty-four Oromo slaves who were taken from Ethiopia to South Africa. The book highlights the liberation of Oromo slaves by the British Navy and taken to Lovedale institution championed by the Scottish Missionaries. This great compilation comprises five different parts and eleven descriptive chapters. Each chapter covers significant aspects such as geography; topography; Ethiopian population; demographics; family structures; routes from capture to the coast; education at Lovedale as well as the dilemma regarding returning home of slaves amid political unrests. Shell's experience as a librarian gave her direct access to the manuscripts that capture the experiences of slavery by Oromo slaves which included their narratives. Furthermore, the author was able to get in touch with the grandson of one of the rescued Oromo slaves, who provided incisive accounts about the experiences of slavery by his ancestors. The geographical influence of Ethiopia and the *Horn of Africa*, as well as the political and socio-economic impact on the Oromo captives and their families, will be further explored in the review.

In the four chapters which make up the first part of the book subtitled roots: Memories of Home, Shell provides a strong description and understanding of the horn of Africa. This part of the book indicates that there are eighty groups that make up the population in Ethiopia, and that the Oromo people (who were called the *Galla* which meant "uncultured" people until the 1970s) amount to a larger percentage of the Ethiopian population. Shell argues that the history of Ethiopia has not been adequately explored, it tends to focus on those who were in power at the expense of those who were marginalized, such as the Oromo people. Parallels are drawn between Ethiopian slavery and Apartheid South Africa. The Tigrayans for example, make up only 6 percent of the Ethiopian population, but managed

to occupy positions of power. This comparison enables South Africans to understand the commonalities between the political dynamics of the two countries. The writer further explains that although there are eighty-four languages in Ethiopia, Ethiopians are united by one language which is the Oromo language (Afaan Oromoo) that is spoken in other parts of Africa like Kenya, Sudan and Somalia. In terms of religion, Shell explains that the Oromo's traditional religion is centered around *Waaqa* who is defined as the "Sky God" and that they also worship the big tree on the mountain. The writer also takes us through the myths surrounding the origin of the Oromo people, which include among other things the claim that they were not the first inhabitants of Ethiopia. In the second chapter, the writer deals with the Oromo family structures and the recruitment strategies on the basis of the accounts by sixty-four Oromo slave children. It turns out that some of these children were already orphans when they were taken in as slaves, while others were separated from their parents, ranging between the ages of seven and fourteen. The first part of the book profoundly provides the reader with the context within which slavery and slave trade particularly in the *Horn of Africa* thrived.

The second part of the book comprises two chapters and explores the slave trading routes from the point of capture to the coast, as well as from the moment of capture right up to the experiences of the road by the Oromo slave children. The writer narrates the process of enslavement of these children amongst other issues and highlights the involvement of the state, capture of children while they were heading livestock, night house break-ins, ambushes, and debt redemption. There is also reference to literature from the travellers who have studied this enslavement which indicates that some parents sold their children using tricks and deception. Significantly this part of the book answers the most fundamental question: Who captured the children? The varied ways through which the children were captured shows that some of the enslavement was forceful and violent, while some did not experience violence from their captors at all. The literature goes a little further to identify the instigators of *Horn of Africa* slave-trade to be the "Arabs," although at the point of capture, there were different agents including the local people whom the Oromo children were able to recognize as their captors. Gender dynamics are also discussed with some interesting revelation that 93 percent of the captors were male and only 7 percent were female, who often used trickery such as luring children away from their homes.

The third part of the book comprises four chapters which cover the journey of Oromo slave-children to Lovedale in South Africa and their settlement there. In this part of the book, the writer included records of Reverend William J. B Moir who welcomed and took care of the rescued Oromo children. These records reveal that the Oromo children

experienced culture shock at Lovedale, although they were familiar with some of the things from their country such as herding cattle, nature of houses and the geographical make-up of South Africa including its environmental layout, which enabled them to relate to some degree. Processes that were undertaken to help these children settle in, including building accommodation for them upon arrival, were also covered extensively in this part of the book. On the education front, the Oromo children had to adapt to the South African curriculum, which obligated the school to find people who were conversant with Oromo language to translate teaching and learning material. Significantly, the writer delved a little deeper into what the Oromo children were taught, who taught them, and their academic progress. It is also revealed in this part of the book that some of the challenges that these children were confronted with were dire, culminating in the death of at least 13 in the first ten years of their settlement in Lovedale.

The fourth part of the book captures significant aspects of the Oromo children's experiences in South Africa. They grew to become literate adults who were at liberty to determine their future and make independent choices including returning home. The parties involved in making such determination, were also identified in this section of the book.

In the very last part of the book, Sandra Shell reflects and interprets data from the entire book. All the aspects covered in this book which include among others; exploring Ethiopia, the capture of Oromo children, their rescue and lived experiences at Lovedale with the missionaries and their eventual return home, are quite significant and represent the crucial part of African history. Furthermore, they enhance the book's usefulness to both historians and readers who are keen on tapping into themes from African history, particularly slavery. The use of primary evidence in the form of graphs, pictures, maps, tables, interviews and letters of the Oromo slaves, strengthen the credibility of the book, in its contribution to the development of historical knowledge and understanding. Although the book is presented as a well-thought out piece of academic writing, it is however less accommodating to readers who are not familiar with historical concepts and who do not have a good background in geography. Some of the illustrations used require knowledge of social sciences particularly the geographical component.

MARJORIE'S JOURNEY - ON A MISSION OF HER OWN

ISBN: 9781910895474

Scotland Street Press Publishers, Edinburgh

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This book is marketed as a 140-page WWII biographical memoir – an easy and interesting read especially for teachers and historians. Told with pathos, off-set by humour, it documents an unusual wartime story.

The author - Ailie Clegghorn - had close familial ties with the key character – Marjorie Marnoch – a young Scottish woman of remarkable resilience and resourcefulness. The trigger for penning this memoir was a 28-page letter Ailie stumbled upon in some forgotten family files.

This letter written by Marjorie in 1980 had been a response to Sandy's request as an adult for the story of their wartime experiences in South Africa. At the time of their sailing from Glasgow to Cape Town aboard the *Winchester Castle*, Sandy had been a tiny nine-month-old infant.

Using several voices, diary entries, personal interviews, letters, telegrams and photographs, the reader is provided with an astonishing account of how Marjorie took 10 children, all younger than six, – at the agreement of their parents - through the treacherous U-boat infested waters to safety in South Africa in 1941.

The opening chapters provide context for how Marjorie came to be part of the author's family history. Marjorie did not have a happy childhood – her mother died when she was barely three and her father left her in the care of the author's grandparents in Aberdeen for twenty-six years while he served the Empire in Canada. This most difficult period in Marjorie's life was characterized by rejection, resentment, and dislike particularly on the part of Lady M who wielded strange control over Marjorie's decisions including the termination of a relationship with a beau. Upon finally being permitted to leave the household in 1936, she was told as she walked down the steps: "You haven't tipped the

servants”! suggesting that she had been considered an unwelcome guest all those years.

Marjorie soon set in motion her plans to provide young children with happier circumstances than her own and as a trained Montessori teacher she set up a pre-school and home for children whose parents were mostly working in West African colonies. Her natural affinity for young children and her loving, motherly nature ensured that parents confidently entrusted their children to Marjorie who thrived in her care.

At the outbreak of the war, all families were sorely disrupted by absent fathers and evacuee children. Late in June 1940, Marjorie received a call from a British Brigadier General with a surprising request: to take his daughter and all the other children in her care “away from the war”. Marjorie was given only a few hours to consider “this enormous responsibly and frighteningly dangerous mission”.

A fascinating and detailed description of the journey undertaken from Bournemouth up to London then on to Glasgow and finally the three-week voyage to Cape Town follows. From there again, a new place to stay needed to be sought as already two more children had joined Marjorie’s’ troupe. The search for such a place and the fortuitous culmination of various events and persons, allowed Marjorie to sign a lease for a spacious, most suitable house in Robertson, a small town near the Breede River some 200 km inland from the South African harbour they had docked in several weeks earlier.

The house was aptly named *Bairnshaven*; bairn being the Scottish word for young child and haven a place of peace and safety. The children now as adults recall with great nostalgia their happy times spent together over several years.

Marjorie’s children did indeed escape the horrors of war and lived a care-free, idyllic life filled with love, companionship, a large menagerie of pets, loving domestic help, Afrikaans-speaking school friends all crowned by many adventures in a sun-filled pastoral environment. They were even presented to the Royal Family on their first post-war trip out of England after receiving a letter written “at her Majesty’s command” requesting to meet Marjorie and the children.

This true story throws new light on how early childhood hardships may foster the tenacity and purpose in some for becoming accomplished, confident adults. It certainly highlights – in particular – how severed parental relationships affected families. A poignant remark by Sandy when asked by the Queen whether he missed his mother suffices: I don’t remember Mummy.

The book closes with tales of many of the children’s lives after returning to England. Their tributes to Marjorie having given them the “best possible childhood” testify to their enduring and endearing relationship with her and each other. Marjorie’s own

story culminates in her establishing another school, *Fledglings*, in Richmond. This school accepted children from all walks of life sans discrimination on the basis of appearance, parental wealth or intellectual capability. Here too, she continued the caring, encouraging ethos until the school closed in 1974 upon her retirement. Her mission accomplished in more ways than one.

The cultural cameos provide insight into the societal mores and pretensions as well as class divisions of urban, 20th century Scotland, the stark social and environmental differences found in rural South Africa and the unrecognized role that women played in this war. I was intrigued at how – with apparent ease – the young ones adapted to being taught “that awful stuff” (Afrikaans). I marvel at how one, single woman could offer so many children hope, and unconditional kindness. Her physical strength, fortitude, and ability to adjust and surmount challenges are the hallmarks of a true teacher whose passion is her calling.

I had the privilege of seeing the gold pocket watch returned to Sandy as well as facsimiles of the correspondence Marjorie shared. The author has painstakingly traced the various historic and familial threads and enriched her research with exquisitely clear watercoloured photographs. The book has all the makings of being turned into a riveting film.

Perhaps the family secret related to Lady M’s disdainful treatment of Marjorie may yet be revealed some day!



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.
6. Contributions must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 250 words.
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.
9. The Harvard or the Footnote methods of reference may be used. The authors' choice of which reference method will be respected by the editorial management. References must be clear, lucid and comprehensible for a general academic audience of readers. Once an author has made a choice of reference method, the *Yesterday & Today* guidelines for either the Harvard reference method or the Footnote reference method must be scrupulously followed.
10. Editorial material with images (illustrations, photographs, tables and graphs) is permissible. The images should, however, be of a high-density quality (high resolution, minimum of 200dpi). The source references should also be included. Large files should be posted in separate E-mail attachments, and appropriately numbered in sequence.
11. Articles should be submitted online to Professor Johan Wassermann, the editor-in-chief, can be contacted electronically at: Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za Notification of the receipt of the submission will be done within 72 hours.
12. The text format must be in 12pt font, Times New Roman and in 1.5 spacing. The text should be in Microsoft Word format.
13. The length of articles, all included, should preferably not exceed 8 000 words.
14. Authors must sign the author declaration document when submitting their articles for consideration.
15. For scientific research articles, page fees of R400:00 per page will be charged from the

South African author's university. It remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.

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THE FOOTNOTE OR HARVARD REFERENCE METHODS – SOME GUIDELINES

Both the footnote reference method and the Harvard reference method are accepted for articles in *Yesterday & Today*. See some guidelines below:

THE FOOTNOTE REFERENCE METHOD

Footnote references should be placed at the bottom of each page. Footnotes should be numbered sequentially throughout the article and starting with 1. Archival sources/published works/authors referred to in the text should be cited in full in the first footnote of each new reference. Thereafter it can be reduced to a shorter footnote reference. Do not refer to the exact same source and page numbers in footnotes that follow each other.

The use of the Latin word “Ibid” is **not** allowed. Rather refer to the actual reference again (or in its shortened version) on the rest of a page(s) in the footnote section.

The titles of books, articles, chapters, theses, dissertations and papers/manuscripts should NOT be capitalised at random. Only the names of people and places (and in some instances specific historic events) are capitalised. For example: **P Erasmus, “The ‘lost’ South African tribe – rebirth of the Koranna in the Free State”, *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77;**

NOT

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

PLEASE NOTE: Referencing journal titles imply that every word of the journal must start with a capital letter, example: Yesterday&Today Journal.

Examples of an article in a journal

R Siebörger, Incorporating human rights into the teaching of History: Teaching materials,

Yesterday&Today, 2, October 2008, pp. 1-14.

S Marks, "Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and 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

Illustrations

The appropriate positioning of the image should be indicated in the text. Original copies should be clearly identified on the back. High quality scanned versions are always welcome.

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THE HARVARD REFERENCE METHOD

References in the text

References are cited in the text by the author'(s) surname(s) and the year of publication in brackets, separated by a comma: e.g. (Weedon, 1977:13).

If several articles by the same author and from the same year are cited, the letters a, b, c, etc. should be added after the year of publication: e.g. (Fardon, 2007a:23).

Page references in the text should follow a colon after the date: e.g. (Bazalgette, 1992:209-214).

In works by three or more authors the surnames of all authors should be given in the first reference to such a work. In subsequent references to this work, only the name of the first author is given, followed by the abbreviation *et al.*: e.g. (Ottaro *et al.*, 2005:34).

If reference is made to an anonymous item in a newspaper, the name of the newspaper is given in brackets: e.g. (The Citizen, 2010).

For personal communications (oral or written) identify the person and indicate in brackets that it is a personal communication: e.g. (B Brown, pers. comm.).

Ensure that dates, spelling and titles used in the text are accurate and consistent with those listed in the references.

List all references chronologically and then alphabetically: e.g. (Scott 2003; Muller 2006; Meyer 2007).

List of references

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order, under References. Bibliographic information should be in the language of the source document, not in the language of the article.

References should be presented as indicated in the following examples. See the required punctuation.

Journal articles

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of article, unabbreviated title of journal, volume, issue number in brackets and page numbers: e.g. Shepherd, R 1992. Elementary media education. The perfect curriculum. *English Quarterly*, 25(2):35-38.

Books

Surname(s) and initials of author(s) or editor(s), year of publication, title of book, volume, edition, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Mouton, J 2001. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

Chapters in books

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of chapter, editor(s), title of book, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Masterman, L 1992. The case of television studies. In: M Alvarado & O Boyd-Barrett (eds.). *Media education: an introduction*. London: British Film Institute.

Unpublished theses or dissertations

Fardon, JVV 2007. Gender in history teaching resources in South African public school. Unpublished 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

Normally personal communications should always be recorded and retrievable. It should be cited as follows:

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

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1. **Font type:** Times New Roman.
2. **Font size in body text:** 12pt.
3. **Author's details: Provide the following in 10pt:**
 - Initials and surname
 - Institutional affiliation
 - City and country of institutional affiliation
 - Emails address
 - Orcid number

Example:
 JM Wassermann
 University of Pretoria
 Pretoria, South Africa
Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za
 0000-0001-9173-0372
4. **Abstract:** The abstract should be placed on the first page (where the title heading and author's particulars appear). The prescribed length is between a half and three quarters of a page.
 - The heading of the Abstract: Bold, italics, 12pt.
 - The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.
5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract. The word '**Keywords**': 10pt, bold.
 - Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;).
 Example: Meters; People; etc. (A minimum of six key words is required).
6. **Title of the article:** 14pt, bold.
7. **Main headings in article:** 'Introduction' – 12pt, bold.
8. **Sub-headings in article:** '*History research*' – 12pt, bold, italics.

9. **Third level sub-headings: 'History research':** – 11pt, bold, underline.
10. **Footnotes:** 8pt, regular font; BUT note that the footnote numbers in the article text should be 12pt. The initials in a person's name (in footnote text) should be without any full stops. Example: LC du Plessis and NOT L.C. du Plessis.
11. **Body text:** Names without punctuation in the text. Example: "JC Nkuna said" and NOT "J.C. Nkuna said".
12. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:
Example: p. space 23 – p. 23. / pp. 23-29.
13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.
14. **Quotes from sources in the body text** must be used sparingly. If longer than 5 lines, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and **NOT** in italics. Example: An owner close to the town stated that: "the pollution history of the river is a muddy business".
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16. **Images: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures:** Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript's body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.
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Example: the end.1 **NOT** ...the end1.
18. **Single and left spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.
19. **Dates:** All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: **23 December**
20. **2010; NOT 23/12/2010 [For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines].**
21. Language setting in Microsoft Word as **English (South Africa); do this before starting with the word processing of the article.** Go to 'Review', 'Set Language' and select 'English (South Africa)'.