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:

- http://www.sashtw.org.za
- http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo
- https://upjournals.up.ac.za/index.php/yesterday_and_today

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- History research that relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in History curricula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

- Manuscripts must be in British English and should not exceed 8000 words
- 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
- Opinions expressed or conclusions drawn in *Yesterday & Today* are in the first place those of the authors and should under no circumstances be considered the opinions of the SASHT or the editorial board.

The editorial board accommodate peer reviewed articles and practical hands-on articles. However, it's only the peer- reviewed articles that are acknowledged by the South African Department of Higher Education and Training for being accredited and valid for subsidy purposes. Please note that authors are expected to provide written proof that the language and style of both the abstract and the manuscript were professionally edited before submitting the manuscript to *Yesterday & Today* for consideration. For more information, see the "Template guidelines for writing an article" and "The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines" on the last pages of the journal. Also refer to the last pages of this publication and the most recent issue of the journal available on the SASHT's website: http//www.sashtw.org.za for more information. The use of the correct citation methods and the acknowledgement of all consulted sources is a prerequisite.

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History Education greetings,

Welcome to the December 2022 edition, volume 28, of *Yesterday & Today*, the journal's second Festschrift. The first was the December 2014 Festschrift for Prof Rob Siebörger of the University of Cape Town on his retirement. This issue bestows the same honour on Professor Pieter Warnich of North West University who retired at the beginning of December. During his long and distinguished career Prof Warnich also served as editor-in-chief of *Yesterday & Today* and under his editorship the journal was successfully reviewed by the Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAF) for continued accreditation. More on Pieter Warnich's career in history education in the Festschrift section.

Sadly, this edition also carries an obituary for Professor Peter Seixas, a person whose work on historical thinking had a global impact on history education. This volume contains four academic articles:

- In their contribution, Karen Harris and Tinashe Nyamunda engaged with the Covid 19 pandemic and the pedagogical impact it has dealt the history lecture theatre.
- The second article by Peter Kallaway, provides an understanding of the complex heritage of colonial education in South Africa.
- In her article, Seema Goburdhun, comments on the pedagogical practices of primary school history teachers in Mauritius.
- The final contribution by Yvonne Kabombwe and Mutale Mazimba looks at the social media views on the Zambian history curriculum.

A new feature in this edition of *Yesterday & Today* are conference reports. The first report is on the 36th South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) Conference which took place from 29–30 September 2022 in the historical town of Genadendal in the Western Cape. The second report is on the Black Archive Symposium which took place from 4–5 August 2022 in East London in the Eastern Cape.

In the "Teachers Voice" section of this edition, we have contributions on using soft skills to teach history, reflections on a global course for global pluralism and belonging, and novice teachers looking back at their training as history teachers, and at the challenges inherent in Zambia's history curriculum.

The December 2022 edition, volume 28, of *Yesterday & Today* concludes with four book

reviews.

Happy reading, take care, and stay safe!
Johan Wassermann (Editor-in-Chief)

A festschrift dedicated to Pieter Warnich

My mentor in so many ways

Byron Bunt
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North-West University (Vaal campus)

I met Prof Pieter Warnich in 2010 when I had just started as a junior lecturer at North-West University (NWU). I was still quite green and had no clue what I was doing at this time. Even 12 years ago, this man was already quite the legend in the field of History Education. He introduced me to the South African Society for History Teachers (SASHT), where I attended my first academic conference that year. He also volunteered me to become the SASHT secretary during this time, which was a very tall order for me, but I took the challenge. I would work closely with him and Dr. Louisa Meyer for the next few years. Prof Pieter always had a way with words, always friendly and willing to help his colleagues.

Regarding our lecturing, I recall going through an entire re-curriculation of our BEd (History) program in 2013. We had to work extremely hard to create new outcomes and assessment criteria for 16 modules. This culminated in us dividing the responsibility to write completely new study guides aligned with the CAPS curriculum. I recall feeling lost, but through Prof Pieter's sheer organisational genius, I came up with a handy breakdown document that became my bible for the next few years as I wrote more and more study guides. Thank you, Prof, for teaching me how to set up good study guides.

I had the pleasure of authoring a book chapter that Prof Warnich was the editor of, titled *Teaching and Learning History and Geography* in the South African classroom, where I included some of my Master's work on cognitive development strategies in the history classroom. Thank you for that opportunity as well, sir. This was the first book chapter I have ever written, and the feedback I got, while seemingly too critical, really opened my eyes to this field of ours, where one needs to take critique almost daily.

Prof Pieter became a deputy director at the new School for Commerce and Social Science in Education at NWU in 2018. Under his suggestion, I was promoted to the subject leader for the History in Education subject group. I had to manage staff across three campuses, which was very nerve-wracking. Thank you again, sir, for believing in me during this time. I would not have had this managerial experience if not for you vouching for me.

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Thanks for reminding me, even to this day, if I need to do my job correctly. I welcome any advice from you.

Lastly, I co-authored an article with Prof Pieter entitled *Utilising a Historically Imbedded Source-Based Analysis Model (HISBAM) in the History school classroom* for *Yesterday & Today* in 2021. Your expertise in assessment helped get this article published. I tried to do this myself but was rejected, and I am so glad I reached out to you for help. Your keen eye for the golden thread running through any research helped my academic writing.

It comes to an end, and we must acknowledge that a true legend will leave us at the end of 2022. Thank you for all the support over the years, sir. Just know that your influence will be felt for decades, and your work will stand the test of time. History Education has been enriched by your involvement at NWU with SASHT, book publications, and students who have all graduated. Cheers, sir. Now comes the well-deserved rest.

A passionate history education lecturer, researcher, and colleague

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Honouring Pieter Warnich as a passionate History Education lecturer, researcher, and colleague gives me great pleasure. I first met Pieter Warnich when he came for an interview for a position as a History Education lecturer in our Faculty of Education at NWU. Before his appointment in our Faculty as the responsible History Education lecturer, Pieter was a well-respected history teacher at Paarl Boys' High in the Western Cape. As the newly appointed history lecturer, Pieter had to plan and design most of the History Education modules for various programs, including the BEd, PGCE, Education Diploma, and the Advanced Certificate in Education. Despite a heavy teaching load, Pieter was also the driving force in developing a BEd Honours degree in History Education in the Faculty of Education. Over the years, he grew more than 50 study guides and many readers for the various History Education modules in the different programs. Since 2017 Pieter has planned and developed e-guides in some of the BEd and BEd History Education modules, with a stronger focus on a blended learning approach. Pieter also lectured in most programs' various history academic and methodology modules and received excellent feedback and evaluations from his History Education students. From my discussions with some of his BEd students, it is clear that Pieter was an inspiration and example to them all. Against this background, it was no surprise that with Pieter as the history lecturer, there was a steady increase in student numbers taking history as a subject in our Faculty. Pieter was invited regularly to act as an external moderator for the history exam papers and memorandums of BEd (Geography) modules at various South African universities. He also received good feedback from the external moderators for the BEd, PGCE, and BEd Honours History examination papers for which he was responsible.

After a few years in the Faculty, Pieter registered for his Ph.D. with the title *Uitkomsgebaseerde assessering van geskiedenis graad 10*. In this thesis, Pieter made relevant recommendations to promote the practical implementation of outcomes-based assessment in History Education at the school level. Pieter was always more than willing to advise and guide colleagues and student teachers regarding assessment activities and practices.

He has published numerous international and national articles in accredited history and educational journals and chapters in various accredited books. Most of his published work has practical applications for history and student teachers.

I had the privilege to publish two books with Pieter. For both books, Pieter was the editor or co-editor. At the same time, I was the consulting editor for one book (*Teaching and learning history and geography in the South African classroom*) and the contributing editor for the second book (*Meaningful assessment for 21st-century skills*). During this whole process of planning and publishing the books, I experienced first-hand that Pieter was not afraid to express his opinions engagingly and enjoyed being challenged. His years of experience as a teacher and lecturer contributed to these books' quality and practical value. He strove for originality and was a hard worker who pursued the goals that he set for himself with great determination. He also possesses excellent communication and writing skills and executes his tasks diligently, thoroughly, and on time.

In the Faculty of Education at North-West University (Potchefstroom Campus), Pieter acted in various leadership roles and served on multiple committees. As the subject chair and deputy subject chair for History Education over the last two decades, Pieter Warnich demonstrated initiative and excellent leadership skills to ensure that quality History Education students were well-prepared for their roles as future history teachers. A few years ago, he was appointed Deputy Director in the School of Commerce and Social Sciences in Education in the Faculty of Education at the NWU (Potchefstroom Campus) while acting as the deputy subject group leader for History Education. As the leader of his school, he successfully created a safe working environment for all the lecturers and administrative staff.

With Pieter's experience as a History Education lecturer and researcher, he was appointed to act as editor-in-chief of the accredited History Education journal *Yesterday & Today*. He is currently serving on the editorial board of The International Journal of Research on History Didactics, History Education, and History Culture. As an editorial board member, Pieter can share his knowledge and skills in History Education with fellow researchers and colleagues in South Africa. Pieter mentored several staff members in our Faculty to support, guide, and advise them on their career planning as researchers and in their research to reach their full potential as academic scholars.

Pieter Warnich, as a History Education lecturer and researcher, demonstrated his dedication to serving the History Education community and educators in other disciplines. His enthusiasm and genuine interest in his student teachers and colleagues, as well as his passion for History Education and assessment, positively influenced the quality of the

History Education students delivered to numerous schools by the NWU over the years.

Thank you for being my dear colleague and friend! Thank you for creating a motivating and pleasant atmosphere wherever you go. I will miss your presence in our building and the discussions in your office. Congratulations on stepping into a new chapter of life. I wish you a happy and healthy retirement!

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A colleague par excellence

Marj Brown
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As a high school teacher, it was a huge privilege to work alongside Pieter Warnich. I served with him on the SASHT executive and engaged with him when he was editor of *Yesterday & Today.* I remember giving a paper at a SASHT conference hosted by the University of the Witwatersrand and being approached by Pieter to write an article for *Yesterday & Today.* The presentation was on using Thinking Maps in teaching history, and my teaching colleague at the time, Charles Dugmore, and I co-presented. It is one thing presenting at a conference and another thing writing the presentation for a peer-reviewed journal. I witnessed Pieter's quiet but methodical nature as he sent back several drafts until he was satisfied. The academic rigour he applied is a testament to the status of the *Yesterday & Today.* When my article was published, I felt a deep satisfaction and accomplishment.

Teachers in the classroom do not do enough research, university staff writes most of the research published about teaching, and I am grateful to academics such as Pieter. He facilitated research through the SASHT conference and the journal for scholars and teachers. A few years later, I was fortunate enough to attend a course by Richard Churches on teacher-led research. Richard Churches was a principal advisor for research and evidence-based practice at the Education Development Trust in the United Kingdom. He also worked as an advisor on multiple policy initiatives. I was exposed to randomised control trials and other forms of experimental research, and this led to more papers in which I explored the latter approach to teacher-led research. It is often intimidating for teachers to conduct research even though they are at the coalface in education, simply because they lack confidence or don't see themselves as academics. It was mainly due to Pieters' gentleness, guidance, and persistence in maintaining a peer-reviewed journal for history educators, at a school level as well as at university, that encouraged me to attempt the articles I have done.

As a fellow executive member of SASHT, Pieter was again supportive but never pushy. He could listen and consider different points of view. I was genuinely grateful to have him as deputy president in my first year of SASHT presidency, as his vast experience of this organisation as a member and leader was invaluable. Pieter's commitment to the discipline of history, to his colleagues, and groom new leaders was constant. He was also very

aware of the changing context in our country and how the content of our subject needed transforming—a man who moved with the times and was genuinely tremendous to work alongside.

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In conversation with Pieter Warnich on his work in History Education

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For nearly two decades, I have been privileged to work with Pieter Warnich at North-West University (NWU). This was his last and final career change in which he temporarily left the Winelands of the Western Cape for the maize lands of the Northwest Province. In these fast flitting two decades, Pieter obtained a Ph.D., published several scholarly articles, co-edited books, and was the sole author of some. The most recent one is Pieter's *Meaningful assessment for 21st-century learning*. I also recall delightful academic moments at international and local conferences where Pieter acted as organiser and co-organiser. He was always reliable, cooperative, and committed to professional service. Pieter also played an immense role in further strengthening the *Yesterday & Today* journal on the SciELO platform during his term as editor-in-chief (2014-2017). Internationally, he has contributed excessively to the International Society for History Didactics scholarly journal activities. At the NWU, he designed several modules, programs, and short learning programs while contributing as a subject leader. From 2018 until now (2022), he fulfilled the position of deputy director of the School of Commerce and Social Studies at the Potchefstroom Campus of NWU.

Sadly, for us at the NWU and many academic scholars in history education who worked together with Pieter, the time for him to retire arrived too fast.

We occasionally sat at a favourite restaurant when I visited Potchefstroom for some academic obligations. When I sat with him for the last time, we engaged simply in conversation about himself and things we sometimes grossly neglect when we are so task-oriented in academia.

Elize: *Where have you, as a student, professionally matured? Why history as a profession? Any particular memories you can recall and some lecturers that truly impacted your thoughts?*

Pieter: Immediately after school, I joined the South African Defence Force (SADF) to do my two years of compulsory military service. I was also called upon to do my 'border duties'. After my time in the SADF, I started my studies in 1978 at the University of Stellenbosch. I studied languages, Geography and History, but I always knew that teaching

history was my ultimate goal. The person who played a massive role in my developing a love for history was my matric teacher, Mr. Jooste. He was a performer (or what I call an Edu performer). He presented his classes through storytelling, which he did in such a unique way that you felt that you were present and part of the historical events.

I was privileged to have Dr (at the time) Hermann Giliomee, Prof Diko van Zyl, Dr. Johann Bergh, and Gerrit Pool as my lecturers, who contributed immensely (especially on the postgraduate level) to my training as a history teacher. My Afrikaans lecturer, the (late) Dr. Hennie Aucamp, poet and short story writer, also made an indelible impression on me.

Elize: *I can imagine that your extraordinary performance to cum laude both the BA Hons and MA in History also must be momentous too… After university, you took up the challenge of being a history teacher. Please share some low ebbs, high points, and even hilarious moments with us!*

Pieter: The cum laude's was indeed momentous. So much more because during my undergraduate years, my results were average. I played and partied hard as a student but never neglected my studies. Being a postgraduate student in the 1980s, I admit I was more committed because it was only history. Due to my almost supernatural interest in history, I was always willing to find out more than was expected. The commitment and determination to perform well came from my days in the SADF.

In 1985 I started my professional career at Point High School in Mossel Bay, teaching history and Afrikaans from grades 8 to 12! I remember that I spent my time preparing lessons (we had a lesson book to be submitted to the principal on Monday mornings for his signature), marking history tasks, and Afrikaans essays. When the school closed on Fridays at 14:00, I was so tired that I slept until the following day, just in time for the sports bus to depart for the rugby games.

One of my high points of being a history school teacher was preparing my learners for the prestigious annual National History Olympiad. I was fortunate that my learners were, most of the time, in the top five positions. In 1992 first place was obtained from about 300 participants. I wonder if this achievement was the only reason. Still, that year, I received an 'award for exceptional service' for my contribution to teaching and learning history from the Department of the Western Cape.

Elize: *You exchange the 'Cape of Good Hope for the Northwest Province… Why and what have these years brought forth for you academically and otherwise?*

Pieter: Twenty years ago, in 2003, I was appointed as a lecturer at the Potchefstroom Campus of the NWU, where I have contributed to the training of history teachers. During this time, I have learned and academically grew a great deal, which enabled me to complete

my Ph.D., published various articles in national and international journals, wrote multiple chapters in books, and become co-editor/editor of five books. I have attended more than 20 national and ten international conferences where special friendships were built.

Elize: *What do you view as your most outstanding scholarly legacy? Why?*

Pieter: My students will be in a better position to answer this question. A combination of subject and pedagogical knowledge combines inspirational teaching and learning methods where students can own their training and make a difference in the lives of their learners.

Elize: *You took up the Yesterday&Today Editor-in-Chief position in 2014. What will be your most significant memories of achievement for this journal up to passing on the task to Prof Johan Wassermann?*

Pieter: I have had the privilege to be part of *Yesterday & Today* since the early 1990's when I was still a teacher at Paarl Boys' High School until the end of my time as the editor-in-chief in 2017. My most significant achievement as editor-in-chief was undoubtedly the successful outcome when I was asked to motivate in a 'mini-dissertation' to the Academy of Science of South Africa (Assaf) why the journal should further continue to be DHET-listed as an accredited journal. The Y&T fared exceedingly well then.

Elize: *You now unroot from maize country to the land of wine and oceans. What do you plan for yourself after retirement in December 2022?*

Pieter: To be honest, I am not sure. I am not too worried about it either, and I try not to ponder too much about it. However, I never had the privilege to take a 'gap year' (this is a word that never existed in my time). Next year will be my gap year (I waited 65 years for it). I will do whatever my hands find to do, but some traveling will be on the cards. After that, I might start a book on my family history.

Elize: *Any words of encouragement and wisdom from your thoughts to scholars that must still stand firm in the economically active environment?*

Pieter: "Just do it," but never confuse having a career with having a life!

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Obituary

Peter Seixas
1947–2022

Peter Seixas died on October 9 at his home in Vancouver from complications from medullary thyroid cancer, which was first discovered in 2013.

He is survived by his loving wife of 42 years, Susan Cohen Inman; two daughters, Naomi of New York City and Mikaela of Vancouver; his sister Abby (Mark Horowitz) of Seattle; and brother Noah (Dana Standish) of Port Townsend, Washington, and many nieces and nephews. He is predeceased by his parents: Frank A Seixas and Judith Sartorius Seixas.

Peter grew up in the New York suburb of Hastings-on-Hudson, graduated from Swarthmore College and left the US east coast for British Columbia in 1970. After three years in the bush outside of the mill town of Powell River, he started his education career as a social studies teacher in Vancouver. He earned an MA in the history of education from the University of British Columbia (UBC) in 1981 and a Ph.D. in US social history from UCLA (1988). In 1990, he became an assistant professor in the University of British Columbia's Faculty of Education, responsible for history and social studies education. A decade later, he was awarded the Faculty's first Canada Research Chair, enabling him to establish the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness and the pan-Canadian Historical Thinking Project. He spearheaded the articulation of six concepts of historical thinking, which became the basis for history and social studies curriculum reform across Canada and internationally. His research was published widely in Canadian, American, and international journals. His contributions were recognised with election to fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and numerous research and teaching awards.

From the secondary social studies classroom, through the UBC teacher education program, to his signature graduate course, Problems in Historical Understanding, Peter inspired the many students he mentored. He lived a life consistent with his strong moral values, touching his many friends and acquaintances with his humanity, intellect, humour, and generosity.

Throughout his life, Peter was an avid tennis player and committed watercolourist. From childhood through retirement, he spent at least part of each summer at his family's house on the beach in East Hampton, New York, where he painted, swatted tennis balls,

swam, bicycled, and jogged in the August sun.

Peter was, and his family are deeply grateful for the years of dedicated help from his oncologist, Dr. Janessa Laskin, and his nurse practitioner, Colleen Riley.

The Pandemic History Classroom: grouping or groping the digital divide

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Abstract

This article is concerned with the impact of Covid-19 on the higher education sector. It examines the impact of group work in the discipline of history in remote university teaching and learning set in the context of Covid-19 imposed lockdowns in South Africa. When the pandemic broke out, few were prepared for its worst excesses in terms of lives lost impact on health facilities, economies and higher education. Lockdowns to limit the pandemic's spread were imposed in many countries worldwide, limiting in-person interaction, which affected various aspects of human contact, not least in university education. Taken away from campuses, universities in South Africa, as elsewhere, were forced not only to adapt to online teaching but to be inventive in the methods used to retain student participation and engagement. While technology was heralded as the solution to the global crisis in teaching, other concerns affect the well-being of students that also require attention. By using the research conducted with staff and students in history modules at one South African university, this article considers the pandemic classroom with its online and remote mode of instruction. It takes specific cognisance of what is lost due to this form of engagement in terms of isolation's psychological and emotional impact on students in the tertiary

education sector. Within this context, it assesses whether the use of group work within a university environment and, in particular, the discipline of history, is a possible means to try and bridge this digital divide or if this option is merely a case of groping in the digital ditch.

Keywords: Group work; Higher education; History module; Covid pandemic; Online learning; Peer learning.

Introduction

The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on higher education has been profound. While for many, it has been heralded positively as a time to rethink and recalibrate the sector, if not dramatically transform it[1], some argue that countless unknown repercussions and dire consequences will only be fully realised in the long term when the implications become more apparent[2]. Before the pandemic, much scholarship on higher education was generally concerned with access issues, the implications of massification and quality in South Africa, as elsewhere on the continent[3]. But with the pandemic outbreak, these concerns shifted towards how to make university education continue in the wake of national, not least campus, lockdowns. Questions rested on how to save the academic year and how to adapt to remote learning as a way of sustaining university education[4]. In this context, the online classroom emerged, termed the "pandemic classroom" in this article. While questions of access, massification and quality of higher education loom large and are of great concern, this article considers the pandemic classroom, which has resulted from the restrictions imposed by the global spread of the coronavirus. It utilises the case study of one discipline, history, to assess the impact of group work conducted under conditions of remote learning. In some ways, it is hoped that the focus on remote learning as an option and group work as a teaching tool may also speak to some of the broader research concerns of access and quality. This is also relevant in the post-pandemic period, given what is being perceived as the benefits of the online and hybrid flexible mode of higher education delivery for the future,[5] which we argue are not so beneficial.

1 M Hubbs, "Remote learning in the pandemic: lessons learned", Campus Technology, 16 December 2020, (available at https://campustechnology.com/articles/2020/12/16/remote-learning-in-the-pandemic-lessons-learned.aspx, as accessed on July 2021),

2 R Danisch, "The problem with online learning? It doesn't teach people to think", The Conversation, 13 June 2021, (available at https://theconversation.com/the-problem-with-online-learning-it-doesnt-teach-people-to-think-161795, as accessed on July 2021)

3 See for example, S Akoojee and M Nkomo, "Access and quality in South African higher education: the twin challenges of transformation", *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 21(3), 2008, pp. 385–399; P Mukwambo, "Policy and practice disjunctures: quality teaching and learning in Zimbabwean higher education", *Studies in Higher Education*, 45(6), 2020, pp. 1249–1260.

4 Parliamentary Monitoring Group, "Saving the 2020 academic year: DHET, USAf and SAUS briefings; with Minister", 23 October 2020, (available at https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/31288/, as accessed on 10 December 2021).

5 N Duncan, "How to bolster hybrid teaching and learning competencies", *University World News*, Africa Edition, 20 January 2022, (available at https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20220116195416213, as accessed on 30 January 2022).

There have been a plethora of commentaries, surveys undertaken, and articles published both in the popular and academic domain on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on higher education across continents.[6] This has essentially been dominated by assessing its successes and failures or focusing on various technologies, models and connectivity concerns.[7] While quantitative statistics and numbers seem to dominate much of the research on the impact of the pandemic, some studies have also taken on a qualitative approach highlighting the psychological and emotional impact of isolation and remote learning on students in the tertiary education sector.[8] A key concern in the latter research is what D Burns, N Dagnall and M Holt, refer to as the "psychosocial impact of the global Covid-19 outbreak", honing in on the concept of well-being.[9] Within this context, they highlight the importance of "social connections" for university students and how even under the pre-Covid situation, research had shown how students suffered from loneliness and "feelings of disconnectedness", which were linked to "stress, anxiety and depression".[10] The latter is also flagged in the research by Y Zhai and X Du on collegiate "mental health".[11] In both these studies emanating from the East and West, there is a recommendation that in the Covid and post-Covid environment, universities will need to reconsider how they

6 G Marinoni, H van't Land and T Jensen, "The impact of Covid-19 on higher education around the world", International Association of Universities,(available at https://www.iau-aiu.net/IMG/pdf/iau_covid19_and_he_survey_report_final_may_2020.pdf).

7 N Duncan, "Online learning must remain a key component of teaching systems", *Mail & Guardian*, 22 July 2020; Z. Pikoli, "Academics reject claims that 2020 has been a success for universities", *Maverick Citizen*, 14 December 2020.

8 D Burns, N Dagnall & M Holt, "Assessing the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on student wellbeing at universities in the United Kingdom: a conceptual analysis", *Frontiers in Education*, 14 October 2020, (available at https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.582882); A Okada & K Sheey, "Factors and recommendations to support students' enjoyment of online learning with fun: a mixed method study during Covid-19", *Frontiers in Education*, 11 December 2020 (available at https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.584351 as accessed in July 2021).

9 D Burns, N Dagnall & M Holt, "Assessing the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on student wellbeing at universities in the United Kingdom: a conceptual analysis", *Frontiers in Education*, 14 October 2020, (available at https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.582882 as accessed in August 2021).

10 Y Zhai & X Du, "Addressing collegiate mental health amid Covid-19 pandemic", *Psychiatry Research*, vol. 288, June 2020, (available at https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0165178120308398?casa_token=ViATu-dFtmEAAAAA:SThuol0WUqY0aFshFG8ylrUYEUf-39MzAyoJH9KAF9wX7wWonwB26DdrR8HLy41lJP84zUec1OQ).

11 Y Zhai & X Du, "Addressing Collegiate Mental Health amid Covid-19 pandemic", *Psychiatry Research*, vol. 288, June 2020, (available at https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0165178120308398?casa_token=ViATu-dFtmEAAAAA:SThuol0WUqY0aFshFG8ylrUYEUf-39MzAyoJH9KAF9wX7wWonwB26DdrR8HLy41lJP84zUec1OQ).

implement well-being initiatives in the future.[12] Focusing on the lack of group work and collaborative projects for students mentioned in the work by Burns et al. calls for greater attention,[13] not only in a general sense but within the context of specific disciplines. It is to this dimension of student well-being and the role of group work and peer interaction that this article turns to the face of the "pandemic classroom". It focuses on the impact and the teaching of history at the tertiary level.

The Pandemic classroom

The modern research university is essentially seen as an institution that produces new knowledge passed onto the student body.[14] However, according to R Danisch, this is not all they should do. The late nineteenth-century focus on "knowing that" (episteme) has transformed to "knowing how" (techne) so that an abstract body of theoretical knowledge can be applied to execute specific tasks. The university also possesses various roles within its structure that generate a distinctive culture and mission.[15] The university environment also plays a role as a "future-shaper" of students and is a platform for cultural, social and economic change.[16] However, the shift to the pandemic classroom has altered this aspect of university learning. It has taken many students from campuses, away from other students, libraries, lecture rooms, common rooms and other communal spaces. It has turned the university from being a physical space into a digital one. Instead of having student peers, those confined to the home environment have to confront family members daily and convert those living spaces into university learning spaces, a factor whose effects are yet to be fully explored. In that context, the digital pandemic classroom is not limited to considerations of the coronavirus but considers the pandemic of personal and social

12 D Burns, N Dagnall & M Holt, "Assessing the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on student wellbeing at universities in the United Kingdom: a conceptual analysis", *Frontiers in Education*, 14 October 2020, (available at https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.582882 as accessed in August 2021).

13 D Burns, N Dagnall & M Holt, "Assessing the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on student wellbeing at universities in the United Kingdom: a conceptual analysis", *Frontiers in Education*, 14 October 2020, (available at https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.582882, as accessed in August 2021).

14 R Danisch, "The problem with online learning? It doesn't teach people to think", (available at https://theconversation.com/the-problem-with-online-learning-it-doesnt-teach-people-to-think-161795, 13 June 2021, as accessed in August 2021).

15 M Dooris, "The 'health promoting university' as a framework for promoting positive mental well-being: a discourse on theory and practice", *International Journal of Mental Health Promotion*, 1, p. 34.

16 D Burns, N Dagnall & M Holt, "Assessing the impact of the Covid-19 andemic on student wellbeing at universities in the United Kingdom: a conceptual analysis", *Frontiers in Education*, 14 October 2020, (available at https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.582882, as accessed in August 2021).

disconnection. Where students learned through interaction how to effectively collaborate, get involved in student debate, learn to be responsible for their finances and shape their values as they transitioned into adulthood, being home significantly substituted all of these experiences in unimaginable and often unintended ways.

It is an accepted belief that tertiary education should go beyond the mere dissemination and reception of knowledge presented by a lecturer and received by a body of students. The lecture hall and the university landscape, and all this entails, contribute to the graduate's holistic development and attributes. Going to university is in itself a rite of passage, and it is here that the graduate is moulded, tempered and prepared for the world of work and social life. One of the critical components of this experience is the students' fellow students—their peers. We argue that this peer interaction is multi-layered and takes on many forms: peer-learning, peer-pressure, peer-empathy, peer-modelling, peer-encouragement, and many more.

G Krull and D de Klerk note that distance online learning is nothing new.[17] But in a South African context, this was limited to only those universities, such as the University of South Africa (UNISA), designed for this and usually accommodate more mature students who are employed and part-time learners.[18] Emerging debates are pitted between those in favour of and those against online learning. Those in favour, for example, Krull and de Klerk, argue that online learning is the future despite challenges. Those against, for example, N Marongwe and R Gadzirai point to epistemic inequalities in higher education that the digital divide can only widen. Many scholars use generalised studies and broad statistics to make their point. This article, however, uses a micro-level study of one university subject—history—to make a point of the effects of moving to an online classroom under pandemic conditions to test the use of a group work teaching tool as a way of determining what extent the shift has groped, or grouped the digital divide. In this case, grouping [the digital divide] is putting people into groups to work together, whereas groping refers to a move towards something you cannot see or are uncertain of.

According to the International Association of Universities (IAU), Covid-19 instigated a sudden shift to online teaching to respond to the need to continue teaching activities and

17 G Krull & D de Klerk, "Online teaching and learning: towards a realistic view of the future", (available at https://www.wits.ac.za/covid19/covid19-news/latest/online-teaching-and-learning-towards-a-realistic-view-of-the-future.html, as accessed on 11 December 2021).

18 G Krull & D de Klerk, "Online teaching and learning: towards a realistic view of the future", (available at https://www.wits.ac.za/covid19/covid19-news/latest/online-teaching-and-learning-towards-a-realistic-view-of-the-future.html, as accessed on 11 December 2021).

to motivate students when social distancing measures were in place.[19] Africa, which had the lowest transference to distance teaching, still featured a 29% transition, while Europe had an 85% transference.[20] These institutions created a "pandemic classroom" devoid of all the peer-learning mentioned above and engaging features and critical peer attributes. Some students surveyed for this research complained that learning was often reduced to a lecturer's voice or PowerPoint lecture on a black computer screen. More often than not, unless a lecturer asked students to turn on their cameras briefly, you would never see any other student's faces. In any case, in large classes, it was not feasible to keep videos on because of bandwidth and connectivity considerations. In the end, for some lecturers and students, digital learning became a fixture to be fulfilled and not necessarily an exercise to look forward to. As one history student noted in the survey undertaken for this study, one could be in a virtual class of 300 people and still be alone.

Moreover, several other history students indicated that they lost the motivation to participate in class discussions and debates with fellow students as it was like speaking in a void. History lecturers interviewed found that they lost the ability to use illustrative gestures, write on the board, read and respond to student expressions and establish spontaneous connections that only in-person teaching can provide. This, we argue, is particularly relevant in the history classroom, where contentious issues, debatable views and differing opinions are integral to teaching the subject.

Danisch argues that Covid-19 has "made it easier to reduce teaching to knowledge dissemination and to obscure other, equally important, forms of education that help students to be better citizens, thinkers, writers and collaborators".[21] All four of these forms of education resonate specifically with the history curriculum and skills that the history lecturer strives to inculcate to varying degrees. The transition was from in-person teaching, which we describe as a horizontal form of communication – from lecturer to students and students to students – to be replaced with what can be described as a vertical form of teaching – from lecturer to student. (See Figure 1)

19 G Marinoni, H van't Land & T Jensen, "The impact of Covid-19 on higher education around the world", International Association of Universities, (available at https://www.iau-aiu.net/IMG/pdf/iau_covid19_and_he_survey_report_final_may_2020.pdf).

20 G Marinoni, H van't Land & T Jensen, "The impact of Covid-19 on higher education around the world", International Association of Universities, (available at https://www.iau-aiu.net/IMG/pdf/iau_covid19_and_he_survey_report_final_may_2020.pdf).

21 R Danisch, "The problem with online learning? It doesn't teach people to think", (available at https://theconversation.com/the-problem-with-online-learning-it-doesnt-teach-people-to-think-161795, 13 June 2021, as accessed in August 2021).

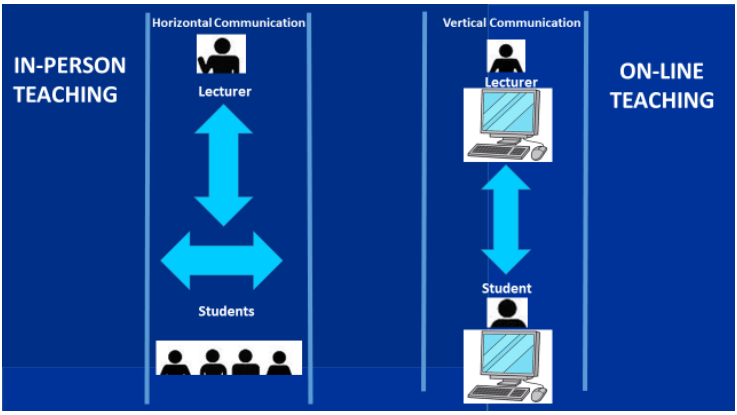

Figure 1 In-person Teaching (Horizontal) and Online teaching (Vertical)

Within this linear and isolated domain, the pandemic classroom, we assess the role of group work among history students. Given all of the digital limitations described above, several lecturers in the history department used for this study opted to use group work to try and re-engage students and provide some form of academic fellowship and student connectedness. They hoped that their various approaches to group work in the modules they taught at different year levels would help to stimulate digital connections and group the divide. That way, some students would get to meet, even if virtually, and be in a position to gain some of the kinds of interactions lost with the shift to the pandemic classroom. Foregrounded by a brief historicisation and discussion of what group work entails, what follows examines the effects of the attempts to group the digital divide within the domain of the discipline of history.

Group work

Group work as a form of teaching dates back to the very start of human history[22] when elders and teachers would engage members of their societies and peers would enhance the learning experience. Examples are apparent among the ancient Greeks, with instances

22 DW Johnson & RT Johnson, "An educational psychology success story: social interdependence theory and cooperative learning, *Educational Researcher,* 38(5), 2009, pp. 365-379. (available at http://edr.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/38/5/365).

of elders teaching select groups of learners.[23] In contrast, group learning was prevalent amongst pre-colonial African societies, with young men or women coming under the tutelage of elderly kin members to impart different skills useful for members of the communities where they came from.[24] The late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the use of group work by evangelical Christians as a teaching method, given the poor social conditions of the time.[25] Subsequently, the more formal and structured use of collaborative projects emerged in the latter half of the twentieth century transforming from an initial focus on the periphery of main school education to being an integral component across the primary, secondary and tertiary spectrum. Group work, also known as "collaborative and cooperative learning", became a mainstay of many university courses and developed its pedagogy.[26] It was lauded for its advantages: communication skills, social skills (diversity), problem-solving, critical thinking, self-management skills, and interpersonal relations.[27] But it was also critiqued and derided by educators and learners alike as an easy means to lessen the marking load of modules with high enrolment figures[28] —an apparent issue with essay-writing subjects such as history. Students also criticised it as not being a fair form of assessment. This is not without precedence and persists today. Some lecturers who manage substantial student numbers may find it easier to lessen the marking pressure by utilising this approach more than individual self-assessments. In some instances, some university administrations appear to care more about output and throughput numbers than the quality of the graduates being produced and therefore do not question these approaches. There have been recent cases in which the quality of students produced under some of South Africa's leading distance education institutions has come under the spotlight.

23 Encylopedia Britannica, *Athens* (available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/education/Athens, as accessed on 30 January 2022).

24 T Falola & T Fleming, "African civilisations: from the precolonial to the modern day", in *World Civilisations and History of Human Development*, 1, pp.123-140, (available at https://pdf4pro.com/view/african-civilizations-from-the-pre-colonial-to-the-modern-day-53bf66.html).

25 MK Smith, "The early development of group work", *The Encyclopedia of pedagogy and informal education*, 2004, (available at https://infed.org/mobi/the-early-development-of-group-work/, as accessed in July 2021).

26 D Burns, N Dagnall & M Holt, "Assessing the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on student wellbeing at universities in the United Kingdom: a conceptual analysis", *Frontiers in Education*, 14 October 2020, (available at https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.582882 as accessed in August 2021).

27 E Brown, "6 advantages of collaborative learning", 2007. ezTalks. (available at https://www.eztalks.com/online-education/advantages-of-collaborative-learning.html).

28 M Lotriet M Pienaar, " Cooperative and collaborative learning", Online resource. University of Pretoria. (Unpublished), 2020. (available at https://eduvation.up.ac.za/cooperative-collaborative-learning/index.htm, as accessed on 30 January 2022).

[29]However, published research on how history classes within a higher education system have utilised group work as a learning tool, particularly within the large lecture context, remains relatively under-researched if not researched.

Despite some negative connotations about group work, its usefulness is not in doubt if deployed as part of the arsenal of different assessment tools. In explaining social interdependence theory, DW Johnson and RT Johnson claim that working cooperatively with peers and valuing cooperation results in "greater psychological health than does compete with peers or working independently".[30] They also claim that working cooperatively as opposed to individualistically or competitively results in:

- a willingness to take on difficult tasks and persist
- a higher-level reasoning, critical thinking and metacognitive thought
- a transfer of learning from one situation to another
- a positive attitude to the tasks being completed[31]

In line with this positive view, ME Pritchard and GS Wilson assert that "the development of interpersonal relationships with peers is critically important for student success".[32]

Yet the restrictive regulations brought on by the pandemic challenged and reduced the opportunities for students to associate and work with fellow students physically.[33] The pandemic classroom—the learning environment they had to create for themselves away from campus—removed them from interaction with fellow students and lecturers both inside and outside the lecture hall. At a very elementary level, the closure of university campuses and the introduction of various levels of lockdown resulted in an overwhelming sense of isolation. The impact of losing the opportunity to confer with fellow students, listen to other students' questions, or even copy notes amongst other ordinary and everyday

29 "Higher education looking into controversial reports on UNISA", 19 October 2021, (available at https://www.careersportal.co.za/news/higher-education-looking-into-controversial-reports-on-unisa, as accessed on 15 November 2021).

30 JW Johnson & RT Johnson, "New developments in social interdependence theory", *Genetic Social and General Psychology monographs*, 131(4), November 2005, p. 137.

31 J. Johnson & RT Johnson, "New developments in social interdependence theory", *Genetic Social and General Psychology monographs*, 131(4), November 2005, pp. 306–307.

32 ME Pritchard & GS Wilson, "Using emotional and social factors to predict student success", *Journal of College Student Development*, 44(1), January/ February 2003, p. 19.

33 D Burns, N Dagnall & M Holt, "Assessing the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on student wellbeing at universities in the United Kingdom: a conceptual analysis", *Frontiers in Education*, 14 October 2020, (available at https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.582882 as accessed in August 2021).

activities is often not considered.[34] This is an important element of collective studentivism, which forms an important part of the psyche of being a student at a university. It has been argued that peer influence can be used to reinforce learning, and in certain cases, peers, more than teachers or lecturers, can inspire deep learning.

This relates directly to positive psychology and one of the tenets of M Seligman's PERMA model, which highlights the importance of possessing and nurturing meaningful relationships with others to reduce the risk of isolation.[35] This is unlike the pandemic classroom, which often amounts to staring at a computer confined to one's room at home if the student is privileged enough to have their room. Some, who may stay in rural areas or informal settlements, have had to make do with attempting to attend online lectures in a room full of people or have had to wait until others are asleep to download recorded lectures, depending on data or network availability.[36] Moreover, in contrast to this isolated situation, evidence suggests "that active-learning or student-centred approaches result in better learning outcomes than passive-learning or instructor-centred approaches, both in-person and online".[37] Constructivist learning theories also argue that students must actively participate in creating their learning. [38]

It is to these two components that this research turns: into the isolation of the university student within the Covid-19 context and the utilisation of group work as a possible means to partially address this divide. In light of the absence of this critical form of interaction with peers, this article assesses whether the introduction and use of group work in history teaching within this remote online situation can somehow bridge the digital divide between peers. This research assessed its usage in the context of the pandemic and online remote learning within a university environment and looked specifically at the discipline of history.

34 S Handel, "Positive peer pressure", (available at https//www.theemotionmachine.com/positive-peer-pressure/, as accessed on 29 December 2021); See also P. Baruah, B.B. Boruah, "Positive peer pressure and behavioral support", *Indian Journal of Positive Psychology*, 7(2), 2016, pp. 241–243.

35 M Seligman, *Flourish: a visionary new understanding of happiness and wellbeing*, Washington, DCPsycNet, 2011.

36 A Klawitter, "Five challenges students face with online learning in 2022", 2 March 2022 (available at https://meratas.com/blog/5-challenges-students-face-with-remote-learning/ as accessed on 20 November 2021).

37 T Nguyen et al., "Insights into students' experiences and perceptions of remote learning methods: from the Covid-19 pandemic to best practice for the future, *Frontiers in Education: Educational Psychology,* 9 April 2021. (available at https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/feduc.2021.647986/full, as accessed on 20 November 2021).

38 T Nguyen (et al), "Insights into Students' Experiences and Perceptions of remote learning methods: From the Covid-19 pandemic to best practice for the future, *Frontiers in Education: Educational Psychology,* 9 April 2021. (available at https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/feduc.2021.647986/full as accessed on 20 November 2021).

Method and Rationale

In what follows, we detail the accounts of the group work experiences of undergraduate students enrolled for history modules at a tertiary institution in South Africa. The summary details experiences with group work at the first, second and third-year levels. The research on which this article deliberates includes three categories of undergraduate students at University within the discipline of history with varying in-person and remote learning experiences for the period 2019-2021:

- first-year students who have only had remote teaching
- second-year students who have had six weeks of in-person teaching and over a year of remote teaching
- third-year students that have had one year and six weeks of in-person teaching and over a year of remote teaching

While the different forms of group work introduced at the various levels are considered, the main focus is on how the students experienced this interaction. In other words, does group work bridge the digital divide, or are we merely groping in the digital ditch? It must be noted here that the way group work was done before the pandemic and during it had to be adjusted. For example, K Brzezicki's discussion of the implications of group work in a history classroom examined the role of projects, descriptions, observations and face-to-face discussions and how to moderate all of these. He gives particular learning strategies that would stimulate participation.[39] But as a recent five-part series on online discussions have revealed, students on a blank screen in diverse locations and who can easily switch off have to be approached differently. The study provided numerous tips such as role play, jigsaw, case study, and round robin, among others, to attract and retain the attention of these students in a remote learning and group discussion context.[40] However, the lecturers whose modules were surveyed for this study were free to choose what they felt worked best for their specific modules, themselves, and their students.

39 K Brzezicki, "Talking about history: group work in the classroom-practice and implications", *Teaching History*, 64, 1991, pp. 12–16.

40 A Prud'homme-Genereux, "21 ways to structure an online discussion, part three", Faculty Focus (2021), (available at https://www.facultyfocus.com/articles/online-education/online-student-engagement/21-ways-to-structure-an-online-discussion-part-three/ as accessed on 29 December 2021).

We used quantitative and qualitative questions to determine group work's impact on students. We were particularly interested in six specific questions—five quantitative and one qualitative—from a survey sent out on a university module feedback platform to the students. The questions were as follows:

Quantitative

1. The group work was well organised by the lecturer.
2. Group work is not a fair way to assess my ability.
3. The group work project made me feel less isolated within the context of remote learning.
4. I prefer to do assignment work on my own.
5. I enjoyed the group work as I was able to connect with my peers, and we kept in touch after the project.

For each of the quantitative questions, there were five responses in the following order:

1. (1) I strongly disagree.
2. (2) I disagree.
3. (3) Neither agree nor disagree.
4. (4) I agree.
5. (5) I absolutely agree.

Qualitative

6. How do you feel about group work, and did it contribute to peer learning? (Did you like/dislike and your reasons/suggestions for changes to the format of group work.)

The software tabulated both answers' frequencies and provided percentages to measure the level of satisfaction with the group in each category of question asked. But the tables were further compressed into three comparative tables for each year in the undergraduate program. (See Tables 1 - 3)

Using the findings, the study examined the efficacy of group work under Covid-19 imposed remote teaching and learning. It examined the different varieties of group work and its effect on students studying history from first to third-year levels. But the study must not be regarded as a testament to the benefits of distance education. Indeed, the fact that less than half of the history students responded to the online survey reveals the extent to which students can either be disengaged or feel online fatigue. Had this survey been conducted in class with students on campus, we are confident that a significantly larger proportion would have participated. So, the results reflect the responses of only those history students who participated in the survey. We maintain that in-person teaching and on-site university experience are invaluable and necessary as part of the development of the holistic university student. As such, we are only looking at group work in the context of a crisis, of how effective it may or may not be as a way of at least grouping the divide caused

by isolation and distance imposed by online learning. We are also not looking at group work as the most effective teaching and assessment method, as this is much debated, but what role it contributes toward optimum learning as part of other methods and approaches within the context of the pandemic restrictions.

In examining group work as part of the online teaching and learning toolkit, we were sensitive to several factors, such as the already mentioned space for academic freedom in deciding approaches and assessment methods amongst lecturers in their history modules. They considered the students' capacity to discern, engage, and comprehend the material at each stage. We also considered that all these students had very different experiences with higher education. For example, third-year students would have started university before the outbreak of Covid-19 and the imposition of various levels of lockdown. As such, they would have met and interacted with their lecturers, classmates and others in the university community and within the university's physical environment. They would have had the opportunity to participate in campus activities and had all sorts of in-person experiences that accompany becoming a university student. But, more importantly, they would have experienced contact learning. However difficult the shift to online learning may have been, at least they had some knowledge of their lecturers and classmates from their first and part of their second year against which they could compare.

On the other hand, second-year students would have briefly enjoyed the in-person experience for a couple of months before the imposition of the lockdown and the shift to online learning. But for all their limited interaction with university life, it was more than one can say for the current first-year students. They would generally never have met their lecturers' classmates and enjoyed the university experience, campus landscape, and what it offers. For them, teaching and learning, as well as being a university student, has been significantly reconfigured.

These different experiences attracted our attention to the importance of peer learning. While uploading teaching material, assessments, and live or recorded lectures on a virtual platform gives the impression that something is taking place, the students remain and operate in isolated silos. These experiences are significantly divided along various categories of class, race, and ethnicity, among others, all of which informs or are informed by questions of access and, therefore, quality. In this context, contrary to some suggestions that online learning has been the "great leveller", it has deepened the inequality divide. Some students either had no devices or were disadvantaged by using cell phones instead of laptops or desktop computers. Others had limited or no data, and even in instances where it was supplied, may not have electricity or faced connectivity issues. Yet others live in contexts where domestic chores, which they would have been spared were they on-

campus, became a daily obligation that disrupted either class attendance or interfered with their study time. Any of these and other possibilities all conspired to work in different ways against the capacity of students to attend classes or study.

Despite these challenges, group work, with all its limitations, possibly provided one opportunity to bridge this divide in the context of virtual learning. Because of obligations to peers, it invited the participation and commitment of other students, even sometimes working as an excuse for domestic choirs and other family obligations. It also provided the platform to engage in class work seriously. Despite the challenges, as the study will reveal, it allowed students to engage within their diverse remote learning experiences and backgrounds. In what follows, we explore the possible advantages of group work in the conceptual divide, while group learning activities give some semblance of being in, even if not at university

Group work and university learning: Lecturer and student experiences

Group work: First Year

In the first-year history module, group work assignments for the cohort of some 900 students were arranged through tutorial groups. At this level, group work was invaluable in providing a platform for students to meet their classmates even as they were still trying to come to terms with new learning experiences arising from the demands of tertiary as opposed to secondary education. The tutors divided the students into groups of about four to five each, and they were assigned a group assignment topic. Here also, it must be noted that the tutors had to adjust their engagements to suit the challenges of engaging students they had never met and attracting and keeping their attention and enthusiasm in a virtual classroom setup. The tutors guided students and helped them decide how, in their groups, they would "meet up" in terms of virtual connection (Zoom, Blackboard, WhatsApp group calls) and how often they would communicate.

Once the groups were set up and the interactions began on a particular historical topic, there were numerous complaints about non-compliance because they could not contact each other. At the same time, some students ended up working alone because some group members did not connect or turn up online to participate. Even if complaints about group members not participating or even turning up are unsurprising, the online setup and other background challenges exacerbated the problem. These complaints were generally

in the minority of cases, amounting to 15% at most. While numerous other assessments, such as self-marking quizzes, weekly logs and individual assignments, group work proved invaluable in bringing the students to work as a community. This was especially important under lockdown conditions where the students in this first-year level had never actually met each other physically. They got to know each other's names and characters in these group settings. In some instances of students staying off-campus but within the vicinity of the university, they even arranged meet-ups when lockdown regulations were relaxed to lessen isolation and get to know each other and work together on the history group work project, even if they were not allowed on campus. This helped with peer learning and provided opportunities to engage with each other, debate and devise a solution for their history project, and get to know their university colleagues in the context of virtual learning. However, much was lost from the lack of actual in-person contact. Group work allowed for some form of fellowship and created a sense of university and module belonging amongst the students.

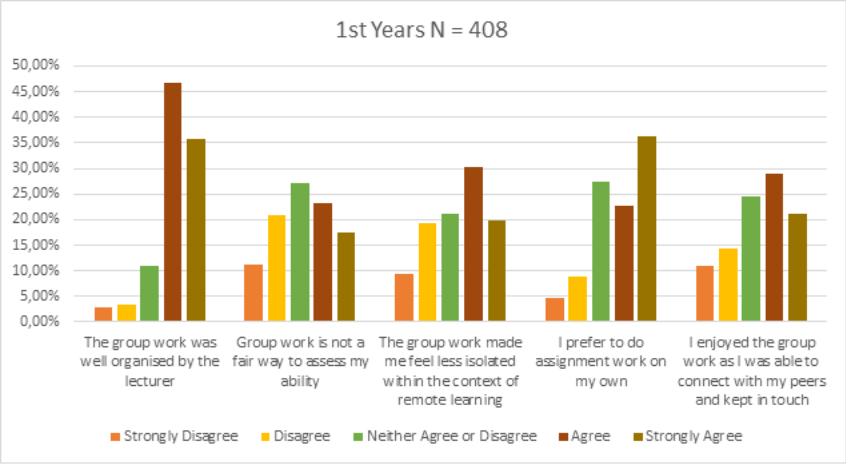

Table 1: First-year module response

As is evident in the above graph, 408 out of 910 students (45%) registered for the history module participated in the survey. Although we cannot speculate exactly why less than half the students participated, the reluctance may likely be explained by students opting not to take up yet another exercise under demanding online conditions—so-called screen or survey fatigue. So, this survey does not necessarily claim to be absolutely

representative of the student's views about group work in history, but at least of those who participated. In other ways also, these statistics show that with all the limitations of online learning, group work provides an apparent positive reprieve. Students were divided into groups of between five to six. They were given the choice of three topics, with the primary and secondary source material being uploaded to answer a particular debatable question requiring an opinion and substantiation.

The lecturers appeared to have made the best of the group work opportunities as 83% (strongly agree and agree) of the surveyed students attested to this positively. Even though a modest 33% (strongly agree and agree) indicated that group work was a fair way to be assessed, 50% (strongly agree and agree) concluded that group work made them feel less isolated in remote learning. Sixty-three per cent (strongly agree and agree) of students chose individual history assignments as their preferred assessment. Still, some 50% (strongly agree and agree) were pleased that group work allowed them to experience peer collaboration and keep in touch with other students. It is safe to conclude that under lockdown conditions. Despite students' preference for individual history assignments, they generally appreciated the advantages group work provided in connecting them with their classmates. A sizeable number of students, albeit less than those who approved, stood on the fence, leaving only a minority who disapproved of group work in their history module. While individual history assignments were preferred for their capacity to assess students' performance without the influence of others, group work remained an important option for both lecturers and students alike.

Group Work: Second Year

The group work assignment for 331 students in the second-year history module was fashioned around debates. The students were divided into groups of ten each, and each week, two groups would be given a historical topic and questions to debate on. Group members were expected to read links to journal articles or book chapters as part of the preparation and then "meet up" virtually to discuss their approach, strategy and arguments. But because of connectivity issues, the responses were not verbal, but a link they could type into was provided, and a thread that could easily be followed was created. This allowed the students to type in their answers and make the necessary scholarly references where necessary. This exercise was invaluable, despite some limitations, in creating group cohesion and a sense of community which encouraged them to work well together to try and attain a high collective mark. The group work was designed to allow students to work together because they were decentralised and isolated and to encourage collaboration and

critical engagement.

The lecturer found the group work experience useful as it helped students engage and work together, especially those who would not ordinarily do so. The lecturer deployed a Blackboard feature that randomised the group members, which allowed for a certain degree of indiscriminate diversity and clustered students who would not ordinarily work together. The group context also proved an inspiration to struggling students. If groups did well, those who had underperformed individually were inspired to pull their weight and work harder together for the next debate. It was, to a greater degree, a beneficial process in the end.

The students appeared to have enjoyed the process as they were actively engaged. Group work promotes collaborative learning and cooperation in all formative assessments. The idea of swim or sink reduces the competition between peers and promotes cooperation, which is an important part of the learning process. Although the debate is about trying to win a competition, in a group context, it promotes collaboration. This was done by using diverse groups and controversial topics, helping them to be more open-minded even if they were critical. There were cases where some students had to be called out for unruly lack of etiquette, but this was part of the learning process. It allowed the students to think outside the box and work with different groups of people while they were prevented from a normal classroom.

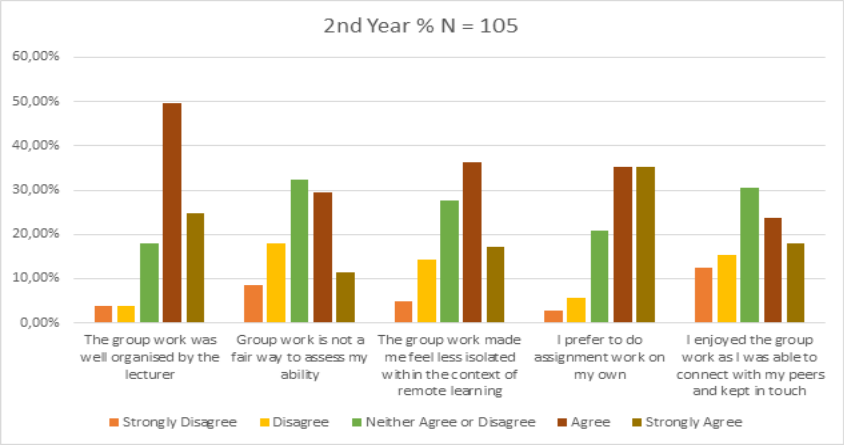

Table 2: Second-year module response

Thirty-one per cent (105 out of 331) participated in this survey. This ratio of students who participated in the second year was less than that of the first year. Just as in the case of the first years, there may be a sense of apathy towards surveys and the extra work it entails, only providing researchers with the perspectives of those who participated. To what extent this can be extrapolated to represent a general view remains unclear. Still, the data was revealing in ways that may offer some general feeling about the efficacy of group work.

Regarding how well the group work debates were organised, 75% of those surveyed approved (agree and strongly agree), with less than 20% unsure and a small remainder disagreeing. Although 26% indicated their confidence in the debates as a fair way of being assessed, up to 32% of surveyed students were undecided, and the remainder disapproved. Amongst the reasons noted for disapproval was the idea of sharing the marks in a context where some students contributed a fair amount of effort compared to their classmates. Most surveyed students found the debates quite beneficial for the reasons already identified by the lecturer. Fifty-six per cent (strongly agree and agree) reported feeling less isolated in remote learning because of it. Although 70% (strongly agree and agree) of the respondents still preferred individual history assignments as opposed to group work, some 42% (strongly agree and agree) enjoyed it, with about 31% undecided, possibly as this was their first time contributing to debates in relatively large groups and as a form of assessment.

In answering the narrative part of the survey, most students approved of group work. But some did cite their displeasure with other students who were either rude or uncooperative. There was, as mentioned, certainly a need to inculcate a sense of etiquette, which in itself is a critical skill to impart within the context of debating and beyond. Others complained about having to do more work than others and felt that some students got more marks than their work. But even these challenges were crucial life lessons about working with peers and in groups. Some people will always get credit for others' work. However, despite these limitations, most students felt that group work was instrumental in bridging the digital divide, allowing them to familiarise the names of other students in the thread, work together with others and collectively make a case for whatever side of the historical debate they were part of. Some students could engage with their peers and at least, for that time, be part of a history class.

Group work: Third year

In the third-year group of 77 students, a flexible approach to group work was adopted. While they were encouraged to participate in groups, a few students were allowed to work individually if they could not get in touch with peers or preferred to work alone. In general,

they found group work exciting, and the feedback was positive, except in a few cases where some reported that their group members did not participate or contribute adequately.

Peer learning was the primary motivation, but the lecturer modelled the group assignments to assess students individually. The lecturer regarded group work as a helpful tool but indicated that it could be a source of frustration for some students, so they opted for a combination of group and individual work. This lecturer achieved several objectives from this approach and invited students to collaborate, share readings and thoughts, and work together to make their case on a particular historical issue. But the lecturer also avoided giving collective marks, as students were invited to produce individual papers. The two-part group assessment invited students to work together to produce a proposal on a historiographical topic to examine and, secondly, a full paper developed from that proposal. But several historiographical themes were proposed, and each student chose the one they were most interested in. After utilising readings provided online and those they researched, they were allowed to discuss these before producing individual final assignments.

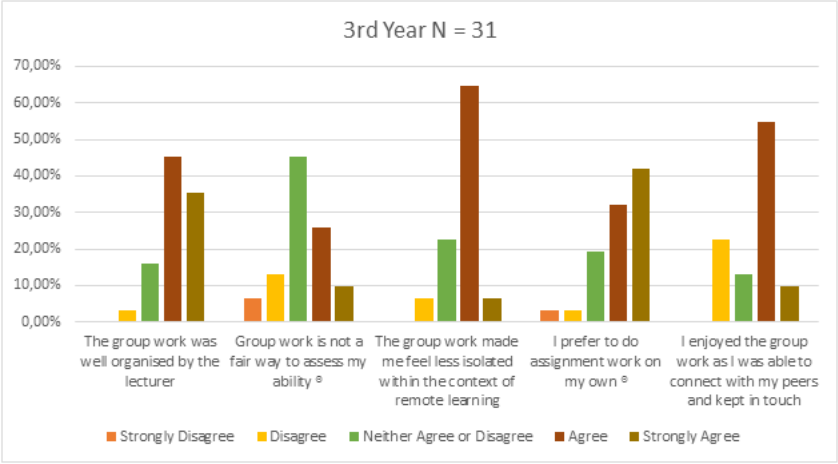

Table 3: Third-year module response

In this third-year module, 31 out of 77 (40%) students took part in this survey. However, this particular module is unique because it has far fewer students than the first and second-year courses, many of whom are in their final year before graduation. They had a year and a few months of on-site university experience and therefore knew each other relatively well.

They had also met and interacted regularly with most history teaching staff, only having been forced to go online because of the pandemic in the first months of their second year. Their experiences with group work, and their responses towards it, would unsurprisingly be informed by more experience.

Over 80% of participants approved (strongly agree and agree) of how the group work was organised. However, although perceived as well organised, about 45% were unsure whether or not group work was a fair way of being assessed. More than 75% of students (strongly agree and agree) indicated that group work left them feeling less isolated in the context of online learning. However, like the first and second-year students, most students, almost 75% (strongly agree and agree), preferred to do individual history assignments. Yet 65% of the students enjoyed (strongly agree and agree) the group work experience. This was consistent with group work's role in the other history modules of different levels.

In the case of the third-year students, they took advantage of pre-established networks and friendships. They also had more university experience and fully knew how a university education works. As a result, they could easily work together even as they submitted individual history assignments on which they were assessed. Complaints of non-participation were much less of an issue, especially as the groups were much smaller, sometimes consisting of no more than three or four students each, and they were individually assessed. But like the first- and second-year modules, despite them knowing and having met and worked with each other, they still felt that group work took away the feeling of isolation. Some felt relieved to be working with others. Although some indicated that online group work could never replace in-person engagements, they still felt that this helped them interact with others and engage the issues more closely during this crisis.

Conclusion: Grouping or groping

The outbreak of Covid-19 resulted in a shift to the pandemic classroom that demanded adjusting teaching approaches and developing imaginative pedagogical approaches. Among these included the group work approach as one of the toolkits of teaching and assessment practices. Several scholars took remote working, teaching and learning as the "new normal", claiming that online education had heralded a new and better virtual university of the future. But, to be clear, whatever approaches the history lecturers used in this study were designed to make the most of a crisis. The target for most university administrations was to save the academic year, but some mistook that as a testament to a successful transition to new and better online education. This resulted in well over 300

university academics (teaching staff) pushing back by signing a petition claiming that the 2020 academic year had not been as successful as university administrations claimed. They cited the loss of student and lecturer interactions, a reliance on unreliable platforms such as Whatsapp, voice notes and inadequate gadgets to allow all students access. They were especially concerned about the cost-saving objectives of the universities, which may have wanted to shift towards permanent online learning.[41] The pandemic proved to be not just a health one but also affected various aspects of university education. In this context, this article considers group work in the discipline of history. It shows that in the context of the pandemic, the pandemic classroom can adopt and adapt group work, not as the only teaching and assessment tool but as an important aspect of other approaches. As shown by the survey among history students and lecturers above, we look at group work as a way of bridging the digital divide and allowing students to have some form of interaction, reduce their isolation and encourage commitment and participation in the learning process.

The methodology used was designed to test the efficacy of group work as a method of assessment for the discipline of history under remote-learning crisis conditions. It is not necessarily a testament to how good group work is, but as the questions and responses by students and staff reveal, a way of temporarily overcoming the digital divide or remote disconnect. In that sense, online learning allowed lecturers to group the divide in various inventive ways, such as providing platforms for debate, such as in the second year where students could, in their various groups, collaborate and then produce a combined history task or assignment. In the case of third-year students, even if they were assessed individually, group work created a platform for discussion amongst peers to share thoughts, arguments and ideas—skills so integral to studying history. At least in working together on a group assignment, first-year students had some sense of belonging to this new and often unknown entity, the university—and history class. Generally, group work allows, under strenuous conditions, students an opportunity to work with other students, making them feel less isolated and part of a university institution. Yet, according to the majority of history students surveyed, although they appreciated the benefits of group work, they still insisted that they would rather write individual history assignments and experience in-person history lectures where discussion and debate can be prompted, led and monitored. In this case, compared with in-person interactions, online group work's limitations and

41 Z Zukiswa, "Academics reject claims that 2020 has been a success for universities", *Maverick Citizen*, 14 December 2020, (available at https://cornerstone.ac.za/academics-reject-claims-that-2020-has-been-a-success-for-universities/, as accessed on 2/01/2021).

challenges were akin to groping the divide. Even if group work incorporated students who, in most cases, have never met each other, as in the case of first-year students, and involved them in some form of an inclusive learning experience, this is still insufficient. The answers provided by the history lecturers and the history students' responses also reveal how in-person learning and individual work remain the most effective way of teaching—even though group work helped reduce the effects of the pandemic classroom.

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Knowledge for the people: Understanding the complex heritage of colonial education in South Africa

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"Educating the culturally different (whether difference is conceived of in terms of social class or cultural background) must not involve an attack on their culture. To organise such an education and yet not simultaneously further disadvantage the children we are trying to help is the major issue for education today".[1]

Abstract

The decolonisation of education seems to require a clear understanding of the colonial education heritage in South Africa and an understanding of the emergent global trends that shaped policy and practice from the 19th century. This paper explores the origins of educational discourses and practices that emerged in England and formed the basis of colonial practices. It focuses on emergent policies aimed at educating the working classes in the industrial heartland, which came to influence the literate or scientific culture in the Cape during that time. It explores the hitherto neglected issue of the ideas and resources deployed in both contexts, with particular reference to printed materials that shaped that culture in the process of framing a secular and scientific culture in schools and popular culture of literacy amongst working-class people in the metropolis and African subject/citizens in the colonial context. It also traces gradual attempts to introduce a culture of

1 D Layton, *Science for the people: the origins of the school science curriculum in England* (London, George Allen & Unwin,1973), p. 187, citing DM Shipman, "The unbridgeable gap", *The Times educational supplement* 30 June 1972.

literacy which embraced the African language and culture. These educational developments related to children's schooling and the popular education of adults helped shape the state-controlled mass education system that emerged during the 20th century. This paper aims to begin an exploration of the complex dynamics of that process and open the way for further research on these neglected issues.

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The issue

Ever since the 1980s, South Africans have talked about Peoples' education and enjoyed a kind of educational romance with the idea of promoting an 'indigenous' mode of education that would finally restore dignity to learning and schooling for the majority of South Africans in the wake of the colonial and apartheid historical experiences. All these innovations need to be understood as part of a multitude of progressive initiatives aimed at extending the remit of education to include the previously poor and the disadvantaged or the 'culturally excluded'. Yet after the heroic efforts to identify the concept of alternative education and to forge new practices in the heyday of the worker education movement associated with the FOSATU labour federation,[2] the ANC's initiatives regarding 'education in exile'[3] and the United Democratic Front (UDF) linked People's Education movement,[4] the idea of an alternative or radical education appropriate to the general knowledge of the "common man" in a modern democracy, which reaches beyond the boundaries of the traditional state curriculum, has fallen into neglect.[5] The current call for the 'Decolonisation of the Curriculum' in Universities, and schools, associated with the #FeesmustFall Movement, reminds us of the need to attend to these issues, if only to clarify what we mean by such demands. My suggestion is that a close examination of the history of colonial education might provide insights into these complex educational policy issues.

In search of answers to these questions, I have undertaken a preliminary enquiry into the history of 'radical education'. If such an enquiry is to be analytically useful, it needs to be set against the background of a wide literature which embraces more than a century of debate related to the emergence of popular literacy and education internationally. Those

2 L Seftel, "Worker education in the 70s", *African Perspective*, 24,1984, pp. 86–98. Linda Cooper, *Workers education in the global south* (Leiden, Neth., Kroninklijke Brill,2020).

3 S Morrow, B Maaba & L Pulumani, *Education in exile: SOMAFCO and the ANC school in Tanzania,1878–1992* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2004); R Govender, "The contestation, ambiguities and dilemmas of curriculum development at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, 1978 to 1992". (PhD dissertation, UWC, 2011).

4 G Kruss, *People's education: an examination of the concept* (Cape Town, CASE, UWC,1988); *People's education for teachers* : Proceedings of a conference held at UWC,1987)(Bellville, UWC,1987); P Kallaway, "From Bantu education to people's education in South Africa", N Entwistle, *Handbook of educational ideas and practices* (London, Routledge,1990), pp. 230–241.

5 On a slightly different note, the more recent call of the National Research Foundation (NRF) for research on Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) has largely gone unheeded! See South Africa: Department of Science and Technology, Indigenous knowledge systems (Pretoria, DST,2015); CO Hoppers, *Culture, indigenous knowledge and development* (Braamfontein, South Africa: Centre for Educational Policy Development, 2005).

contests over the form, shape and means of education relevant to various geographical and historical contexts can be traced to the struggles for working-class education during the industrial revolution in 19th-century Britain, the Progressive Education era in the USA from the late 19th century to the 1960s, and a variety of educational proposals associated with the post-colonial context in the Third World. Limits of space make it difficult to extend the consideration to those radical education experiments of the post-war era in Latin America (particularly Cuba) and the impact of Paulo Freire's work[6] or the advent of African independence as reflected in *Education for Self -Reliance* in Julius Nyerere's Tanzania, or Patrick van Rensburg's *Education with Production* in Botswana and Zimbabwe, but these initiatives all provide part of the framework for this enquiry.[7]

In relation to South Africa, these strands fed into struggles against racially segregated education for a century before the advent of apartheid but were particularly central to the anti-apartheid movement in the years after the 1976 SOWETO uprising. To what extent has that rich legacy of educational ferment shaped the post-1994 dispensation in South Africa's educational policy? How can we engage with this legacy in the current crisis over the call for the decolonisation of education in South Africa?

In a preliminary attempt to engage with these issues, I explore the nature of the educational experience for those who went to school or acquired access to modern forms of education from the 1830s to the 1940s. The enquiry refers to England and the Cape Colony/Cape Province, with further brief references beyond that period up to apartheid education (to the 1950s) in relation to the history of black education in South Africa. In very broad terms, such an investigation raises questions about the aims of formal education in the context of the modern global capitalist order. Has schooling for the masses in that context been about social control, surveillance and conformity,[8] or has it been motivated

6 P Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972); R Mackie (ed.), *Literacy and revolution: the pedagogy of Paulo Freire* (London, Pluto Press,1980); CA Torres, *The politics of non-formal education in Latin America* (New York, Praeger, 1990); T & P Noguera (eds.), *Social justice for teachers. Paulo Freire and education as a possible dream* (The Hague, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2009).

7 J Nyerere, *Education for Self - Reliance* (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer,1967); P van Rensburg, *Report from Swaneng Hill* (Stockholm, Dag Hammerskjold Foundation, 1974); J McLaughlin, *Education with production in Zimbabwe: the story of ZIMFEP* (Harare, ZIMFEP, 2002); K Shillington, *Patrick van Rensburg; rebel, visonary, and radical educationalist* (Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2020); K Shillington, *Patrick van Rensburg: rebel, visionary and radicaleEducationist : a biography* (Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2020).

8 M Carnoy, *Education as cultural imperialism* (New York, David McKay,1974); M Foucault, *The essential Foucault: selected works from 1954–1984* (ed. by P Rabinow & N Rose (New York, 2003); P Bourdieu, *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (London, SAGE, 1977/1990); S Bowles, *Schooling in capitalist America; educational reforms and the contradiction of economic life* (London , RKP,1976).

by humanitarian or democratic currents in modern society aimed at empowering citizens to engage with the political, economic and cultural challenges of the modern world? Or a (seemingly contradictory) combination/mixture of these? To put it another way, it seems crucial to ask whether the form, shape, and intention of education on the part of various communities of educational provision was similar or different in the imperial heartland to that experienced in the colonial context. *In essence, what were the linkages and ambiguities of modern educational practices at 'home' and in the colonial context during the period under review, and how did they change in different contexts over time?*

I assume that the history of the modern school and the classroom experience, which is often very difficult to research, can be, to some extent, illuminated by looking at the materials available for teachers and students, inside and outside the classroom, at particular times and in various circumstances. Equally important, though given less emphasis here, is the question of the relationship between educational theory or philosophy of education, and the dynamics of society and school community, in shaping that culture of the classroom or forums for adult education.

The initial focus of this historical exploration will be on the nature of educational changes in the imperial heartland. Who went to school? What did children learn in schools? How did the curriculum change for working-class children in England over the 19th century due to the industrial revolution, wide-scale urbanisation, and the emergence of radical working-class politics of various kinds? I am particularly interested in tracking how school knowledge comes to be constructed in contexts where state education is weak and notions of curriculum and school literature/textbooks are much more flexible than they were to become in a later age of close government planning and control of mass state education.

One avenue for understanding what was occurring in colonial mission schools in the Cape during the 19th century seems to be to examine what was occurring in relation to the growth of literacy and popular education in England at the same time—what educational ideas were about, what the controls were on the provision of popular education, what the links were between the religious and secular curriculum, what pedagogy was used, what materials were available, who the teachers were and how were they trained/educated, and how various aspects of policy shifted over time. An essential index of these changes seems to be investigating the textbooks or primers used in public schools. Who produced them, under what circumstances, how were they selected and funded, and how did curricula change from a religious to a secular focus by the end of the century in the context of state education promoted by the English Education Reform Act of 1870?

While it is impossible to assume any direct correspondence between the climate of educational opinion in England during the 19th century and what was occurring in the British colonies in South Africa, some comparison provides a sense of the context in which South African state and mission educators operated. Just as there had been a dominant influence of the church in popular education in early 19th-century England, in the colonial context, African education was managed by the Missions (mainly Anglican and Nonconformist) throughout the colonial period. However, that influence had to a degree, been adapted to the requirements of government policy from as far back as 1839 when the state Department of Public Education was established in the Cape.

Where the focus in the first section of this article is on the gradual shift from exclusively religious education for working-class children in early 19th-century England to a secular and science-based curriculum by the end of the period, my focus in the second section is to extend this agenda to include the development of a print culture in the Cape which also included the dominant indigenous language, isiXhosa, for school and adult readership.[9] In both cases, there was a move away from an exclusively Christian subject matter towards the production of secular literature aimed at an expanding readership and one which began to embrace the idea of educating citizens/subjects/workers rather than focussing exclusively on issues of proselytisation or moral behaviour. In the case of early 19th-century England (as distinct from the United Kingdom in general), the subjects of educational reform were the citizens/subjects of the modern state/capitalist economy with a single home language. In the Cape, they were the colonised subjects of a colonial state who spoke diverse languages and embraced diverse cultures and histories.

I will conclude by briefly referring to other educational experiments, such as the Adult Night Schools Movement in Cape Town and Johannesburg during the 1930s to 1940s which promoted radical traditions of worker education that had their origins in English and European trade union and socialist education. These endeavours were continued in the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Night Schools in working-class areas during the 1950s and 1960s, where they sought to serve the educational needs of the newly urbanised black working class until they were closed by government decree in the early apartheid years. Such initiatives raise questions about the potential significance of these radical education legacies for the post-1994 educational settlement.

9 A significant issue in the Cape was the use of two "settler languages" in schools, English and Dutch (Afrikaans). This is not an issue that can be taken up here. see EG Malherbe, *History of education in South Africa* Vol I & II (Cape Town, Juta, 1924/1977).

The changing nature of popular education in England during the 19th century

Any study of school knowledge in South Africa needs to be based on an understanding of the emergence of a mass education system in Britain, Europe and the USA during the 19th century, as educational thinking in the colonial context of the Cape and Natal was necessarily based on the ideas, practices and policies emerging in the colonial heartland.

The study of the emergence of the English education system from the 18th century, and the eventual emergence of a mass education system (for elementary education in 1870 and secondary education by the 1940s), attracted a great deal of attention in the post-War years. This interest has been linked to the need to understand the multiple aspects and origins of that system in terms of the contestation over policies followed, the chosen curriculum's content, and the pedagogy associated with these. The debates about the nature of knowledge to be promoted in schools provided a focus for philosophers and historians since the Enlightenment. Still, these debates have not always attended to the context in which these practices evolved or to the influence of the social and political environment on schools and communities. European philosophical enquiries focussed on what education was appropriate to the Enlightenment world. Influential participants in those debates included Comenius (1592–1670), Herbart (1776–1841), JJ Rousseau (1712–1778), Pestalozzi (1746–1827), Montessori (1870–1952), and many others. Durkheim gives us a unique set of insights into how education was dealt with in the context of late 18th-century revolutionary France, perhaps marking the first time that such issues had been posed concerning immediate issues of radical political change.[10]

In England, the Industrial Revolution and the rise of popular resistance from the 1830s, particularly the movements associated with Chartism, led to a ferment in educational theory and practice. This provided fertile soil for the work of social reformers like Jeremy Bentham, Robert Owen, James Mill, Joseph Hume, William Wilberforce, Joseph Lancaster, Arthur Roebuck and Henry Brougham.[11] In keeping with the best Enlightenment traditions, "it was believed that, as individuals could have their characters formed for them by society, so society itself could be improved and even perfected by a well-designed education system

10 E Durkheim, *The evolution of educational thought: lectures on the formation and development of secondary education in France* (translated by Peter Collins) (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977). I am grateful to Michael Young for pointing me to this source.

11 See WAC Stewart, P*rogressives and radicals in English education 1750–1970* (London, Macmillan,1972).

shaping its citizens ".[12] The work of Harold Silver, Brian Simon, JM Goldstrom, Michael Sanderson, Jonathan Rose, Richard Johnson, David Layton, and many others relating to 19th- century England provides rich literature on these developments, which will be very briefly referred to below. [13]

Whig reformers were initially active in establishing the Infant School Movement in London under Henry Brougham's mentorship and subsequently concerning the Lancastrian Movement and the Mechanics Institute Movement. They increasingly pressed the cause of state intervention in the education of the lower orders, and their influence through the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK)[14] and many other organisations contributed to the great surveys of state education in 1816, 1818, 1834 and 1861.[15] By 1861 there were over 2,5 million children in Public Elementary Schools, with 80% formal literacy rates for boys by 1871.[16] Government expenditure on elementary

12 M Sanderson, *Education, economic change and society 1780–1870* (London, Macmillan,1983), pp. 49.

13 There is a very large and impressive body of literature on the topic : see in particular : H Silver, *The concept of popular education* (London, Methuen,1965); H Silver, *Education as history* (London: Methuen, 1983); P & H Silver, *The education of the poor: The history of the national school 1824-1974* (London, 1974); P McCann (ed.), *Popular education and socialisation in the nineteenth century* (London, Methuen, 1977); B Simon, *The two nations and educational structure, 1780–1870* (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1974); JM Goldstrom, *Education: elementary education 1780–1900* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles,1972); *The social context of education 1808–1870* (Totowa, NJ., Rowman & Littlefield, 1972); RK Webb, *The British working class reader 1790–1848* (London, George Allen & Unwin,1955); Sanderson (1983); D Layton, (1973); J Rose, *The intellectual life of the British working class* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 2001).

14 It is worth noting that the provenance of these terms and the notion of a "society for useful knowledge" which focused on the promotion of scientific information can be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth century Enlightenment and the works of Francis Bacon and others. It also had a long history in the context of Benjamin Franklin's advancement of the Enlightenment in colonial North America. According to Lyons these endeavours provided the basis for the foundation of "the great land grant universities created under the Morrill Act of 1862 to provide training in agriculture and the mechanical arts "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life". This "useful knowledge prized expediency, utilitarian value, common sense and human experience over formalised book learning". See J Lyons, *The society for useful knowledge* (London, Bloomsbury Press, 2014), pp 95–110; 142; 170–71; D Vincent, "The Modern History of Literacy", J Rury & EH Tamura, *The Oxford handbook of history of education* (Oxford, OUP,2019)

15 BPP: 2318 (1816–18) : *Report of the commission on the education of the lower orders in the metropolis and beyond (Brougham Report)* ; BPP (572)(1834) : *Report of the parliamentary committee on the state of education* ; BPP VII,(1838): *Report of the Committee on the best means of providing useful education for the poorer classes*; J Kay-Shuttleworth, *Recent measure for the promotion of education in England* (London: Ridgeway, 1839); BPP (177)(1839) *Creation of the committee of council for education*; PP XXI (5)(1861) *Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the state of popular education in England* (Newcastle Commission).

16 M Sanderson, *Education, economic change and society 1780–1870*, p.17; Goldstrom, (1972), pp. 193–4.

education increased from £193 000 in 1850 to £834 000 in 1861.[17]

The changes and reforms did not emerge naturally from the existing social order – they were the outcomes of extensive struggles at various levels of society. Even if these debates were generally informed by broader philosophical enquiries, the critical developments in educational policy did not result solely from educational theorising and intellectual debate but from the hurly-burly of political contestation in this period of radical change. In broad outline, Richard Johnson argues that the foundations of a system of state-controlled secular education had been laid by the 1840s and that from that time until the passing of the Education Act of 1870, when the state took on the responsibility for mass elementary education, there was essentially a process of extending the quantity and quality of the provision. [18]

In summary, a key aspect of the debates around these issues has been the division between those who wish to explain the provision of education as part of an attempt to ward off radical change by the increasingly organised working class in the urban industrial areas and those who saw the social reforms through education as a means to extending democratic rights and human dignity in a society increasingly divided by class divisions. It is important to note that similar parallels can be observed in consideration of the debates about colonial education at a later time where there were a variety of protagonists—some of whom wished to see schooling as a mechanism of control over colonised peoples and others who conceived of education as part of the inevitable process of modernisation which provided access to useful skills or the rudiments of literacy and numeracy which would enable students to engage effectively in modern forms of life and work. Whatever perspective was adopted, there was little support from colonial officials or missionaries for forms of education which might tend towards social levelling and radical political demands until the late 1930s.[19] Those issues are as relevant to the practices of education in the Cape as they are to an understanding of English education, even if the issue of race dominates the former. At the same time, class is the essential analysis tool in the latter. Yet to miss the intersection of race and class is to miss the essence of the story!

17 Goldstrom (1972): 155.

18 R Johnson, "Notes on the schooling of the English working class: 1780–1850", R Dale (ed.) *Schooling and capitalism* (London, Open University Press, 1976).

19 A major contribution to this debate was M Carnoy (1974); For a more nuanced view see K King. P*an-Africanism and education* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1971). Also see P Kallaway & R Swartz (eds.), *Empire and education: the shaping of a comparative perspective* (New York, Peter Lang, 2016); Kallaway, *The changing face of colonial education in Africa* (Routledge/Taylor & Francis, 2020/Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2021).

It is therefore important to see the educational reforms being pursued by some Whig politicians in England during the 1830s, in particular, the role played by Henry Brougham, the chairman of the 1818 Report,[20] in the wider political context of his role as a reformer alongside William Wilberforce, in the campaign for the abolition of slavery in the 1830s. This campaign had significant relevance to social policy and education in the Cape. Brougham supported John Philip, the London Missionary Society (LMS), and the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) in the campaign for the emancipation of slaves and the defence of the rights of Khoi inhabitants of the Cape Colony.[21] In this regard, it is worth noting that issues raised in the context of the politics of empire sometimes impacted English domestic politics.[22]

The history of educational reform in 19th-century England is exceedingly complex. Still, I intend to trace the story by following what I see as one significant thread concerning Goldstrom's book on T*he Social Content of Education: A Study of the Working Class School Readers in England and Ireland*,[23] where he argues that the history of the classroom can best be understood by looking at the material available for teachers and students at specific times. Building on his insights into the English situation, I will investigate the nature of school experience in Cape schools, particularly mission schools for Africans, from the mid-19th century.

Concerning the English school experience, Goldstrom maps out four phases of schoolbook production during the 19th century: a) the religious phase, b) the Irish phase, c) the secular phase, and d) the economic phase. Very briefly, this plots the movement from Bible-based instruction, under the influence of the churches, to the development of a secular curriculum under the aegis of state authority. The move is centrally explained in terms of the reaction of many working-class communities to religious education, coupled with the aridness of a curriculum based solely on Bible learning and moralising.

> *In many cases, the indifference of the parents was compounded by the aversion of the children. Confined all day to a stuffy and over-crowded schoolroom, cowed by the indiscriminate use of physical punishment to enforce discipline, subjected to a*

20 See CW New, The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830 (Oxford, Clarendon, 1961): Ch. XII "Schools for all".
21 T Keegan, *Dr Philip's empire: one man's struggle for justice in nineteenth century South Africa* (Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2016), pp. 91, 94–9- 5, 114,139.
22 See also R Swartz, "Industrial education in Natal: the British imperial context", Kallaway & Swartz, *Education and empire: children, race and humanitarianism in the British settler colonies,1833–1880* (Palgrave Macmillan,2019), pp. 53–80.
23 JM Goldstrom (Totowa, N.J., Rowman & Littlefield, 1972).

> *curriculum based on the most mechanical type of rote learning of material which had no conceivable relevance to their life experience in the past or their life expectations in the future, bored by interminable moral lectures about the need for obedience to their superiors and for exclusive devotion to the peculiar tenets of one or other of the competing protestant faiths, it is hardly surprising that the children escaped as early and as often as possible from the schoolroom into the relative freedom and sanity of the world outside.*[24]

If children were to be kept in school for whatever reason, education needed to be reformed!

In this context, the SDUK, established in 1825 by Henry Brougham and Charles Knight, initiated a programme which sought to provide educational material appropriate to the "upliftment" of the working class. The early versions of these reforms can be traced to the *Readers* that moved away from religious knowledge towards a focus on secular knowledge and were based on the materials produced for the SDUK, which were first published in the *Penny Magazine* and the *Library of Useful Knowledge*. The SDUK was at the forefront of a campaign for secular education as a mechanism for reducing friction between Evangelicals and Anglicans. Although they were often opposed by religious societies, their campaign increasingly gained strength in the volatile political atmosphere of the 1830s. It was to gain considerable support from the 1835 Report of the Select Committee on Education in England and Wales.[25] The first edition of *Penny Magazine* boasted a circulation of 160 000 copies. It was, in due course, to be available in all parts of the country due to new printing technologies and modern modes of transport such as the steamship and the railway.

In seeking to get away from a scriptural approach to curriculum, the SDUK concentrated on lessons in political economy, namely "easy lessons on money matters for the use of young people". These lesson books were based on the material first developed for Irish schools and widely used in English and Welsh schools in the 1830s.[26] Parallel to these trends were the beginnings of efforts to introduce the new world of scientific discovery and the scientific method into the classroom.

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24 L Stone, "Literacy and education in England", *Past and Present*, 42 (1969), pp. 177.

25 PP. 1835 VII; see JM Goldstrom (1977), pp. 93–109.

26 These textbook had their origin in Ireland where the need to secularise had been most acute since the clash between Roman Catholic and Anglican curriculums had required early attention. Also see P Walsh, "Education and the 'universalist' idiom of empire: Irish national school books in Ireland and Ontario", *History of Education*, 37(5), September 2008, pp. 645–660.

The educational books produced from the 1850s took three forms: a) general readers, which were intended to impart the skill of literacy by conveying narratives both factual and fictional and about past and present, science and religion, men and women, aristocrats, workers, soldiers and heroes, often jumbled together into textbooks which reveal the preoccupations of both their producers and their consumers, b) discipline specific textbooks in the field of classics, geometry, science and English literature, and c) a broader literature aimed at an emerging wider market for adult literature.[27] All of these themes are also evident in the development of a literary culture in the Cape at a later date.

The emergence of science was a significant aspect of the mid-century increase in a literate culture and the spread of non-formal education. There was a wide and growing demand for materials to meet this need. The opposition to the SDUK from educational radicals, socialists and community organisations, together with the emergence of Owenite Halls of Science, Chartist Halls and proletarian reading rooms, extended the remit of education and meant that there was a great demand for secular knowledge outside of the safe boundaries set by the SDUK.[28] New kinds of knowledge began to dominate the public media, and there was increasing pressure for this to be accommodated in the school curriculum and textbooks. There was a demand from working-class people for education to fit their needs, however diverse these might have been. David Layton's excellent book on *Science for the People* charts these developments, from the work of Kay Shuttleworth to establishing a special committee for science education in the Council of Education established in 1843.[29]

This growth of secular education for adults and schoolchildren provided a large market for educational materials by the mid-century in England. This significantly impacted the spread of modern ideas and modern science to the rest of the British Empire. However, little research has been conducted on this issue to date.

The Chambers Story: Education with a difference?

The story of Chambers publishers in Edinburgh (and later London) is a remarkable episode in Britain's growth of popular knowledge. Beginning with a hand printing press in

27 J Rose (2001); L Howsam, C Stray, A Jenkins, JA Secord & A Vaninshaya, "What Victorians learned: Perspectives on 19th Century Schoolbooks", *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 12(2), 2010, pp. 262–285. I will not deal with issues related to (b).

28 Simons (1974): Ch.5.

29 Layton, (1973), Ch. 5, 8. In 1853 Kay Shuttleworth promoted a curriculum which featured: "Explanations of natural phenomenon", "Home and health", "Sanitary and nursing", "Products", "The use of machines".

a backstreet bookshop in Edinburgh, the Chambers brothers built up a publishing empire that has endured to the present day.[30] The goal from the outset was to produce cheap and accessible material for common readership in the emerging market, given the increasing literacy rates from the mid-19th century.[31] These inexpensive publications from the 1830s embrace a wide variety of topics.

The first success of the publishing house was in the form of the *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*,[32] a compendium of useful knowledge, or what we now might call 'cultural literacy'. Perhaps the most successful cheap educational texts were Chamber's *Information for the People* (beginning in 1833); Chamber's *Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts* (in 21 volumes) (1845). There were also various reference books, including *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* (ten volumes completed in 1868) and *Chambers' Technical Dictionary.* Perhaps most significantly, Chambers expanded on the secular trend toward popularising scientific knowledge. Physics, chemistry, geology, biology and evolution, as they came to be known in later years, were all featured.[33]

Chambers' Educational Course

This course aimed at teacher education and teachers and began with two simple books relating to teaching grammar in 1842—offering, by modern standards, surprisingly progressive pedagogical suggestions on how to teach language and composition. By 1872 a wide variety of texts was available in this series, including works on English reading and grammar (standard reading books, advanced reading books, grammar and spelling books.) There were also manuals for subject-specific instruction in algebra, animal physiology, geography, history, arithmetic and mathematics, the sciences, Latin, and German. This literature, along with that published by Longmans, Cassell, Macmillan, Blackwood, Blackie, Edward Arnold and others, was widely available by the last quarter of the century when the Education Act took effect. The sheer variety and range of materials from these publishers

30 The firm would eventually become part of Chambers Harrap Publishers in the late 20th century.

31 For the history of Chambers see A Fyfe, *Steam-powered knowledge: William Chambers and the business of publishing: 1820–1860* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2012); SM Cooney, "Publishers for the people: W & R Chambers: the early years 1832-1850". PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1970.

32 The first issue of the *Edinburgh Journal* in 1832 sold 25 000. This rose to 87 000 by 1844.

33 Robert Chambers was the author of *Vestiges of the natural history of creation* (1844) and this was followed by *Rudiments of geology* and T*he introduction to the sciences* (1844), *Ancient sea margins* (1848), George Coombe's biology on *The constitution of man*, (1835). *Natural philosophy: first treatise: laws of matter and motion* (1857) was a popular title probably aimed at the schools market.

make this a remarkable achievement, and the extent of sales demonstrates the new desire for knowledge in a mass market. [34]

Nelson Royal Readers

Thomas Nelson (1822–1892) and his brother William (1816–1887) also originated from Edinburgh and entered their father's business as booksellers and publishers at the time of the rapid extension of the publishing industry. Thomas was exceptionally skilled in the mechanical side and was attributed to the invention of the rotary press in 1850. The staple of their trade was the reprinting of standard authors at low prices.[35]

After the Education Act of 1870 had created a demand for improved schoolbooks, the Nelsons initiated their Royal Reader series, which proved to be a great success. They were soon imitated by many other great publishing houses in search of markets in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world. The first Royal Readers were published in the 1870s and were regularly re-issued till the 1930s. According to Howsam, the Royal Readers sold over five million copies in the four years 1878–1881, "reaching a sixth of the population" in England.[36] Through the Royal Readers, generations of students were raised on the same excerpts from Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Dickens's *Martin Chuzzelwit*, reproduced in the fifth volume of the series from 1872 to 1924. Readers produced 52 years apart were quite literally stereotype copies of each other. Pupils using *Nelson Royal Readers* No IV in the 1920s would have encountered not merely the same selection of novels, poems, historical summaries and informative essays but the same preface, illustrations, exercises, pagination and typeface and cover design as their Victorian grandparents. Little attempt was made to modify or prepare the material in suitable ways for children—even in Royal Readers specifically designed for young children—"they made only slight concessions to youth". Much the same could have been said of similar textbooks produced by other publishers.[37]

The South African Context

Due to the absence of research on the topic, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which the developments outlined above-impacted education in the Cape Colony and Natal, the

34 Rose (2002), pp. 187–88.
35 Wikipedia, "Thomas Nelson (1822–1892)", (available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Nelson_(1822–1892).
36 Howsam (2010), pp. 278.
37 Rose (2002), pp. 373 ; Howsam (2010), pp. 278–79.

two British colonies in South Africa, during the period under review. The establishment of the Department of Education in the Cape as early as 1839 was doubtlessly based on some of the influences of educational thinking and practice in England referred to above. Still, the extent of the borrowing has not been recorded in detail. By the 1830s, there were clear parallels in the gradual displacement of the influence of religion that had previously been asserted through the Bible and Schools Commission (inherited from the era of Dutch control) and the secularisation of the educational policy under the influence of the astronomer and reformer Sir John Herschel.[38] Herschel's views reflected the ambitious aims for education popular among progressive Whig politicians at the time when he argued at a public lecture in Cape Town that "the advance of a Nation's intelligence …did not depend upon a few successful philosophers toiling away in their lonely studies….but that a Nation's progress rather lay in the diffusion of knowledge among the masses of people".[39] Herschel's progressive vision of an education system where "the pupils would not just be passive listeners, but active respondents" has still to be achieved in the majority of our schools.[40] It is also important to note that Herschel, John Philip, John Fairbairn, the editor of the influential *South African Commercial Advertiser*, along with the librarian of the South African Library, Alexander Jardine, were all involved in the campaign for the emancipation of the slaves, and linked to the Whig reformism in England referred to above. They also promoted a Popular Library in Cape Town to expand adult education without class or race distinctions. The initiative prospered from 1834 to 1867.[41]

Suffice for the present purposes to note that the Watermeyer Education Commission

38 As noted above, this trend can be associated with John Philip and the campaign for slave emancipation and the defence of the rights of indigenous peoples in the Cape at this time. For more on Herschel see WT Ferguson & RFM Immelman, *Sir John Herschel and education at the Cape 1834–1840* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1961); DS Evans et al., *Herschel at the Cape: diaries and correspondence* (Cape Town, Balkema,1969).

39 Herschel's views on this occasion show remarkable similarity to those that Lyons associates with Francis Bacon, where "there is an emphasis on an educated cohort of citizens, rather than the romantic solitary figure of genius, in the creation of "useful knowledge". See Lyons (2014), p. 58.

40 EG Malherbe (1925), pp. 75,77.

41 RFM Immelman, "Book provision in Cape Colony, 1800–1860", *Journal of Library History* 5, 1970, pp 35–46; A Dick, *The hidden history of South Africa's book and reading cultures* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012). The "instructive cheap reading" provided included the *London penny journal, Boys and girls penny magazine and the British cyclopaedia. The Cape cycolpaedia* was published locally in two volumes (Cape Town, Bridekirk, 1835–1837). *The Cape of Good Hope Penny Magazine* also made a brief appearance between 1835 and 1837.

(1861–64)[42] and the Education Act of 1865 provided a parallel to the English Commissions described above. The foundation of a system of local school committees was laid, and a system of free schools emerged in the 1830s in keeping with the broader Whig ideals outlined above. The English language was adopted as a medium of instruction. English educational methods, such as the Monitorial systems of Bell and Lancaster, were introduced with a small number of English or Scottish schoolmasters. There was a brief attempt to institute a reform of educational provision on a model of inclusive citizenship that recognised education as a key element of 'civilisation', and acceptance to civil society in the form of the Common Government Schools introduced to the Cape.[43]

As far as I can establish, the textbooks used in school during this period were initially, and perhaps dominantly, the same as those used in England, and much of what has been said above seems applicable to the schools of the Cape.[44] The Monitorial system seems to have lasted much longer in African and mission schools than it did in schools in England at the time, or in white colonial schools, for the reason of its economy. It can probably be assumed that much of what went on in mission schools for the indigenous peoples resembled the picture provided above, characteristic of English working-class schools in the early part of the century.

Chambers and Nelson Royal Readers in South Africa

Chambers and Nelson Readers appear in the Catalogue of the Educational Museum of 1860, along with the works of many other British suppliers of educational books.[45] It has not been possible to establish to what extent these books were used in mission or African

42 Education Committee Report on the Education System of the Cape Colony: (G 24 -1863). see Malherbe Vol. I (1925), pp. 92–97.

43 See H Ludlow, "State schooling and the cultural construction of teacher identity in the Cape Colony, 1839-1865" (PhD dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2011); "Shaping colonial subjects through government education: policy, implementation and reception at the Cape of Good Hope, 1839-1862", Kallaway & Swartz, (2016), pp. 81–110.

44 A thirty page catalogue of the books held in the Educational Museum of the Department of Public Education in 1860 has miraculously survived in the South African National Library in Cape Town. Most of the books are school textbooks or teacher's manuals published in Britain. None of them were published in South Africa. see Cape of Good Hope, Office of the Superintendent General of Education, *Catalogue of the educational museum* (Cape Town, Saul Solomon Steam Printing Works,1860). Books published by Chambers, Nelson, the British and Foreign Schools Society, and the SPCK feature prominently on the lists.

45 Cape of Good Hope, Public Education Department, *Catalogue of the educational holdings* (Cape Town, Saul Solomon Steam Printing Office, 1860.) 30p. It is important to note that none of the textbooks or educational books that appear in this catalogue were printed in South Africa.

schools. However, Chamber's Reading Books and Nelson's *Reading from Best Authors* and *Young Reader* are noted as having been in use in Classes I, II and III at St Matthews Elementary School in Keiskamma Hoek in 1873.[46]

Other textbooks I have been able to trace in this context are *The South African Readers* No 4 & No 5: Royal Schools Series;[47] *Royal South African Geography: introductory book*.[48] There is also evidence that this series was used by the Department of Public Education for teacher training: Royal Schools Series: *Model Notes of Lessons for Class Teaching*;[49] *A Graded Series of Object Lessons*.[50] Nelson's *Highroads of History* (in ten volumes) was recommended for primary school teachers by the Department of Public Education in 1923.[51] These represent attempts to extend the developments that were characteristic of the British educational experience to the schools of the Cape by providing reading materials considered by the Education Department to be appropriate to schools at various levels and demonstrate an attempt to supplement religious teaching with new secular and scientific subject matter and modern pedagogy. In the 1920s, the Cape African Teacher's Association (CATA) noted that the curriculum and the library provision for schools did not extend to "native schools", and the support material for teachers ignored this important context. There were calls for circulating libraries to make material published by P*eople's Library, Everyman* and *Home University Library* available to a broader audience.[52]

Juta Publishers

Juta Publishers in Cape Town contracted to supply reference books for the new University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1857 and entered the market as an educational publisher and

46 Cape of Good Hope: Eastern districts – report on schools during the quarter ending 31 March, 1873 by Mr OH Hogarth, Deputy Inspector (G:38-'73) p.23, para 50. cited by PM Fihla "The development of Bantu education at St. Matthews Mission Station, Keiskamma Hoek,1853–1959" (MEd dissertation, UNISA, 1962), pp. 131.

47 London: Nelson, (1881; 1894-5), p. 320). In these readers "interesting moral stories are interspersed with instructive lessons in Natural History and Descriptive Geography....relieved by and abundance of Narrative Poetry and verses suitable for recitation". See Note in *The Royal Readers* No. VI (London, Nelson, 1881).

48 London: Nelson, 1911.

49 London: Nelson, 1891.

50 London: Nelson, 1899.

51 Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope, *The primary school: suggestions for the consideration of teachers* (Cape Town, Cape Times, 1923), p. 145. (also revised in 1924 and 1929). These represent impressive an attempt to provide support for teachers, but it pays little attention to issues relating to African education.

52 AV Murray, *The school in the bush* (London, Longman Green, 1929), pp. 95–96.

supplier of schoolbooks for use in the Dutch and English languages from the 1850s. These books were used throughout the Colony to supplement imported textbooks, but I have not been able to trace detailed evidence.[53]

In the 19th century, there was no sign of books authored by Africans or aimed at the African market, barring C.J. Crawshaw's *A First Kafir Course*[54] and Fred Eylers' *Zulu Self-Taught* (1901).[55] In the 20th century, there are also a few examples of books addressed to African language students, such as FSM Mncube, *Xhosa Manual*,[56] *English Readers for Bantu Schools*: Books 1 to 4)(n.d), Mary W Waters, *Stories from History for Bantu Children* (for Standards I to VI), *Our Native Land: for Use in Bantu High Schools and Colleges* (194?), *Great Man and Great Deeds for Bantu Children* (for Std. V & VI)(1953).[57]

One of the first examples I have found of an adaptation of the British textbook model by a South African publisher is *The South African Reader*: No V, aimed at upper primary school. The note appended at the beginning indicates that the book "will be found to contain a great variety of interesting and instructive lessons in Prose and Verse" on the model of the Chambers and Nelson Readers and that it was "prepared with great care, and is offered with confidence to the notice and examination of all classes of Teachers".[58] The contents referred to over 380 pages of text, including cultural and scientific material similar to that found in English readers and extracts highlighting local knowledge content. It is divided into three parts. Part I includes 36 short essays (or poems). Part II has 26 items on a wide variety of topics, with an effort to include considerable local content and material relating to the history of the Cape (*Early history of the Cape of Good Hope, The colonial rule of the Dutch East India Company, The Government of the Cape Colony* and some, somewhat limited, material relating to the indigenous African context such as *A Kaffir Law Court, Makanna, the Kaffir prophet, The Zulu Song of Peace*, interspersed with references to scientific topics—*The water we drink, Salt, Limestone, Marble, The telescope and microscope, The atmosphere, Wind, Soil and manure, Matter and force, Lessons in astronomy, Lessons in natural history*. There is a reference to the global world, including *The Mediterranean Sea, The Black Sea, The Caspian Sea,* and *The River Congo*. There is a residue of the old 'political economy' theme and human conduct; *Councils for the conduct of life*. And there is grammar

53 The only reference I have been able to trace on this issue is AB Caine & L Liepoldt, *Bibliography of publications of J.C. Juta and J.C. Juta & Co.:1853-1903* (University of Cape Town, School of Librarianship, 1954).
54 Various editions found (Lovedale Press,1888 and Juta, (1903).
55 Juta, 1900.
56 Juta, 193?
57 Cape Town: Juta, All published in the 1940s.
58 Jointly published by Nelson and Juta, 1894.

—*Improvement of language, Exercises in paraphrasing*, and *English derivations*.

Although it has often been remarked that little effort was made at this time to tailor the material for a juvenile audience, there is some evidence that efforts had been made here to adapt the material to the local environment and pitch it at the required level. In the case of specific fields, like history and geography, there had also been an attempt, by the early 20th century, to recruit local authors and to include relevant local content. However, as far as I can see, little of that content was specifically adapted for African schools, and no attempt seems to have been made to include African authors.

The Lovedale Press: Relevance to African Teachers and Students

My quest was for published materials that might have provided a particular knowledge that was somehow appropriate to African schools in the century before the advent of apartheid in 1948. However, I have found very little information about the literature and textbooks used in the mission schools for Africans in the Cape before the early 20th century. "The early products of the mission presses in the 19th century were predominantly scriptural, linguistic and pedagogic",[59] but there was from the earliest days of the missions a need to produce isiXhosa language material, particularly for the lower standards, and this opened the door for a degree of influence by Xhosa writers.

The overarching theme in the indigenous literature that did emerge from the early Xhosa intellectuals in the 1880s to the New African era from the 1920s was the critical issue of the uses of literacy. Was it only to serve the purposes of Christian mission and westernisation/ modernisation, or would it be at the forefront of the struggle to preserve aspects of indigenous culture and language and to contribute to the emergence of African nationalism in the South African context? Key literary figures like JT Jabavu, Donald Jabavu, EHA Made, SEK Mqhayi, G Ngubane, RRR Dlomo, HIE Dlomo and others would make important contributions to this debate.

What follows is an attempt to make a record of the materials that were available, with some reference, where possible, to what was used in schools.

Victor Murray mentions a book by John Murdoch, *My Duties*, which he claims was widely used in India and South Africa for moral instruction. It was in stock at the Lovedale Bookshop when he visited Alice in the late 1920s. It was modelled on the old political

59 J Opland, *Xhosa poets and poetry* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1998), pp. 228.

economy approach mentioned above. It contained stories aimed at imparting lessons on "self-help, punctuality, industriousness, benevolence, truthfulness, thrift and obedience", though he is sceptical about their effectiveness in "realising their serious aims".[60] Another foundational text of Xhosa literature was Isaiah Bud–M'belle's *Kafir Scholar's Companion* (1903),[61] which resembled the kind of adult readers associated with Chambers' early initiatives. Doke noted with enthusiasm that this contained a "miscellany including chapters of Xhosa literature and the Xhosa press, proverbs and versification, as well as notes on vocabulary and a bibliography of ethnographic works". The political economy theme is also pursued in the form of Elijah Makiwane's translation of James Luke's *Political Economy*[62] and Bernard Huss's Marianhill pamphlets.[63]

The need for Xhosa Readers and school materials in the Cape represented a key aspect of the school textbook market. The market for such materials was monopolised mainly by Lovedale Press, linked to the Free Church of Scotland's flagship mission institution in Southern Africa, Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape. Up to the 1940s, this press was able to exercise a virtual monopoly over the publication of Xhosa language materials, with principals William Govan (1841–1870), James Stewart (1870–1905) and James Henderson (1905–1930), and Robert HW Shepherd (1930–1955), along with William G Bennie and GH Welsh of the Cape Department of Education in the inter-war years, being in virtual control of all such publications, both concerning linguistic

60 Murray (1929), pp. 176–178. J Murdoch, *My duties* (London; Christian Literature Society, 1926). This book was apparently first published in the nineteenth century in relation to the concerns of the Christian Vernacular Literature Society (CVES) in India, was revised by ED Bowman in 1926, and subsequently by Stella Harlow in 1949. I have not been able to trace copies of the early editions. Murdoch was a key advocate of CVES which campaigned for mother-tongue education in India on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the British Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society from the 1850s. The pamphlet on "Debt and How to Get Out of It" (Madras: CVES, 1890) reflects the political economy tradition referred to above, and other work by Murdoch address the great political and social questions of the day in India with an emphasis on the role of indigenous language and culture in education. Other textbooks found in this category were FJ Gould, T*he children's book of moral lessons* (London, Watts & Co., 1899); J Luke, *Political economy for schools in Africa with special reference to South Africa* (translated by Rev. ET Makiwane, as *Ukumiseleka kobytyebi bezizwe* (Lovedale, Lovedale Printing Department, 1909); Lancelot Foggin, *The civic reader: for upper classes* (Wynberg, Rustica Press, 1918); RJ Hall, *Civics: An introduction to South African social problems* (Durban, Technical College, 1920) (also cited by AV Murray (1929) , pp. 203).

61 Lovedale, 1903.

62 Lovedale Book Depot., 1909.

63 B Huss, *Social history: or the Rochdale co-operative store for African students* (Marianhill Press, 1925); *Peoples' banks or the use and value of co-operative credit for African Natives* (Marianhill Press,1928);

conformity and financial capacity.[64]

The muted critique that does emerge during this time relates to the missionary censorship of African authors that parallels the religious censorship in England in the early 19th century. This critique came from the emergent intellectual elite who were products of the mission school education but increasingly sought to place their stamp on the colonial culture by asserting the significance of Xhosa culture and tradition while usually embracing the emergent modern forms of school culture. In Leon de Kock's terms, "the master narrative of 'civilisation' with its teleology of ''ultimate fairness'' and equal justice in the British constitutional structure was used strategically, rhetorically and tactically, in the process of a very material and political struggles".[65] There is surprisingly little work on this aspect of South African history.

There was a degree of change and reform related to using textbooks in schools during the first half of the 20th century. I will base my observations on two articles which documented this change in the early editions of the journal *Africa*.[66] The editor, Diedrich Westermann, professor of African Languages at the University of Berlin, and a key authority on African languages, noted in the first edition of the journal in 1928 that one of the "foremost duties" of the Institute was "to direct attention to the serious and urgent problem of obtaining better schoolbooks for African schools" which "met the requirements

64 see J Peires, "The Lovedale Press: literature for the Bantu revisited" *History in Africa*, 6, 1979, pp. 155–175; J Opland, "Nineteenth century Xhosa literature", *Kronos*, 30, 2004, pp. 22– 46. For detail of Bennie's career see *Dictionary of South African Biography*, Vol I : 51-2. Also see Kallaway (2020/2021) Ch.7.

65 L de Kock, *Civilising barbarians : missionary narratives and African textual responses in nineteenth century South Africa* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press,1996), p. 123; N Masilela, "South African literature in African languages", S Gikandi (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of African Literature* (London, Routledge, 2003) on line; M Ndletyana, (ed.) *African intellectuals in 19th and 20th Century South Africa* (Cape Town, HSRC Press,2008); T Mkandawire (ed.), *African intellectuals: rethinking politics,language, gender and development* (London, CODESRIA/Zed, 2005); AC Jordan, *Towards an African literature: the emergence of literary form in Xhosa* (Berkeley, UCLA Press, 1973); DDT Jabavu, *Bantu literature :classification and reviews* (Lovedale Press, 1921); *The influence of English literature on Bantu literature* (Lovedale Press, 1943); B Willan, *Sol Plaatje: a life of Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje 1876–1932* (Johannesburg, Jacana. 2018); see also Kallaway (2020/21), "Donald Mtimkulu: South African educationalist".

66 *Africa* was a journal that had been set up in 1928 by the International Institute of African Languages and Culture (IIALC) in London to publish research on Africa. For earlier attempts to map the field see James Dexter Taylor, "Vernacular Literature in South Africa", *Christianity and the Natives of South Africa* (General Missionary Conference of South Africa) (Alice, Lovedale, 1927), pp.131–144. For Xhosa language users this demonstrates that by 1927 there were a limited number of Graded Readers for primary schools but no Xhosa textbooks in geography, history, arithmetic, physiology, or school management. Some advances with regard to health readers, hygiene and agricultural studies are noted.

of modern education".[67] Westermann promoted vernacular language teaching in the schools and noted that there had been a considerable growth in the number of textbooks available as primers and readers in local languages for the lower grades. He was critical of the shortage of good books that could represent the African cultural heritage to children in credible form and keen to overcome the challenge of representing the modern world to Africans. In this regard, he sought to promote an academic approach to these problems which drew on the professional expertise of experienced practitioners in African education and sought the guidance of Africans and Europeans to ensure that only the 'best' textbooks were used, and that all such books should be approved by textbook committees.[68] The orthodox orthographies that emerged as an aspect of this 'scientific' approach to African language construction were open to considerable contestation from African language speakers. However, given the limited power and influence of African authors and educationalists at the time, there was little space to take up such critiques.[69]

Although there was wide agreement on the use of local African languages as the medium of instruction at the lower primary school level, Westermann argued that "European languages should be used along with the vernaculars" in secondary education since most of the textbooks would, in any case, be in the Colonial language. Despite favouring the promotion of African languages at school, he acknowledged that "the demand for European languages is growing everywhere with the advancement of higher education". Although he recognised that books on mathematics, science and arithmetic would inevitably contain materials common to European and African contexts, he favoured textbooks specially adapted to Africa in fields like botany, zoology, political economy, history and geography.[70]

Seven years later, Clement Doke, a former Baptist missionary in Nyasaland and now head of the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, followed up this initiative with a comprehensive article on *Vernacular Textbooks in South*

67 "Textbooks for African schools: a preliminary memorandum by the council". *Africa* I , 1928, pp. 13–22. Westermann recommended the establishment of a committee of experts to coordinate efforts in this regard.

68 Such appeals invoked the notion of professional judgement by 'experts' but seem to have clearly operated as a filter for censoring educational materials not thought suitable to the missionaries. Again, I have no evidence of how such issues might have been handled by the Cape Education Department.

69 See R Gilmour, *Grammars of colonialism: representing languages in colonial South Africa* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). Also see S Pugach, *Africa in translation: a history of colonial linguistics in Germany and beyond, 1814–1945* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan press, 2012); N Maake, "Publishing or perishing : books, papers and readings in African languages in South Africa", N Evans & M Seeber (ed.), *The politics of publishing in South Africa* (Scottsville, UKZN Press, 2000). Also see Kallaway (2000/2021) Ch 7.

70 Westermann, (1928), pp 21–22.

African Native Schools[71] in which he catalogued material gathered from experts in the field of African education. The index of material gathered referred to the whole region, but I will confine myself predominantly to remarks about the Cape. Doke pointed to the great variety of languages that were a feature of the Southern African educational landscape and the uneven development of textbooks for and in those languages. He noted that the paucity of vernacular textbooks is "a strong argument in favour of the early introduction of English or Afrikaans as a teaching medium" and also notes that "the Bantu themselves are to a great extent in favour of the latter policy, fearing the differentiation in education with the promotion of the vernacular would have negative effects on their advancement". The broad policy that had evolved by 1935 in the Union of South Africa was that the vernacular language would be used as a medium of instruction up to and including Standard IV, after that to be replaced by one of the official languages—English or Afrikaans.[72]

I will limit my comments to his report on the state of the textbook and other materials prepared for the Xhosa language group in the Cape Province. Here Doke presents a promising picture regarding Readers for 'Native Schools' in 1935, with at least three series available. He refers in particular to the Lovedale Press series *Xhosa Readers for Native Schools*, which was replaced in 1934–35 by the Stewart Xhosa Readers (*Iincwadi Zisixhosa Zabafundi*), which were published in the new orthography. Doke had fulsome praise for the Lovedale *Stewart Readers* prepared under the editorship of WG Bennie, the first Chief Inspector for Native Education in the Cape, which included "a certain amount of traditional material" but also included "contributions in verse and prose specially written by well-known 'native writers' such as JJR Jolobe, SET Mqhayi, John Solilo, Page SW Yako, and HM Ndawo".[73]

Doke commended these *Stewart Xhosa Readers* for "being of outstanding merit, well graded according to difficulty and reading matter, and calculated to sustain the children's interest from the beginning".[74] It can be noted, therefore, that Doke's synopsis of the Senior Readers locates them in the Chambers tradition explored above. As with

71 *Africa*, 8, 1935, pp.183–209: *Bantu Studies*, VII (1), 1933, pp. 26–30.

72 Doke, 1935, p. 188. The additional question of the production of a standard orthography for all of Africa under the influence of the IIALC research guidelines which were strongly influenced by Diedrich Westermann, was a central issues that Peires develops in relation to Lovedale Press. (Peires, 1979). These issues were taken up by the Department of Public Education, Cape of Good Hope. See IIALC, *Practical orthographies for African languages*, Memorandum I (1927) and revised edition 1930 (Oxford University Press); *Native education: the orthography of Xhosa* (Cape Town, Cape Times, 1934).

73 For a more detailed treatment of this issue see Kallaway (2020/21): Ch 7.

74 Doke (1935), p. 192.

the Chambers series, guest writers were recruited to contribute pieces relevant to their particular expertise. The *Readers* included extracts from various authors on various topics relevant to an introduction to key aspects of modern knowledge and African themes. Elsie Chubb's contribution to biology was based on her *Imizimba Yetu Nickusebenze Kwayo* (*Yagugulwa ngo*) (*Our bodies and how they work*) was translated by J. Henderson Soga);[75] Robert Godfrey wrote on nature study;[76] Alexander William Roberts, a science teacher at Lovedale from 1883 to 1938, wrote about science education;[77] and Sydney H Skaife, from 1921 to 1945, the Inspector of Science in the Cape Department of Education, was a prominent entomologist and naturalist, and author of research publications and school texts, on biology.[78] There are lessons on health (the section on the skin and the defences of the body against disease); historical sketches with African themes including Ntsikana; Sarili, the Gqunukhwebe, Khama, the Kuruman Mission, Livingstone's travels, and the work of the African Labour Contingent during World War I in France; Greek mythology (Theseus and the Minotaur); Arabic tales including *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*; pieces on soil erosion, the treatment of plants and animals, and several short stories and *iintsomi*, in addition to Bible stories like *The Story of Ruth* and extracts from Tiyo Soga's translation of *Pilgrims Progress*. When the series was extended to include Readers for the high school, Doke asserted that "the Xhosa—speaking child will be provided with a wealth of material in his language suited to his needs from the infant School to the University".[79] According to Peires, this series "struck gold" for Lovedale Press in the 1930s and was reported to have sold 56 000 copies every six months in the early 1940s.[80] Doke omitted to mention the *Healdtown English Readers* edited by Candlish Koti, which appeared in various versions between 1917 and 1946,[81] and Juta's *English Readers for Bantu Schools* (Books 1 to 4).[82] By

75 London, Sheldon Press, 1929.

76 See *Incwadi yesiXhosa yesequibi lesine* (London, Longmans Green, 1941). Based on his work on *Bird lore in the Eastern Cape* (Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1941).

77 See K Snedegar, *Mission, science and race in South Africa* (London, Lexington Books, 2015).

78 *Animal life in South Africa* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1920); *Lessons in nature study for rural primary schools : A textbook for student teachers and teachers in South Africa* (London: Longmans, 1931); *New junior certificate biology for South African schools* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1931).

79 WG Bennie (ed.), *The Stewart Xhosa readers : Iincwadi Zesixhosa Zabafundi* : Primer; Infant Reader, Std. 1.; Std. 2.; Std. 3.; Std 4.; Std.5.; Std.6 and Senior. (Lovedale Press, 1934). See review in *Bantu Studies* 9 (1935), pp. 83–4; 289.

80 Peires,(1979), p. 160.

81 London, Longmans, 1946. See review by GP Lestrade, *Bantu Studies* 10, 1936, pp. 117-18.

82 Cape Town, Juta, n.d.

the mid-century, there was a greater emphasis on writing and English composition.[83]

Although the problem of the availability of suitable literature in the vernacular was a constant theme in writing about African education,[84] Doke notes that "there are a growing number of books available in Xhosa for general and cultural reading in the upper classes" and provides a list of those that are most significant. I have added to this to bring it up to the 1940s. These included John Knox Bokwe, *Ntzikana: Story of an African Convert*;[85] WB Rubusana (ed.) *Zemk'inkomo magwalandini* (The Cattle are Departing You Cowards);[86] Tiyo Soga, *Umambo lohambi Mhambi* (a translation of Bunyan's, *Pilgrim's Progress*)[87] and *Intlalo ka Xosa* (The Way of the Xhosa);[88] James Jolobe, *U-Zagula* and *Amavo* (Essays);[89] Thomas Mofolo, *Meoti oa Bochabela* (Traveller to the East) and *Chaka*;[90] HIE Dlomo, *Nongquashe the Liberator: The Girl Who Killed to Save:* a play;[91] Enoch S Guma, *Nomalizo*;[92] RR Dlomo, *An African Tragedy*,[93] Guybon Sinxo, *Imfene ka-Debeza* (*U-Mdlalo*);[94] *Umfundidi wase Mtugwase*;[95] *Umzali Wolahleko*;[96] AC Jordan, *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (The Wrath of the Ancestors);[97] Victoria Swartbooi, *U-Mandisa*[98] and EHA Made *Indlafa yaseHarrisdale*.[99] Sol T Plaatje's *Diphòshò –phòshò*, a Tswana translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, and his epic novel *Mhudi: An Epic of Native Life Hundred Years Ago*

83 WN Cheadle, *English composition for African students* (Cape Town, Juta, n.d.) ; AJE Winter, *English composition for Bantu students* (London, Longmans, 1944).

84 See AV Murray (1929/1938): Ch. VIII

85 Lovedale,1914.

86 First published in London by Butler & Frome, 1906/1911.This included an extensive collection of Xhosa praise poems and collected works from the newspaper *Izwe labantu* which Rubusana had edited.

87 First published: Lovedale, 1868.

88 Lovedale, 1937.

89 Lovedale, 1926.; Johannesburg , University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1940.

90 Morija, Morija Book Depot,1912; Morija Book Depot., 1925.(London, Oxford University Press/ IIALC,1931).

91 Lovedale, 1933. See a critical review by CM Doke, *Bantu Studies* 11 (1937), pp. 63-64.

92 London, Sheldon Press, 1928.

93 Lovedale, 1928.

94 Lovedale, 1925.

95 Lovedale, 1927.

96 Lovedale, 1944.

97 Lovedale, 1940.

98 Lovedale, 1934.

99 (Shuter & Shooter, 1939). See reviews in *Bantu Studies* 14, 1940. It is significant to note that some of the early writers like JS Bokwe, WH Soga, WB Rubusana and JT Jabavu were prominent member of the Native Education Association at the end of the 19th century. (see A Odendaal, *Vukani Bantu: The beginnings of Black protest politics in South Africa to 1912* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1984), pp.7–10; WW Gqoba, *Isizwe esinembali : Xhosa histories and poetry 1873–88* (Pietermaritzburg, UKZN Press, 2015)(edited by J Opland, W Kase & P Maseko).

(1930) also needs special attention as they were widely read.[100]

Samuel E Mqhayi (1875–1945) is best known for having reputedly written the first novel in Xhosa, *U Samson* (1907), which was aimed at young people and said to have had a strong political message, but unfortunately, no copies have survived. Also significant were Ityala lama-wele (The Court Case of the Twins)(1914),[101] *Imi-hobe nemibongo* (1927), *U'Don-Jadu* (1929-34),[102] and *i-Nzuzo*.[103] A book of verse for schools, *Imi-hobe nemibongo* (1927), was published by Sheldon Press in London after he failed to find a South African publisher.[104] Doke noted Mqhayi as "easily the finest Xhosa writer we have and has much literary merit". Lev Shoots notes that "it is his ability to explain the new as a continuation of the older traditions that makes Mqhayi's work so powerful and explains why he has been so revered as a public figure in his own time and why his work is still drawn on today".[105] One of the most interesting texts of the time is Mqhayi's autobiography *U-Mqhayi waseNtab'Ozuko*. [106]

There were also white authors who contributed to this growing Xhosa literature, including the anthropologist and sociological researcher Peter AW Cook,[107] William

100 Lovedale Press, 1930. Also see B Willan, "What other devils?: the texts of Sol T Plaatje revisited" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41(6), 2015, pp. 1331–1347; Sol Plaatje: a life of Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje1876-1932 (Johannesburg, Jacana,2018).

101 Lovedale, 1914. This has recently been translated into English but fails to inform the reader of the complex history of this text that was rewritten and amended many times by the author and by the publishers. See Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 2018.

102 Lovedale, 1929 and subsequent editions. There were also various amendments to this text over the years. The first English language translation was published by Oxford University Press, 2018.

103 Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1942.

104 *U-Aggrey* (London; Sheldon Press, 1945); *I-Nzuzo* (Johannesburg, Wits Press,1942/3); *Imihobe* (London, Sheldon Press, 1927). Sheldon Press was linked to the SPCK and showed considerable commitment to the publication of materials for the colonial African educational market in the inter-War era. It would merit further research. It is worth noting that Mqhayi won the first prize for Bantu Literature in the May Esther Bedford Fellowships for literature and poetry offered by the Colonial Department of the Institute of Education, London University in 1935 (for *U-Don Jadu*) and 1936 (for *U-Mhlekazi u-Hintsa*). African Book Awards Database Results : see http://www.indiana.edu/~libsalc/africa/scripts/awards1.php?award=193; Doke (1933) p. 44. See also Kallaway (2020/21) Ch7.

105 See LJ Shoots, "The sociological imagination of SEK Mqhayi" (M.A. dissertation, UCT, 2014).

106 Lovedale Press, 1939. This was first published in Diedrich Westermann, *Afrikaner erzahlen ihr Leben* (Essen, Essner Verlagstaldt, c1938) and edited by P Scott, *Mqhayi in translation: a short autobiography of Samuel Krune Mqhay*i translated by WG Bennie (Grahamstown, Communications No 5: Dept of African Languages, Rhodes University,1976). For detailed treatment of Mqhayi's work see J Opland (ed.), *Abantu Besizwe: historical and biographical writings,1902–1944* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2009); Opland & PT Mtuze (eds.) *SEK Mqhayi: Iziganeko Zisizwe; Occasional poems 1900–1943* (Pietermaritzburg, UKZN Press, 2017); Kallaway P (2020–21) Ch 7.

107 See *Kwane: an African saga* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller,1935/1939,1969); *Ukhwane : ibhalwe ngu-iguqulewe isixohaseni ngu- D.M.Lupuwana* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1957).

Bennie,[108] Edward Grant,[109] and Mary W Waters.[110]

As early as 1895, Thomas Muir, the Cape Superintendent General of Education, launched a programme to encourage the systematic teaching of science and ensure, in keeping with the Progressive ethos of the time, that "the main object would be to ensure that the work done shall be observational and experimental and not accomplished merely by help of books". But he notes that a major hindrance to this project is that there were no textbooks in Agriculture, Botany or Geology related to local conditions.[111] By 1935 Doke mentions books that he feels are appropriate, but it seems that in science and mathematics, there was still a strong reliance on easily available books printed cheaply in Britain. Locally, concerning biology and hygiene, he gives high praise to Neil Macvicar's *Health Reader* for Standard III[112] and *Book of Health*,[113] and to JH Soga's *Imizimba yetu nokusebenza kwayo* (Our Bodies and How They Work).[114] Despite the call for a focus on agriculture, the only books on the topic available in the Cape in the 1930s seem to have been WA Mazwai's I*ncwadi yaba limi* (The Cultivator's Book),[115] HH Lund's *Primer on Agricultural Science*,[116] Bernard Huss, *A Textbook on Agriculture*,[117] and WG Dowsley's *Farming for South African Schools*, which seems to have been prepared for white schools but were translated by Mqhayi into Xhosa.[118] Dudley Hampton's *Agriculture for Africans*[119] was an adaptation of his book, first published in India. The main geography texts mentioned are those by Edith A How[120] and Mary Waters.[121] It is worth noting that there was a focus on the promotion

108 *Imibeng : A Xhosa anthology* (Lovedale, 1935)
109 *Isihokelo Sabasumayeli Naba fundi Bezibalo* (Lovedale Press, 193?)
110 *Nongquause; Ukukanya: the light* (Lovedale Press, 1925); *Cameos from the kraal* (Lovedale Press, n.d.)
111 Cape of Good Hope, Report of the SGE (Thomas Muir) for 1895 (G2 - 96): 21. See also P Elliott & T Muir, *'Lad O'Pairts': The life and work of Sir Thomas Muir (1844–1934), mathematician and Cape colonial educationalist* (Cape Town, 2021). On the teaching of nature study and agriculture in African school also see M Wrong & DG Brackett, "Notes on nature study and agricultural textbooks used in African Schools" *Africa*, 5, 1932, pp. 474–486.
112 Lovedale, 1935.
113 Translated as *Lokwalŏ lwago Tahela sentlê* by Theopholis Gaboutlwelwe. (Lovedale,1941).
114 A translation of Dr Elsie Chubbs' book. (London: Sheldon Press, 1929). For books on hygiene also see :"Hygiene Books", *Africa* Vol. III (4); Vol V (1).

115 Lovedale, 1923.
116 Juta, n.d.
117 London: Longmans,1920; Marianhill Press, 1931.
118 *Ulimo lucazelwe zase-Afrika ese Zantsi* (Cape Town, Nationale Pers, 1920).
119 London, Longmans, 1943.
120 *Abantu Base-Lizwe*: 1) *Abantu base-Afrika* (Peoples of Africa); 2) *Abantu Bamanye Amazwe* (Peoples of other lands) (London, Sheldon Press,1925).
121 *Our native land: for use in Bantu high schools and colleges:* Book I and II.(Cape Town, Juta, 19??).

of industrial education in the Cape from the last quarter of the 19th century but I have not been able to locate textbooks relating to this topic.[122]

Concerning history, Doke notes that "no textbooks were prescribed for the junior standards, but in Standard IV, certain English books are suggested to teachers, in addition to four small books in Xhosa".[123] J Whiteside, *A New School History of South Africa*,[124] Peter AW Cook's *South African History for Natives*,[125] and RW Wells's *History for Bantu Schools*[126] seem to have been among the few history books published exclusively for African high schools before the apartheid era.[127] This neglects the emergence of a strong tradition of historical work among the new Xhosa intelligentsia, concerned with recovering the traditions of their people. They include William Gqoba's *Imbali yama Xosa* (The History of the Xhosa People)(1887), *Imbali yase Mbo* (The History of the Eastern Territory)(1887), *Isizatu sokuxelwa kwe nkomo ngo Nongqause* (The motive for the Nongquause Cattle Killing (1888)[128], Magema Fuze, *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona* (The Black People and Whence They Came) (1922),[129] Richard T Kawa, *I-Bali Lama-Mfengu* (The History of the Mfengu),[130] Victor P Ndamase, *Ama-Mpondo:Ibali ne-Ntlalo* (The History and Ways of the Mpondo),[131] Alfred Z Ngani, *Ibali lama Gqunukhwebe* (The History of the ama-Gqunukhwebe).[132] Dr SM Molema, *The Bantu*,[133] JH Soga's *The South Eastern Bantu and Ama-Xosa Life and Customs*,[134] and Donald Jabavu's *The Black Problem*[135] would have also

122 See "Industrial training, a part of Native Education" , L Dale, *Technical instruction and industrial training, a necessary supplement to the colonial system of public education* (Cape Town, Juta, 1875), pp. 7–13. (also published in 1884,1892). See also "The development of vocational education in the colonies" *Oversea Education*, VII (4), July 1936, pp. 171–179. AD Dodd's important study on *Native vocational training* (Lovedale Press,1936) makes no mention of such textbooks.

123 Doke, 1935, p. 187.

124 Cape Town: Juta, 1897and various other editions; referred to by I Balie, *Die geskiedenis van Genadendal* (Cape Town, Perskor, 1988), p.129.

125 London, Longman, 1932–1943: various editions.

126 London, Nelson, 1946.

127 Also see MW Waters, *Stories from history for Bantu children* (Cape Town, Juta, n.d.); *Great men and great deeds for Bantu children* (Cape Town, Juta, n.d.); V Ridgway, *Stories from Zulu history* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter, 1946).

128 See WW Gqoba, *Isizwe Esinembali : Xhosa Histories and Poetry (1873–1888)* (edited by J Opland, W Kusde & P Maseko) (Pietermaritzburg, UKZN Press, 2015), pp 264–299; 300–349; 460–484.

129 Republished Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1979.

130 Lovedale Press, 1929.

131 Lovedale Press. 192?.

132 Lovedale Press, 1938.

133 Edinburgh, Green, 1920.

134 Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1930; Lovedale Press, 1931.

135 Lovedale Book Department, 1920.

featured prominently in this library.[136]

At the end of the period under review a few publications also addressed the preparation of African teachers. Dumbrell's *Letters to African Teachers* (1935) and *More Letters to African Teachers* (1938);[137] R R Young's *Suggestions for Training Teachers in Africa*;[138] Harold Jowett's *Principles of Education for African Teachers*[139] and *Suggested Methods for African School*,[140] Alban JE Winter's *African Education: suggested principles and methods for African students*,[141] and WH Seaton's *The One -Teacher Kraal School*,[142] were widely used throughout colonial Africa. We must assume that the books used in white schools were also used in the African teacher-education context, and many were still published in Britain up to the 1940s.

Against this background it seems safe to say that the curriculum in mission schools would have been somewhat more conservative than that to be found in English schools towards the end of the 19th century but that there was a limited growth of local literature, both fiction and non-fiction in South Africa by the mid-20th century, within the limits of what the publishers thought desirable, given their rather restricted view about what was morally, politically and religiously acceptable.[143]

Somewhat surprisingly, a careful search of journals dedicated to the concerns of African teachers in the 1930s, *The CATA or The Teachers' Vision* (the journal of the Cape African Teachers' Association), *The African Teacher* (The Orange Free State African Teachers' Association), *Native Teachers' Journal* (Natal African Teachers' Association) and *The Good Shepherd* (Transvaal African Teachers' Association), failed to uncover any major debates about the nature of the textbooks available or the need for changes. The publishers' advertisements cite the materials listed above, with Lovedale Press being the primary supplier.

The Bantu Treasury Readers

136 See also GP Lestrade, "European influence upon the development of Bantu language and literature", I Schapera (ed.), *Western civilisation and the Natives of South Africa* (London, RKP, 1967), pp. 105–127. For a wider African perspective see "History and geography textbooks", *Africa* Vol VII (2)(1934). Also see P Kallaway, "History in popular literature and textbooks for Xhosa schools,1850-1950s" *Yesterday & Today*, 20, December 2018, pp.165–174.
137 London, Longmans Green.
138 London, Longmans Green, 1931.
139 London, Longman, 1945.
140 London, Longman, 1946.
141 London, Longman, 1939.
142 Cape Town, Juta & Co., 1936?
143 Peires (1979), pp. 155–175.

The only other significant contribution to indigenous language publishing in the pre-apartheid era was *The Bantu Treasury Series*, initiated by Professor Doke and Benedict Vilikazi. It was a project of the University of Witwatersrand Press, and quite divorced from its mainstream academic publishing endeavours. In all, some fifteen titles were produced during the period when it was active from 1935 to the early 1950s, featuring authors like James Jolobe, Benedict Vilakazi, Sol Plaatje, Nimrod Ndebele, SEK Mqhayi, SM Mofokeng, Leetile Raditladi, Jac Mocooncoeng, Elliot Zonde, JM Sikakana and P Myeni. Some of these represent reprints from earlier publications. Elizabeth le Roux notes that there were considerable tensions over Doke's paternalistic approach to the endeavour, and as a consequence, some African intellectuals distanced themselves from the project. Doke does not seem to have been accused of censorship or screening, but he was central to the "great orthographic upheaval" referred to above in relation to Westermann.[144]

Although most of these publications achieved two or three reprints, the series does not seem to have been financially viable as it failed to access the school textbook market in the way that Lovedale Press had. From the 1950s when the market for school texts in African languages expanded dramatically under Bantu Education, the vernacular textbook market was captured by politically connected Afrikaans publishing houses like Van Schaik, Via Afrika and Educum. The history of these developments still awaits research. [145]

Newspapers and Journals

There is no space here for an in-depth review of the newspapers and journals that also contributed to the culture of literacy in the Cape. Still, these publications played an extremely important role in the establishment of an emergent culture of reading in the Cape during the period under discussion.[146] Alongside the strong development of an English and Dutch/Afrikaans language press from the mid-19th century, these publications established

144 Doke was chairman of the South African Orthographic Committee established in 1929.

145 E le Roux, "Black writers, White publishers: the case of the Bantu Treasury Series in South Africa", *E-rea*, 12/15/2013, issue 11(1); "Book history of the African world: The state of the discipline" *Book History* 15 (2012), pp. 248–300; *African Studies*, 22(1), January1963, pp. 36; *African Studies* 29 (2) Jan 1970 p. 140; N Maake, "CM Doke and the Department of Bantu Studies", *African Studies*, 52(2) Jan 1993, pp. 77–88; I Schapera & B Vilikazi, *African Studies*, 11(1), 1937, pp. 53–66; G Mabille, Review *African Studies* 6 (4) Dec.1947, pp. 210–211; *African Studies*, 14, Jan. 1940, pp. 455–467. For a full list see : *African Studies,* 29 (2) 1940, p. 140.

146 See AJ Friedgut, "The non-European press", E Hellman (ed.), *Handbook on race relations in South Africa* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 484–510. He describes this as 'the voice of Caliban'.

the foundations for a new market for African readers—both in English and in isiXhosa. The journal of Lovedale Mission, *Isigidimi Sama-Xosa/The Kaffir Express* (1870–1888) (later called the *Christian Express* and, after that, *South African Outlook*), was to play an extremely important role in creating a reading culture. In its early years, *Isigidimi* was edited by Elijah Makiwane, and between 1881 and 1884 by John Tengo Jabavu.[147] The first, and possibly most important, of the newspapers was the African-controlled weekly newspaper *Imvo zabantsunda* (Native Opinion), an isiXhosa/English publication based in King William's Town and established in 1884 under the editorship of John Tengo Jabavu when he broke away from the control of Stewart at Lovedale and found independent sponsors in the form of Jan Hofmeyr's Afrikaner Bond.[148] *Izwi labantu* (The Voice of the People), edited by Walter Rubusana and AK Soga, based in East London, was also an important early initiative (1897–1909). This was substantially funded by Rhodes. By 1936 Shepherd notes that there were between ten and twenty weekly newspapers nationally, the best known being *The Bantu World, Ilanga lase Natal, Umteteli wa Bantu, Abantu Batho and Leselinyana la Lesotho*. However, no magazines were significant in vernacular languages by the 1930s.[149]

A Supplementary Note:

Adult Education and the Night School Movement: 1930s–1940s

Although there is no space to explore this significant education initiative in detail, it needs to be noted that critical elements of the popular education tradition highlighted above in the English context were present in the Cape from the mid-19th century. A Popular Library was established in Cape Town in the 1830s to cater for the needs of a broad reading public, including working-class readers across racial divides, in keeping with the general liberal spirit of education that was being promoted by Sir John Herschel, John Philip, Sir John Wylde and others. The library needed to be expanded within the first year of its

147 J Peires, "Jabavu, John Tengo (1859–1921), journalist and politician in South Africa", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; F Wilson & D Perrot (eds.), *Outlook on a century: South Africa 1870-1970* (Lovedale, Lovedale Press, 1973). *Isigimi Sama Xhosa* was promoted by James Steward at Lovedale and was published between 1871 and 1888. Leon de Kock (1996): Ch.4.

148 See TRH Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond: the history of a South African party 1880–1911* (Cape Town, OUP, 1966).

149 RHW Shepherd, Literature for the South African *Bantu: a comparative study of Negro achievement* (Pretoria, Carnegie Corporation Visitors Grants Committee, 1936), p. 6; L Switzer & D Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho* (Boston, MASS.,G.K. Hall, 1979).

establishment to accommodate over a thousand books.[150]

Aside from the libraries established in working-class areas in South Africa, under a programme funded by the Carnegie Foundation of New York in the 1930s, which built twelve libraries and promed the extension of public library services to blacks in some areas like the Witwatersrand, I have found little evidence of similar initiatives emerging before the mid-20th century.[151]

Another significant feature of this educational history was the emergence of the adult night school movement. This was primarily located in Johannesburg and Cape Town.[152] During the 1930s, the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) began establishing workers' libraries and producing materials for worker education. This project was initially inspired by Sydney Bunting and Eddie Roux.[153] Its newspaper, *South African Worker* (1928–30), *Umsebenzi* (Worker)(1930–36), later known as *Inkululeko* (Freedom)(1940–1966), played an important role in worker education. It included articles in Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho, as well as English. Perhaps most significant from the point of view of adult education in the broader sense in which it is being discussed in this paper are the materials produced by Eddie Roux both within the CPSA during the early 1930s and after he was expelled in 1935. He was responsible for setting up a new monthly newspaper, *The African Defender*.[154] This was linked to his project to extend general literacy amongst South African workers. His major goal was to develop basic English materials for non-English speakers. Winifred Roux gives an account of the challenges he faced in *Rebel Pity*.[155]

Roux gained the support of Julian Rollnick and a new publishing house, The African Bookman, in Cape Town in 1943. David Philip noted that Rollnick was "the first oppositional publisher with a consistent attitude informing and influencing his

150 The Popular Library: *A catalogue of the books in the popular library, Cape Town* (Heerengracht, G Greig,1834); *Report of the first anniversary meeting of the friends of the popular library, Cape Town* (Cape Town, Pike,1835).

151 RHW Shepherd, "Public Libraries", E Hellman (ed.) *Handbook of race relations in South Africa* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 607–8. The Carnegie Libraries initiative was promoted by the Joint Councils Movement and the SAIRR. Alan Cobley gives an account of the development of those library services, see *Class and consciousness: The Black petty bourgeoisie in South Africa: 1924–1950* (New York, Greenwood, 1990), pp. 61–73; "Literacy, libraries and consciousness: Blacks in South Africa in the pre-Apartheid era", *Libraries and Culture*, 32, 1997, pp. 57–77.

152 See EW Grant, "Bantu Man's Night Schools", *South African Outlook* 60(2), June 1930, pp 12–13.

153 A Bird, "The Adult Schools Movement for Blacks on the Witwatersrand", P Kallaway (ed.) *Apartheid and education* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1984), pp. 192–221. Also see A Drew, *Between empire and revolution: a life of Sydney Bunting 1873–1936* (Pretoria, UNISA Press,2007), pp. 144–154.

154 E Roux, *Time longer than rope* (London , V. Gollancz, 1948), p. 310.

155 E & W Roux, *Rebel pity* (London, Rex Collings, 1970), pp. 190–94; 265–66.

books".[156] Roux was responsible for commissioning sixteen titles of the Sixpenny Library of educational pamphlets for African readers, which bore strong resemblances to the Chambers publications, adapted to the need for a variety of educational offerings sought after by the emerging literate adult black population in South Africa in a period of volatile change. These included *Education through Reading*[157] and the *Easy English Handbook: Guide to the Simplification of English for lecturers, writers and teachers*.[158] Given the impact of apartheid on black education, the initiative proved to be commercially unviable and only lasted until 1947.

Roux was exceptionally qualified as a Cambridge-educated botanist to interpret new scientific perspectives for a basic education constituency. He linked this expertise to his ongoing political and social concerns which were informed by the research reflected in Lord Hailey's *An African Survey* (1938), including a new focus on issues of development which in turn related to issues of land, agriculture, water supply, soil erosion and health.[159] The unique African Bookman publications in this field included *Harvest and Health in Africa*,[160] *The How and Why of Science*,[161] T*he Veld and the Future of Soil Erosion in South Africa*,[162] and *The Care of Our Children*.[163] The *AB Adult Readers* include such topics as *Why should we learn to read*, *Keeping our bodies clean*, *Telling the time*, *Fruit farms*, *Machines*, *Flying machines*, *Galileo*, *Sun, moon and stars*, and *Our soil is going*. Parallel to Chambers's materials, there was also an introduction to the classics: *The Greeks, The Romans, The Story of Socrates,* and history: *The Stone Age in South Africa*, *The Iron Age in South Africa*, and *The Story of Russia*. There was an attempt to introduce fictional materials that it thought would extend the readers' horizons: *The Cattle of Kumalo*,[164] *James Mabeta Goes to Sea*.[165] In the words

156 SGM Ridge, "The African Bookman: a progressive South African publisher before 1948" unpublished mimeo UWC.

157 Johannesburg, African Bookman/ SAIRR,1942.

158 E & W Roux (1970), pp. 189–197.

159 Lord Hailey, *An African survey* (London, Oxford University Press, 1938). A supplementary volume to the Survey was also published by EB Worthington, *Science in Africa* (London, Oxford University Press, 1938). For more details on this issue see H Tilley, *Africa as a living laboratory* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press,2011); Kallaway (2020/21); It is also worth noting that these issues were also to be taken up at this time by civil society organisations in South Africa. See for example the publication of The Executive Committee of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, *Cheap food for all: the only way* (1936).

160 London: Nelson,1942.

161 The African Bookman, Sixpenny Library,1945.

162 The African Bookman,1946.

163 By Dr Lewis and Jessie Hertslet. (The African Bookman, 1943). 20p

164 The African Bookman, 1943/1947.This was also published in Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho but failed to obtain a wide readership.

165 London, Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons.,1949. See also Roux,(1970) pp, 190–197; 298.

of its owner, Rollnick, the closure of The African Bookman in 1947 ended a significant secular educational initiative. Although it demonstrated features of the same paternalistic /patronising attitude to learners that was often seen to be characteristic of missionary education, Rollnick argued that it aimed "at opening the big wide world of culture and ideas, and providing some kind of background of knowledge for the unsophisticated just-literate, still gaping at the modern world".[166]

The extent of the readership of these volumes produced as part of this excellent initiative is unknown. Still, it demonstrates one example of the mutation of adult education traditions into various social contexts. We have no evidence of the reception of this material which sought to promote a popular understanding of science that was fundamentally transforming the world.[167]

The advent of repressive apartheid education and group areas/segregation legislation after 1948 effectively ended the Night School Movement and all attempts to produce alternative literature for the adult or school market.[168] The SAIRR Night School movement limped on for a few years into the 1960s (I taught classes in Windermere township, Cape Town, in 1965), but by the time it was closed down, it had largely been reduced to a vehicle for adult Africans to obtain a National Senior Certificate. It had lost much of its 'alternative' ethos.[169]

The demand for such an alternative or radical educational literature was to emerge once again during the 1980s as part of the work of the Peoples' Education movement, the Alternative Education and Information Centre (AEIC) and the International Labour Research and Information Centre (ILRIG) when issues about "really useful knowledge"

166 DM Wilson, *Against the odds: the struggle of the South African night schools 1945–1967* (Cape Town, Centre for African Studies/Department of Adult Education, 1991), pp. 84–88.

167 For more on Eddie Roux see *Time longer than rope* (London ,Victor Gollancz,1948/1964) which is a comprehensive picture of the history for the night schools and "an attempt at a general account of the political history of the black man in South Africa, the battles he has waged, the organisations he has built, and the personalities that have taken part in the struggle" (p.7), and the autobiography. (Roux (London, 1970). Also see L Alexander, "The ambiguities of empowerment: a deconstructive approach to the adult education work of Edward Roux in the 1930s and 1940s". (M.Phil. mini-thesis, UCT. 1999); "Poorer for it: the obscuring of Edward Roux's contribution to adult education in South Africa since the 1940s", paper presented at CACE, UWC, October 2000.

168 Daphne M Wilson (1991).

169 See "Johannesburg night schools for Africans", *South African Outlook*, 77, June 1947, p. 89; R Worrell, "Native night schools", *Transvaal Educational News*, 37, July 1941 , p. 3–6; D Zwarenstein, "Night school for Natives", *Transvaal Educational News*, 41(10), 1945, p. 7–8; SAIRR, "Night school for Africans", (Johannesburg, SAIRR,1947?). The neglect of adult education has also been a feature of government policy in the period since 1994.

became part of intense political debate once again.[170] In that context, there was a great deal of focus on the writing of Paulo Freire and radical Latin American educators—but the historical traditions of popular education and worker education from the pre-apartheid era were largely ignored.

Conclusions:

This paper has attempted to set out the parameters of research for a comprehensive enquiry into the nature of schooling in the Cape colonial context over nearly two centuries with attention to the nature of the curriculum and the reading culture related to mission schooling for Africans. It begins by noting the dominant role of religious education in the early period and the strong control of the churches and missionary societies over education practices, even in the context of formal state control of schooling from 1839. By the latter part of the 19th century, that hegemony was being challenged by the need for a settlement which would allow the state to play a greater role in the provision of education and the definition of what curriculum and pedagogy were suitable to the changing economic, social and political context.

The English background to these changes during the period under consideration needs to be set in the context of the industrial revolution and the socio-political changes it brought, which demanded state action concerning social welfare and educational provision. In the Cape Colony, the humanitarian reforms associated with the Emancipation of Slaves and Ordinance 50 from the mid-century posed the question of the relationship between education, work and citizenship, with particular reference to the state's role in promoting a political order defined by the rule of law. Regarding schooling, were the working class in England or the colonised peoples of Africa to receive the same schooling as their middle-class masters, or were they to be provided with an education to fit them for their preordained places in society? And what, in practice, did that choice mean regarding its impact on economic criteria (the job market) or social and cultural forces?

The first part of this paper attempted to give a summary of how those struggles between the churches, the state and the emergent working class movements over the provision of education played out in England in the half-century before the Education Act of 1870, which finally recognised the state's role in the provision of popular education—at least in

170 The archive of the Alternative Education and Information Centre (AEIC) is preserved in the archives of the University of the Western Cape.

the primary phase. But it is important to recognise that this was an uneven process and that what appeared to be educational progress for some looked like a defeat for others. Educational activists from the working class often saw the state's capture of education as a major defeat for the cause of independent education. The multitude of local and community initiatives that flourished in the industrial classes' urban heartlands gradually gave way to state-controlled bureaucracies. Yet the 19th century had seen major advances in the literacy of the masses. By the second half of the century, there were clear signs of demand for varieties of knowledge relevant to an understanding of the complexities of a modern world strongly influenced by science and modern industry. The mass market for popular scientific publications was demonstrated. For all these complexities, the provision of schooling gradually became a key aspect of the secular religion of the times. It was increasingly understood to represent a vital aspect of good government.

In the colonial context, the colonisers often hesitated to extend education benefits to the colonised people over whom they ruled. As was the case during the early part of the century in England, those with political control often viewed education as a potentially dangerous and subversive activity. In India, the British never ceased to puzzle about the nature of an education that would suit the needs of the empire.[171] In the Cape, the introduction of an educational system that embraced common schools initially intended to provide for indigenous peoples and settlers marked the foundation of a formal state-supported educational system.

Although the missions continued to manage the 'native schools' until the middle of the 20th century, they were required to do so under the watchful eye of the state, with the establishment of the Department of Public Education in the Cape as early as 1839. Although little official thought was given to adapting the curriculum to the needs of local indigenous cultures and languages, there was no escape from the necessity for the missionaries to teach literacy and numeracy in the local languages, in addition to the need for citizens/subjects to be provided with the opportunity to learn the official colonial languages—English and Dutch/Afrikaans. The early initiatives of missionary educators were therefore directed toward language education and expanding a biblical library appropriate to local circumstances. Out of those beginnings, a written isiXhosa language and literature began to emerge, which, despite missionary anxieties and censorship, began to enter the market,

171 See T Allender, *Ruling through education: the politics of schooling in the Punjab* (New Delhi, Sterling, 2006); *Learning Femininity in Colonial India 1820–1932* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2016); J Tschurenev, *Empire, civil society and the beginnings of colonial education in India* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019).

and the schools, from the end of the 19th century.

I have attempted to chart these processes through the emergence of published literature relevant to the educational needs of both circumstances. In the case of England, this meant the gradual secularisation of the knowledge of schooling with the gradual domination of science. In the context of African schools in the Cape, it was indigenous culture, in particular the emergence of an isiXhosa language library, that was to dominate the process while also, to a degree, accommodating the need for modern secular knowledge.

A sub-theme refers to the kinds of knowledge produced in the schoolbooks and adult literature of the times. The material that was dominant in the books used in schools did not always match the desires of the critics of middle-class hegemony in England or the anti-colonial emergent mission-educated elite in Africa. However, in the event, the traditional colonial curriculum played a huge role in shaping the knowledge to inform the societies engaged in fundamental political, economic and cultural change.

While recognising the strength of the traditional colonial curriculum in shaping the culture of 'the new Africans' in the early 20th century, it is important to reassess the influence of the emergent class of intellectuals who navigated the interface between the colonial culture of the mission schools and the emergent renaissance of indigenous culture and language from the 1930s. The precise significance of these influences is complicated to gauge, but further investigation might provide answers to these important questions now that more of this material is available in translation.

Only radical progressive educators of the early 20th century, or the radical educators of the 1960s, posed a strong challenge to mainstream global curriculum developments. In South Africa in the 1970s–1980s, the struggles against the apartheid regime and Bantu Education elicited wide-ranging support for a radical extension of the provision of education (access). Still, such demands seldom challenged the aims of the traditional curriculum (goals/content) outside of blatantly ideological areas of the curriculum, like South African history. Proposals associated with the Peoples' Education evaporated during the planning for a modern democratic state, informed by World Bank, UNESCO and IMF guidelines in an age of neo-Liberal, market–related reform from the 1980s. The curriculum innovations of the post-apartheid era, which included such initiatives as Curriculum 2005/ Outcomes-Based Education and the adoption of a National Qualifications Framework (NQF), failed to consider the historical background of school knowledge and traditions in

South Africa.[172] The long struggle for the recognition of indigenous knowledge and culture by the new African intellectuals of the early 20th century, the vibrant worker education traditions of the Night Schools of the 1930s and the worker education traditions of the 1970–80s, or the experience of the ANC which has been called 'education in exile', have all been neglected in the construction of these new policy frameworks.

Any attempt to engage substantially with questions of adult education, radical education and decolonising the curriculum needs to take place in this broader framework. Further research would seem to be an urgent priority for future scholars. It would seem necessary to reshape the future debate about the nature of popular knowledge and its relationship to formal systems of knowledge both in the metropole and in the colonial context. It would also facilitate further conversations on the precise nature of what needs to be done to begin a process of decolonising education.

172 L Chisholm (ed.), *Changing class: education and social change in post-apartheid South Africa* (New York: Zed Press/Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2004); M Young & J Gamble (eds.), *Knowledge, curriculum and qualifications for further education in South Africa* (Cape Town, HSRC, 2006); S Allais, *Selling out education: national qualification frameworks and the neglect of knowledge* (Rotterdam, Sense, 2014).

Teaching history in primary schools in Mauritius: Reflections on history teachers' pedagogical practices

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Abstract

Although post-independent Mauritius has witnessed the evolution of the history curriculum, the discipline has still not been accorded the status as in some countries in Europe and Africa. The evolution also marks change and continuity in the content of the history curriculum and how the teaching is transacted in classrooms. This paper informs on the current state of teaching history in primary schools in Mauritius. An interpretivist qualitative methodological approach was adopted to understand the pedagogical choices made by teachers in the implementation of the history curriculum in primary classrooms. Data was generated through classroom observations and interviews with 15 primary school history teachers. Findings reveal the need to draw on a range of knowledge to engage learners successfully in history classes. This range of knowledge they need to draw is extensive and complex. The study shows that teachers' knowledge base is crucial for effective history teaching in classrooms.

Keywords: History Curriculum; Change and Continuity; History teaching; Knowledge base; Pedagogical Practices; Strategies

Introduction

Mauritius, a small island in the southwest Indian Ocean, discovered in the fifteenth century by the Portuguese, underwent successive colonisation by the Dutch, the French, and the British at different periods in time. In 1968, the island obtained its independence from the British and then ensued changes in the different sectors: political, social, and economic. The field of education also did not remain untouched. Mauritianisation of the curriculum and, more specifically, the history curriculum became the priority. Now, at a period in time when the country has celebrated over fifty years of its independence, it becomes imperative to introspect on the evolution of its educational policies, curriculum, and the practice that occurs in the teaching space.

This paper reports on the current state of the history curriculum and, more specifically, on teaching history in primary schools in Mauritius. It attempts to understand teachers' pedagogical choices in the history curriculum's implementation. In doing so, I first outline the purpose of history in the curriculum and examine its evolution in the Mauritian schooling system. Secondly, I discuss the practice that eventually occurs in the classroom.

Literature Review

History is a way of constructing knowledge. It is a vibrant discipline and field of enquiry with ''notions of evidence, a range of interpretive tools and conceptual understandings and ideas about the validity and truth of the claims that we can make about the past'' (Jorn, 2005: 3). Knowledge of history and understanding of the way that historical knowledge emerges matter a great deal for any young person learning what it means to be human and for any society that wants to try and understand itself. MacMillan (2009) and Stearns (1998) argue that the rationale for the inclusion of history in the school curriculum has been based predominantly on the premise that the transmission of a positive story about the national past will inculcate in young people a sense of belonging and a reassuring and positive sense of identity. Berg (2019), on the other hand, underscores the various attributes and factors that make history a worthy subject and foregrounds the importance of history in promoting citizenship. Haydn (2012); Bentley (2007); Stearns (1998); Fumat (1997); Stricker (1992); McCully (1978) concur with the view that the study of history helps to develop an understanding students of societal events, movements, and developments that have shaped humanity from the earliest times. On another note, Leinhardt (2001) posits that history allows people to ask and answer today's questions by engaging with

the past and imagining and speculating on possible futures. Studying further connects students with the wider world as they develop their identities and sense of place. They engage with history at personal, local, and international levels. The importance of learning history also lies in equipping students with knowledge and skills that are valuable and useful throughout life. These include research techniques, the skills needed to process and synthesise varied and complex materials, the skills needed to give clear and effective oral and written presentations, and the ability to articulate ideas clearly to others. An awareness of history inspires students to become questioning and empathetic individuals. It thus follows from the above discussion that teaching history should enable students to think critically, ask perceptive questions and develop their perspectives and judgment. However, history occupies an ambiguous place in the Mauritian school curriculum. On the one hand, almost all governments expect schools to ensure that students gain an understanding of the past. On the other hand, inadequate time and space are provided for realising the aims and objectives stipulated in the history curriculum.

History in Mauritian School Curriculum

Although post-independent Mauritius has witnessed an evolution in the history curriculum both at the primary and secondary level, it never enjoyed the privilege of being a core subject on its own in the curriculum, as is noted in some African countries, for example, Tanzania (Namamba & Rao, 2017). At the primary level, for a long-time, history along with geography formed part of the Environmental Studies (EVS) programme and was taught using an integrated approach. It was only in 2002 that the two subjects - history and geography- were separated from the EVS curriculum to provide an opportunity to understand better specific concepts englobed in these subjects.

Table 1 below shows the inclusion and evolution of history in the primary curriculum.

Year	Approach to teaching
Before the 1980s	The teaching of history was not included in the curriculum. Only geography was taught.
In the1980s	Environmental Studies (EVS) was introduced into the curriculum. (Teaching of EVS comprised components of geography, science, agriculture, and some history)
2002	History and geography replaced EVS as one single subject.

2015	Introduction of Social, Scientific and Environmental Education (SSEE) comprises three subjects history, geography, and science. History within the SSEE curriculum is taught in an integrated way in Grades III and as a separate subject, along with geography in Grades IV, V, and VI.

The recent curriculum reform, Nine Years Continuous Basic Education (NYBCE, 2016), continued the trend of the integrative model. As such, history is incorporated in Social Scientific, Environmental Educational programme, which has geography and science as other components at the primary level. At the secondary level, it is included as a component of Social and Modern Studies. The new curriculum (NYBCE, 2016) proposes teaching history in an integrated way in Grade III. For upper primary classes, Grades IV, V, and VI, history and geography are taught as separate components in the textbook with the appellation History and Geography. (National Curriculum Framework, 2015).

The Social, Scientific and Environmental Education (SSEE) curriculum enables learners to acquire knowledge and develop inquiry skills, conceptual understanding, requisite attitudes, and values for a critical understanding of the three dimensions of the environment: natural, cultural, and social. History, Geography, Science, and Environmental Education constitute the main components of SSEE. Drawing on several historical events and facts, the history curriculum informs learners of our historical past by helping them better understand the experiences and changes that people have gone through over time. It uses past experiences to understand and explain the present and plan for the future. The curriculum further provides opportunities for learners to develop and use inquiry skills to explore phenomena in their natural, cultural, and social environment. History, an important component of the SSEE curriculum, also focuses on developing important values and scientific attitudes.

As far as the teaching of history is concerned in Mauritian classrooms—although, Boodhoo (2004: 73) presents the subject as one which aims at stimulating ''the imagination and developing critical thinking in —it has been observed that the teaching of history in schools emphasises more on the memorisation of facts and figures rather than the development of any skills which history teaching should entail. It has also been seen that, rather than allowing the student the opportunity to think about historical events, today's climate of standardised testing encourages the students to memorise historical dates and events. As such, the very purpose for which history finds its place in the school curriculum is defeated. The repercussion of such a practice is observed later when very few students opt for history at School Certificate and Higher School Certificate levels. In Mauritius, the Private Secondary Education Association (PSEA) and the Mauritius Examination

Syndicate (MES) hold statistical records showing a dramatic decline in the number of candidates taking history at the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate levels. However, discussing the reasons for the subject's decline is beyond this article's scope.

Pedagogical Practices

Pedagogical Practices can be understood as a set of instructional techniques and strategies for acquiring knowledge, skills, attitudes, and dispositions within a particular social and material context. According to (Kapur, 2018), pedagogical practices are concerned with attempts to initiate reform within the classroom and incorporate technological resources. (Kapur, 2018) further posits that pedagogical practice becomes innovative when teachers employ a range of resources, materials, methods, principles, and explanations to transmit knowledge to the students. In the Mauritian context, all primary schools have been equipped with an interactive whiteboard (IWB) to make teaching and learning appealing to the learners. The ministry of education organises regular training for the teachers in using the interactive whiteboard. The objective is to ensure that all teachers understand effective teaching methods to maximise student learning. However, reluctance on the part of the teacher has been observed in using technology in their teaching, especially when introducing new concepts. Teachers still prefer talk—and–chalk traditional approaches. Technology tools such as IWB are preferred by teachers for revision activities.

Methodology

As the focus of the study was to understand the actual practice that occurs in history classrooms and the pedagogical choices made by the teachers, an interpretivist qualitative methodological approach was deemed most appropriate to listen to teachers' voices. Consequently, a purposive sample comprising fifteen primary school teachers, both novice and experienced, was chosen as the study sample from the four zones on the island. The teaching experience of the selected participants ranged between one and twelve years.

Data for the study was generated through classroom observations followed by an in-depth interview to further explore the observed lessons in the wider context of the primary history curriculum as stipulated in the National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2015) and as taught and interpreted in the school. I prepared an observation sheet to take note of the strategies and the teaching methods deployed by the teachers in history classrooms. I also noted teacher and student interactions. I considered this aspect important as I believe the

way teacher communicates and interacts with students play an important role in students learning. Another area that I regarded as important to observe and the document was teachers' historical knowledge or content knowledge.

Following classroom observations, I recorded semi-structured interviews with the participants with their permission. The purpose of the interview was to get a deeper understanding of their practice adopted in the classroom, highlight their strength, and voice out the challenges encountered in the implementation process. The semi-structured interview thus provided a platform for the teachers to speak candidly about their practices, concerns, and apprehensions in their teaching process.

Being fully aware of the ethical concerns associated with classroom observation, I met the teachers before observing their lessons and briefed them about the purpose and objectives of the study. I also ensured that my presence in the classroom did not cause any disruption in the normal functioning of the classes. Moreover, the transcripts of the interview were sent to the participants for member checks.

Findings

Data gathered from classroom observations and interviews of participants point towards teachers' content knowledge of the subject as a crucial factor in determining the teaching approach and method adopted by the teachers in their classroom practices. For instance, when asked about their content knowledge of the subject, teachers in this study spoke about basing themselves on the knowledge acquired during their professional training course. Some also mentioned doing prior research and reading. However, one teacher said, ''I haven't actually done a lot of reading. I think it's something that develops with experience over time'' in relation to teaching abstract concepts such as slavery, the indentured labour system and settlement long ago. On the other hand, novice teachers expressed concern over the limited content knowledge and mentioned ''restricting their teaching to whatever is prescribed in the textbook''. This is also reflected in the questions posed to students in the class, which were limited to testing basic factual information rather than assessing the skills.

Another important finding emerged from the data focused on teacher preparation which largely determined the interplay between content delivery and the pedagogical choices made by teachers. For instance, one of the teachers mentioned, ''I have to prepare my pupils for examination, and I find making them repeat loudly important events a good way to remember''. Another teacher with an experience of ten years of teaching stated,

''I have limited time and there is a lot to teach. Most of the learners in my class are slow learners. I, therefore, have to adopt this practice of drilling exercise and constant revision if I have to make them ready for examination''. Although such kind of teaching may not be in line with the demands of the curriculum, it cannot be denied that teachers show a clear idea about how their pupils learn. Furthermore, findings indicate contextual factors such as time allocated to the subject, student-teacher ratio, and the assessment modality as constraints for history teachers.

Based on the key findings drawn from the study, I present the relationship between the three types of teacher knowledge, that is, knowledge about the subject (history), knowledge about pupils and knowledge of classroom practices, resources, and activities, and secondly, teachers' professionalisation as important features in the quality of teaching that occurs in the primary history classroom..

Discussion

History teacher's knowledge of the subject

At the very outset, the most pertinent questions that deserve attention are: What is it that history teachers need to know to teach history effectively in the classroom? Where and how is this knowledge base developed? Although conceptualising teacher knowledge is a complex issue, a basic answer to the question raised above would be that history teachers need to know a lot of history, and some selection of important dates and events might be a place to start. Moreover, the foundation of the knowledge of teacherseachers' knowledge lies in the subject or content knowledge that the teachers derive from their degree or their engagement with readings. However, considering the Mauritian context, the knowledge base of the history teachers, especially those teaching at the primary level, is not derived from their degree courses. They acquire historical knowledge through modules taken at either certificate or diploma level during their professional training courses. But is the content knowledge acquired during these professional courses sufficient to teach the subject effectively? Teachers who enrol in the diploma courses bring with them a basic knowledge of the subject given that they have studied the subject either at the primary level or the lower secondary level. The importance of subject matter as an essential component of teacher knowledge cannot be belittled. Successful teaching involves a myriad of tasks, such as selecting worthwhile learning activities, giving helpful explanations, asking relevant questions, and assessing students' learning. To a great extent, all the mentioned activities depend on teachers' understanding of the subject content and what the students are to

learn (Buchmann, 1984).

From the teachers' accounts, it can be observed that the implications of detailed content knowledge are clear in successful history lessons, especially where teachers use knowledge to ask focused questions, probe students' responses, and correct or explore misconceptions.

This brings us to another very important dimension of the discussion, teacher preparation or professionalisation. Although studies have shown that the quality of learning that occurs within the classroom depends to a great extent on the learning opportunities created by the teacher (Hattie, 2009; McCaffrey, Lockwood, Koretz, Louis, & Hamilton, 2004), a question that captures attention is how do teachers acquire the knowledge and more specifically in relation to this study, what are the qualities that a teacher must possess and how are these qualities imbued in the teacher to ensure that conducive learning opportunities are created to promote effective learning? Ambe (2006); Burning (2006); Darling-Hammond and Baratz-Snowden (2005); Murphy et al. (2004); Wise and Leibraid (2000) have stressed the role of teacher educators in preparing effective and proficient teachers and conclude that student learning depends largely on how teachers are prepared and supported. Moreover, it is argued that professional training enhances the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of teachers so that they, in turn, improve the learning experiences of students.

In the Mauritian context, all primary teachers undergo a Teachers' Diploma training before embarking on their careers as full-fledged primary school teachers. Teachers are offered courses in both subject content and pedagogy during their training. With reference to the teaching of history, teachers are required to take two modules, one that prepares them with the content knowledge and the second module, which deals with the teaching of the content learned. However, with the recent review of the Teachers Diploma Programme (TDP Programme handbook, 2014), there has been a decrease in the time allocated to subject content because the teachers can develop content knowledge through their reading. The repercussion of such a decision is seen in the performance of trainee teachers in their examinations. A few trainee teachers mentioned that they are ''overwhelmed with the amount of information required to assimilate in a module of fifteen hours''. Such a situation is a matter of concern as these teachers have a basic knowledge of the history taught in classrooms. The above discussion emphasises two pertinent points: the content knowledge of the teacher and the quality of teacher preparation. While teacher content knowledge is certainly a component of teacher professionalism, it is also to be noted that professional competence involves more than just knowledge. The other factors contributing to mastery of

teaching and learning include skills, attitudes, and teacher motivation (Blomeke & Delaney, 2012). The factors mentioned above derive from the pedagogical content knowledge model (PCK) initially proposed by Shulman (1986), who saw it as a mechanism for connecting distinct bodies of knowledge for teaching. He described it as ''representing the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organised, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners, and presented for instructions'' (Shulman, 1986: 8). PCK requires teachers to use analogies, illustrations, examples, explanations, and demonstrations as channels for their subject knowledge to engage and enthuse pupils. For instance, the primary teachers in this study demonstrated their awareness of a wide repertoire of teaching strategies they had become familiar with during their professional training course. However, while the experienced teachers showed their knowledge and ability to navigate through the different history lessons using examples beyond the available resources, the less experienced restricted themselves to the activities in the textbook.

Studies since 1986 have also suggested the complex relationships between subject knowledge and pedagogic knowledge (Wilson & Wineburg, 1988; Turner-Bisset, 1999; Brown et al., 1999). Shulman's model of pedagogic content knowledge provides a way of relating subject-matter knowledge to pedagogic knowledge. And therefore, it can be argued that although detailed content knowledge is a characteristic of successful teaching, it is not sufficient. It is to be noted that expert teachers deploy both content knowledge and pedagogic content knowledge in planning their lessons and putting the same into action. In the same way, it can be said that teachers' knowledge of history is not defined by their knowledge of the historical past alone. Moreover, the classes observed by the history teachers' have shown that their content knowledge is almost certainly too limited for the classroom. Furthermore, as the demands of the curriculum are diverse, history teachers, at some time or the other, need to build up new knowledge about unfamiliar topics.

Teachers' knowledge of pupils

Although it is difficult to mount an argument against the proposition that teachers should know the subject they teach and must be intellectually capable and well-informed, it is argued that teachers also need to be able to relate to their pupils. This second dimension of history teachers' knowledge related to pupil learning can be understood in two ways: first, teacher knowledge about how pupils learn in general, and second how students develop an understanding of history. Furthermore, knowing the pupils allows teachers to work better with demotivated or less able learners. It is contended here that knowing the

subject content might be less important than the ability of the teacher to communicate, understand learners, and make learning real. Moreover, it's been argued that one might know ''too much'', but good teaching needs a ''clear, coherent overview'' (Shemilt, 2009: 144). Foster (2008) also emphasises the importance of teachers' ability to provide pupils with an overarching 'map of the past' rather than a mere acquaintance with details.

It was noted during the observations of the teachers' classes that they all developed their way of learning and teaching in the classroom. However, their ability to clarify the information may not necessarily be linked to the sophistication of their understanding. The teachers developed practical knowledge about how pupils engage with the historical material and how they process, store, and deploy what they have learned. It is to be noted that understanding learners concerning the traits mentioned above shapes the way teachers teach. Research (Shemilt, 2009) has shown that one of the most important developments in history classrooms in the last few decades, especially in the countries in the West, has been a movement away from largely transmission-based approaches in which pupils were assumed to be 'empty vessels to be filled with knowledge towards social constructivists models of learning in which pupils engage actively with learning through discussion and peer learning. This kind of learning, however, contrasts with what occurs mostly in Mauritian history classrooms. Rote learning and drilling still appeared to be common practices.

Teachers' knowledge of resources

The third dimension of history teachers' practice relates to their knowledge of resources and approaches. It is to be noted that history lessons in twenty-first-century classrooms have become resource-rich. Various visuals and interactive resources are available for the teachers to support learning. However, it must be remembered that the most important resource in any classroom remains the teacher. Even today, most history classrooms exhibit the traditional transmission model where teachers explain the content, ask questions, further probe pupils' understanding of the lesson, correct errors, and assess pupils' progress. It has already been seen that in discharging these different activities, teachers draw on their knowledge of history and pupils, but they also draw on their knowledge of when and how to deploy themselves as a resource. The point raised here is that resources and the classroom activities teachers support constitute an arena for deploying teacher knowledge.

Nevertheless, it has been noted that in Mauritian classrooms, there is a heavy reliance by the teachers on traditional resources such as textbooks. Teachers limit themselves to the information and activities provided in the textbooks. One teacher mentioned that the

''teacher's resource book should provide all the answers to support them in their teaching teaching''. Such teachers' beliefs are contrary to the general understanding and practices, especially in developed countries such as the UK and USA. Teachers in these countries demonstrate knowledge in the history classroom with confidence about when and what resources to use, which is not simply a situational skill but demands knowledge about the range of resources teachers are a part of.

In Mauritian classrooms, as far as innovation and resources are concerned, all primary schools are equipped with an interactive whiteboard. Subject-specific resources have been prepared and provided to the teachers. However, observation of the history teachers' classrooms revealed that not all of them appeared confident with using the interactive whiteboard. A few teachers used it as a tool for revision. They also mentioned that ''if they could be provided with new resources as the pupils already know all the answers of the activities they are using''. Such teacher requests show their dependency on others, even for their teaching in class.

I have framed the above discussion about teachers' classroom knowledge regarding resources and activities because this is how teachers describe their practice. Although teachers' descriptions of their practice are often implied in terms of activities, what is clear is the profound understanding of pedagogy underlying these.

Conclusion

The study began with a simple proposition about subject knowledge in teaching, but teachers' knowledge is more complex. Literature also refers to many features that characterise expert teachers, which include pedagogical content knowledge, problem-solving skills, addressing the needs of diverse learners, decision-making, awareness of classroom events, greater understanding of the context, and respect for students.

In this study, three dimensions of teachers' knowledge have been explored. It can also be noted that these three are not separate: they are interrelated and draw from each other. It is to be noted that learning to teach involves the acquisition of diverse knowledge. It refers to the school and the classroom as the critical site for acquiring learning. History teachers must make active connections between their content knowledge and other knowledge they need to deploy to work successfully. Much of teachers' expertise and knowledge is grounded in classrooms and classroom practice, which suggests that classrooms are the most effective site for developing knowledge and expertise.

To conclude, the importance of the subject content knowledge that teachers hold is

important. Still, in addition to assimilating academic knowledge, teachers must incorporate knowledge derived from experiential and practical experiences in the classroom. Responses of the teachers interviewed showed that the experienced teachers developed their understanding of the subject and devised ways of teaching. Furthermore, history teachers need to balance basic and disciplinary knowledge and sustain learners' interest by engaging in interactions about the content choices available to them.

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Stakeholders' appraisals of the school history curriculum in Zambia on social media

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Abstract

This study attempted to capture stakeholders' views on the school history curriculum in Zambia. Stakeholders' views are an important aspect of curriculum development. Social media such as Facebook and WhatsApp have become platforms a section of Zambians uses to challenge the traditional education system. The study used a qualitative approach design by monitoring the e-comments of focus groups (teachers' forums) and individuals on Facebook on what some Zambians thought about the history curriculum. Social media was used because it provides an environment that removes traditional inhibitions of authority figures and meets people in their comfort zone, making them free to discuss otherwise sensitive topics. This research revealed that various stakeholders found the curriculum content irrelevant to the future they envisioned for themselves. The study additionally found that people in Zambia had been side-lined in discussions concerning curriculum development for history. People felt that they had been placed into the straitlaced role of consumers, and their feedback has never been sought. The study recommends revisiting the school history curriculum content to reflect stakeholders' needs and apply it to society.

Curriculum developers should also pay attention to the voices of stakeholders in society.

Keywords: History Curriculum; Social Media; Stakeholders; Curriculum Development; Facebook and Society.

Introduction

Social media platforms like Facebook are a major melting pot for many Zambians, creating an environment that transcends space and time. With the anonymity of the phone screen, people feel more comfortable sharing their thoughts with friends and strangers about matters concerning the curriculum. Various views from different stakeholders are normally a good ingredient in any curriculum development process. Campbell and Rozsnyai (2002) define stakeholders as individuals or institutions interested in the school curriculum. Contemporary curriculum development processes more frequently involve public discussions and consultations with a range of stakeholders (UNESCO, 2009). While supporting the stakeholder's involvement in curriculum development worldwide, UNESCO (2005) stated that governments should take appropriate steps to make curriculum development participatory.

The importance of citizens understanding the place of history in the school curriculum in society cannot be overemphasised. This is why Guyver (2013, as cited in Bertram, 2021) has stated that the purpose of school history is a key starting point in the design of a history curriculum. The curriculum has always been blamed for not producing the learners required by the market and society (Mushtaq, 2012). Tedesco et al. (2013) observed that citizens usually distrust governments' capacity to shape and implement long-term educational policies and the education system's effectiveness in responding to contemporary challenges and problems. This scepticism is seen through the way the curriculum is questioned by political leaders, media, families, and international evaluators. The education system is criticised because of the enormous gaps in providing essential skills and knowledge and the persistent inequalities in society (Tedesco et al., 2013).

On 10 January 2020, the Permanent Secretary (PS) of the Ministry of General Education, Dr Jobbicks Kalumba, shared his thoughts through an interview on the Zambian school curriculum. His comments came in the wake of social media discussions which had been going on for almost two years. When asked about the education system in Zambia, Kalumba responded that "this is the kind of curriculum that was left in Africa by the colonial masters and the idea of them doing that was calculated …" (Kalumba, 2020). In supporting his argument, he gave an example by questioning why learners in Zambian schools were forced to learn about Proconsul Africanus, which bore no value in their lives. He further noted that Zambia maintained a Eurocentric curriculum because there was a lack of wide consultation with real stakeholders during curriculum design. Kalumba called for general school curriculum reform in Zambia (Kalumba, 2020). Although the conversations had

been going on long before Kalumba's interview, his perspective opened up a horde of discussions on various social media platforms on the school history curriculum.

History as a school subject has always been under scrutiny in the public domain by policymakers and general members of society. For instance, in Britain, Haydn (2012) noted that academic historians debated the form that the school history curriculum should take, with predominantly negative and scornful comments. The curriculum is at the heart of the education process as it sets out what is being learned and how and when it should be taught (Su, 2012). The curriculum also underpins all the plans and outcomes that should guide the day-to-day experiences of the classroom (Education discussion paper, 2014; Su, 2012). As for parents, they would like to know what their children are going to learn and how useful that content will be. Learners are also concerned with how the content delivered in class will be of value in the future. Therefore, Mulenga (2018) noted that the conceptualisation of a curriculum should accommodate present educational needs to suit the changing needs of society. A history curriculum, in particular, should help children to understand the process of change in time in relation to themselves (Arkell, 2006). It should embrace all attempts to describe the past and illuminate the present. Garrett (1994) noted that a history curriculum plays an important role in passing societal values to younger generations through schools.

Tedesco et al. (2013) have argued that current debates on the purpose and role of education are linked to social imaginaries, which should be achievable. At the core of these imaginaries is the construction of a more just society. Education is the hub of all ramifications of development in any country (Offorma, 2016). Bobbitt (1918: 10) argued that:

> *The central theory [of curriculum] is simple. Human life, however varied, consists in the performance of specific activities. Education that prepares for life is one that prepares definitely and adequately for these specific activities. However numerous and diverse they may be for any social class they can be discovered. This requires only that one go out into the world of affairs and discover the particulars of which their affairs consist. These will show the abilities, attitudes, habits, appreciations and forms of knowledge that men need. These will be the objectives of the curriculum. They will be numerous, definite and particularised. The curriculum will then be that series of experiences which children and youth must have by way of obtaining those objectives.*

Social media tools that are social networking sites, including Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, and Tumbler) contribute content to new-media

aggregator platforms designed explicitly for user-generated content, representing a social infrastructure that can harness people's social cooperation (Bria, 2012). People's relationships and digital identities become publicly displayed, forming a social graph that exposes each user's connections and lists of friends and contacts. Hruska and Maresova (2020) have argued that one reason that accounts for the popularity of social media is that it provides an opportunity to receive or create and share public messages at a low cost. Social media serves as an important context in the lives of emerging adults (Hruska and Maresova, 2020). Young adults are heavy users of social media. The growth of social media usage opens up new opportunities for analysing several aspects of communication patterns. For example, social media data can be analysed to gain insights into issues, trends, influential actors, and other kinds of information (Vannucci et al., 2019). One group that has been expressive on social media content of the history curriculum has been the Zambian youth.

Young people have historically played an important role in national movements. The 'Young Turks' in Turkey helped to usher in the monarchy (Hanioglu, 2001). In South Africa, groups such as the ANC Youth League were instrumental in the fight against apartheid (Cooper, 1994). Straker (2009) studied the role of young people in nationalism and building the postcolonial state in Guinea. He argued that the youth were instrumental in the young revolutionary transformation that ended the European colonial rule in Guinea.

Similarly, in Zambia, young people were involved in the *Cha cha cha* civil disobedience in 1961 and the prolonged independence struggle. Zambia's nationalist leader and first republican President, Kenneth Kaunda, also recognised the importance of the youth in his famous song *Tiyende Pamodzi ndi Mtima Umo (let's move together with one heart).* In this song, he made a clarion call to young people to rally together to promote solidarity and struggle for national unity in Zambia. When he ruled a one-party state for 27 years, the young people were active in ushering in multi-party politics in 1991 under Frederick Chiluba (Kanduza, 2011). Therefore, it is unsurprising that they rejected Chiluba's unconstitutional bid for a third term ten years later. 2021, like 2001, 1991 and 1964, was a watershed year that again showed young people's power to start and influence political change. In 2021, they used the power of social media to bring about a change in government (Clayton, 2021).

The importance of social media in Zambia was revealed during the 2021 General elections when Facebook and WhatsApp were used to mobilise opposition to the ruling Patriotic Front government under Edgar Chagwa Lungu (News Digger, 2020). These youths earned themselves the name 'disgruntled youths'. A wider audience was reached through these sites, and more sustained conversations were carried out. More so than

others, the youth engaged in political conversations with heightened interest. Undeterred by threats from the incumbent PF government, Zambians aired out their grievances and suggested ways of redressing them (Musonda, 2020). They became a powerful force of influence. The result was an overwhelming voter turnout and the victory of the opposition leader, Hakainde Hichilema. Certain groups in Zambia, such as the youth, have been historically active social forces and adopted tech-savvy media platforms to mobilise support for their causes.

Statement of the problem

The effectiveness of a curriculum depends on the views of the various stakeholders in society, as it might help curriculum designers to develop a curriculum that is relevant to society. Developers will not receive backlash from various stakeholders if a curriculum is relevant. Thus, it would be important to know the people's views on the school history curriculum so that learners are given a relevant education. The stakeholders' view can help develop a school history curriculum that is not obsolete but one that is in touch with the realities of the learners. Curriculum innovations in the modern world would never be successfully implemented if the general public failed to understand their nature and purpose. Because of this argument, this study analysed social media content on Facebook to find out the views of young people on the school history curriculum in Zambia.

Purpose of the Study

This study explored stakeholders' views on Facebook on the school history curriculum in Zambia. The following research questions guided the study.

- What were the people's views on the Zambian school history curriculum?
- What kind of school history curriculum did the people want in schools?

Theoretical Framework

This study adopted Tyler's curriculum model of 1949. Tyler's model focuses on four central questions:

- What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?
- What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?

- How can these educational experiences be effectively organised?
- How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? (Tyler, 1949)

Tyler's model can apply to all learning areas and levels. It is easy to find the appropriateness of a subject's content, activities and teaching methods based on the objective evaluation. This encourages educators to think about and reflect openly on the educational goals and objectives they have in mind for their students (Cruickshank, 2018). Tyler's achievements are noteworthy as contributions to the curriculum field and educational policy (Stone, 1985). By analysing the views of Zambians on social media on the history curriculum, the study links to Tyler's first question, which asks broad questions about the purpose of the type of education being offered in Zambia.

Literature Review

This section discusses the debates concerning the school history curriculum across Africa from various stakeholders.

Issues in the school history curriculum across Africa

The purpose of history in schools and society has continued to receive a lot of attention and scrutiny in public debates worldwide by scholars, historians, policymakers, and members of the public. The debates have bordered on issues of justification and relevance in the school curriculum. Most critics have argued that the subject was irrelevant as it focused on recounting information and memorisation (Chang'ach, 2011). The African continent has not been spared from these debates. For instance, in 2021, the conversation reported that Nigerian history was removed from the school curriculum because there were no job prospects. Learners avoided taking history as one of the subjects in school because they feared they would have no jobs (Olukoju, 2021; Alabi, 2017). Similarly, a study in South Africa showed that learners avoided taking history because they would not get good jobs and would stay in rural areas for good (Wassermann et al., 2018). Thus, the lack of prospects is one of the reasons history was losing popularity in schools.

There have been calls to revise the school history curriculum in Africa. A study by Bentrovato (2017) shows that most of the stakeholders in African countries have pointed out the need to revise the school history curriculum in their countries so that it can be more relevant and specific to the context of where it was being taught. For example, Bentrovato (2017) stated that learners from Burundi, DRC Congo and Rwanda advocated for African

and national history to be in the school history curriculum because they were ignorant of their history. In Zimbabwe, Moya and Modiba (2013) revealed that curriculum racist terms in the history syllabus were removed and replaced with Afro-centric terms. For example, the tribe was replaced with the word ethnic (Moyo and Modiba, 2013). There is still a need to work on the school history curriculum to align with the people's aspirations.

Dominant narratives continue to exist in the school history curriculum. For example, despite extensive consultations on the school history curriculum in South Africa from various societal stakeholders, the African National Congress (ANC), some associations and intellectuals were the only key voices in the school history curriculum (van Eeden, 2010). The emphasis is on historical skills and diversity to avoid a dominant white voice in the South African school curriculum. The dominant narratives should be countered in the school history curriculum so that there is a balanced representation of the history taught in schools.

There are several reasons why the school history curriculum has been called for reforms. For instance, the notions of citizenship, social justice and democracy have brought about the need to reform the school history curriculum in South Africa, Kenya, Rwanda and Zimbabwe (Bertram, 2021; Dube and Moyo, 2022; Chisholm, 2004; Nasibi and Kiio, 2005; Dzikanyanga, 2017). In other countries, such as Kenya, Rwanda and Zambia, the history syllabi have been revised to equip learners with skills and enable them to compete favourably in the global market (Kabombwe and Mulenga, 2019).

One of the challenges that the subject of history faces in Africa is that it is not taken as an imperative subject for one to succeed in future. History is seen to be simple, and learners do not require a lot of effort to pass. For instance, Silumba (2021) argued that history as a subject was losing popularity in Zambia because of the attitude and misinformation by some Ministry of Education officials who charged that history was not important by belittling the teaching and learning of history. This demoralised teachers and learners in Zambia because of the attitude of some educators.

Despite reforms that have taken place in the school history curriculum in Africa, there is still some dissatisfaction with the content of school history in Africa (Ndille, 2018; Kaburahoona, 2019). In Cameroon, for instance, the content of the school history curriculum did not align with the local reality of the learners despite the emphasis that indigenous and local content should be part of the curriculum (Ndille, 2018). Similarly, in Uganda, the content in the school history curriculum goes back to colonial days (Kaburahoona, 2019). Thus, it could be understood why there are a lot of agitations concerning the school history curricula in Africa.

Research in Ghana, Nigeria, and Tanzania has revealed that teaching methods accounted for losing history's popularity as a subject. Learners have complained that the methods of teaching history were boring. The learners did not feel engaged and left most of them dozing. Boadu (2016) argued that history was increasingly becoming unpopular in Ghana and Nigeria among learners because of a lack of innovation in the classroom. Some methods were inappropriate (Nasibi and Kiio, 2005; Namamba and Rao, 2017; Mwathwana et al., 2014; Cobbold and Oppong, 2010). There is a need for curriculum specialists and educators to enliven the teaching and learning of history for learners to appreciate the subject.

Methodology

Mann and Stewart (2000) suggested four ways online methods can be used for qualitative data collection. These are standardised interviews in the form of email and web-based surveys, non-standardised forms of online one-to-one interviewing, 'observation' of virtual communities, and the collection of personal documents online (Mann and Stewart, 2000:10). This study falls in the category of web-based research. Web-based research focuses on capturing data for analysis on internet sites. Two types of web-based research are non-intrusive and engaged (Kitchen, 2007: 13 as cited in Gupta 2017). The non-intrusive data collection techniques do not interrupt the naturally occurring state of the site or cyber community nor interfere with it using pre-manufactured text. On the other hand, 'engaged techniques reach into the site or cyber community and involve engagement with the participants of the web source' (Kitchin, 2007: 15).

Gupta (2017) noted that non-intrusive research does not involve direct interaction between the researcher and the participants through the internet. This kind of research involves the collection of online documents available in the public domain, such as images, videos, posts or other archival materials. In non-intrusive research, the public is given uncontrolled access (Jensen, 2004). There is no expectation of privacy, and the data is not considered under the remit of human subject research for ethics review. However, there are still ongoing debates regarding how online participants can be respected and protected (Gupta, 2017).

This study used a qualitative approach, specifically, hermeneutical thematic content analysis. In this regard, e-documents in the form of comments were used to understand the views of people who created the content on social media on Facebook on the school history curriculum in Zambia. This study conveniently sampled people's views on the

Zambian school history curriculum on Facebook. Facebook platforms offer researchers an unprecedented opportunity to acquire large and diverse samples of participants. However, the Facebook population is not perfectly representative; its users tend to be younger and better educated, and some groups might be entirely excluded. People in countries where they do not have access to the internet or Facebook is blocked might be excluded (Pace and Livingstone, 2005).

One of the pitfalls of using Facebook is that users might not use their real identities, and it might be difficult to get consent from users to publish their views and verify the participant's mental age (Gupta, 2017). Pace and Livingstone (2005) aver that online research poses a risk to the individual privacy and confidentiality of the participants because of greater accessibility of information about the individuality, groups, and their communications. This can lead to shame and humiliation. The findings of this study might not put anyone in any physical or emotional danger. Based on this methodology, the study analysed the content on social media platforms such as Facebook to find out the views of the Zambians on the content of the school History curriculum by grouping the comments into themes.

Findings and Discussion

Views from the general public on the curriculum implemented in society are very important as they enable curriculum developers to get feedback on whether a curriculum is on the right track. This is because a curriculum is an effort by different stakeholders in society. Considering that some sections of society have complained about being side-lined in the process of the curriculum development process (Kabombwe and Mulenga, 2019), the Facebook platform has allowed many to give their opinions.

Views of the young people on the school history syllabus on social media

Young people had diverse opinions through several impressions of the school history content they had received in Zambia. They were very free in expressing their thoughts and shared them on various social media platforms such as Facebook. What comes out clearly from the following analysis is dissatisfaction with the content of the curriculum.

School history curriculum as irrelevant in Zambia

Some of the respondents on Facebook stated that they felt that the history curriculum was irrelevant to where they were in their lives and what they wanted to be in the future. Many

went so far as to cite some examples of topics that they felt needed to be removed from the syllabus. In this vein, one noted the following:

> *I feel the school curriculum should be revamped to topics that directly have a connection with real life, topics as how to make money when you don't have capital but have an idea of how to make more money, agriculture and many more that are applicable to life at an early stage as Grade 5 not some of the things we learn things like Zinjanthropus. It's a waste of time and resources like chalk and the teacher's energy. That's why we have graduates with papers but teshibe ifyakufwaya stata (cannot make ends meet). At the end of the day everything you work for you expect to be paid, so the curriculum should go direct to the point.*

Similarly, another Facebook user asked if people benefitted from learning about the origins of early man in the school history curriculum. This Facebook user stated that:

> *How are bena Zinjanthropus and Homo-Habilis you learning at school helping?" they asked.*
>
> In response to the question one of the Facebook users responded that it *"was just wasting time.*

However, some people were quick to come to the defence of teaching early man history. One user justified the addition of early man in the school history curriculum in Zambia. The Facebook user posted that:

> *It's funny how you guys refer to a historical topic when you talking about the irrelevance of some topics … how about they remove biology and chemistry ... photosynthesis is the process in which green plants make their own food in the presence of sunlight. Okay, then what??? Otherwise each subject is important ... take note ... some topics like Zinjanthropus try to explain a stage in the development of man … how does this help? Well, it will help a learner have a broad understanding on the origin of man...trust me, knowing how to make money won't free us from the neo-colonialism. Knowledge can and will free us from oppression.*

It can be seen that not only were some topics flagged as irrelevant but those young people were preoccupied with economic issues for their survival in future. There was a strong leaning towards subjects that would help them to have a livelihood. But as one user noted, knowledge of early history is essential for empowering previously marginalised groups like the Africans. They even pointed to broader themes such as neo-colonialism and historical knowledge as important factors in curbing such vices.

There were some teachers of history who also contributed to these conversations. Therefore, their analysis of the syllabus came from an enlightened perspective. They argued

that while the school history curriculum was relevant, it did not assess the learners on the higher levels of Bloom's taxonomy. The user mentioned that:

> *In recent weeks, we have witnessed an interesting debate on social media on the relevance of our curriculum. This has been inspired by comments and opinion pieces that have largely trashed our curriculum as being useless. In one such piece, the author highlighted two specific examples to validate his view. The first was that the teaching of European history was irrelevant to the development of our country … I have been working with past examination papers of history from 2016 to 2019 for the past several months and found that the way they prepare their examinations is, with due respect, below par. They just assess remembering and comprehension… … … … … .*

Another user commented that:

> *I have no problem with any particular subject. My worry is the irrelevance of some of the content and how the same content is casually represented both at senior and junior level. For example in history, why should we teach kingdoms both in junior and senior? Is there a shortage of topics? Also, some subjects should only be taught either in senior or junior. If repeated, they should be strictly optional, no imposition at all! If only 2 pupils choose to take that subject, let it be so.*

The user further added:

> *We want to encourage young people to pick and stick to what they are passionate about at a very young age. Education should not be shoved down people's throats, they need to feel the relevance. So, merge subjects which share objectives, get rid of some content and examine the relevance according to advancement to senior secondary. Introduce more optional subjects focused on young people's interests and modern educational needs.*

Simakando (2020) observed that the negative comments on the school history curriculum were because people did not understand the value of history in Zambia. The voice of all stakeholders is very important in curriculum development as it can help to refine a curriculum. Usually missing in these discussions is the youth voice. This is troubling because the youth have been active participants in important events in Zambia and are the recipients of this education. They are the right group to provide feedback on the school history curriculum.

Other countries like South Africa began looking at how to make history relevant to young people in schools and institutions of higher learning decades ago (Kanduza, 2011). Kallaway (2012) noted that the history curriculum and the history class have long been at the centre of the debate about the nature of education in South Africa. The findings of this study resonate with the observation by Chabatama (2012), who noted that one of the

challenges of teaching history in Zambia was that some topics in the history syllabus were outdated and irrelevant.

The case was not different in Nigeria and Ghana, where it was noted that history as a subject was facing a lot of challenges in terms of scope and coverage (Alabi, 2017; Boadu, 2016). Martin (2018:1) argued that history curriculum designers need to pay far more attention to the dialectics of the relationship between curriculum content topics and public history in all its manifestations. Hence, we can argue that curriculum developers need to pay attention to the content in the Zambian school history curriculum.

The school history curriculum was Euro-centric

Zambians' general perception that the content in history was Eurocentric. Many felt that too much time was spent learning about the history of other countries than the local history. In expressing this, one user noted:

> *It has to be redone because I don't see any need of knowing too much about some foreign countries which most likely some of us would even ever be there when the opposite doesn't happen in their countries. It's even possible that the students tend to know more about other countries than Zambia.*

Another user complained that "we teach too much foreign history at the expense of our local history" In agreement, another Facebook user commented:

> *I agree with you. Am passionate about history but I also feel our secondary school history syllabus needs a lot of attention. For sure we teach so much of foreign history at the expense of our own Zambian history. As a result, it's difficult for our learners to appreciate the subject.*

Other Facebook users widely shared these sentiments. Another noted that:

> *It's not our problem; the problem is with our Education system! We have a lot to learn within Zambia. All we learn is history from other countries! Icalo ici! (this world)*

Many more felt that European History had been elevated at the expense of local history. The youth were aggrieved that local history was missing from the school history curriculum in Zambia. One youth who keenly followed the centenary celebrations of the First World War in Zambia left a poignant comment.

> *After watching on TV the centenary celebrations in Mbala exposing all the battle fields and the historical facts about the WW1 in Zambia, I am tempted to ask the question: Who designed the history curriculum we followed in secondary school? The great mind went into European details and never made a hint on the Zambian connection. And I am left to wonder; shouldn't the Abercorn connection have made the*

key point of departure on explaining the effects of the WW1? Apparently, I didn't do my secondary school in Mbala however I guess it must be really painful to learn history on WW1 in Mbala without any reference to its significance on the ground. That subject must be an academic 'miss' which should be corrected forthwith.

In addition to that comment, another person lamented that:

OK, I never knew this. Kaili (because) they concentrate on teaching us the battle of Mlatuzi and how old Nandi was instead of teaching us our own national history. Sure busy nama (with) Bismarck and Hitler when we know nothing of our own.

Commenting on the same post, another person complained that:

Instead of learning about Zambia/Mbala, it was all about Mussolini. It's not just history as a subject which had irrelevant material, also Geography. Instead of learning about Rice-farms in Kaputa, we spent the whole term learning about Canadian Prairies.

In agreement with this statement, one of the Facebook users commented that:

I learnt world history and Zambia in general but Zambia's contribution during the First World War was not mentioned anywhere. But today we are told how rich Zambia is regarding WW1. I am greatly disappointed.

Within the same thread, someone commented that;

They made us study about the treaties which were being signed, Hitler and Mussolini only to remove the relevant part on how they found themselves in Zambia, particularly Mbala and where the arms where thrown. Historians should bring back my school fees.

To achieve the vision of 2030, the 2013 Zambian Curriculum Framework aims to produce learners who can appreciate Zambia's ethnic cultures, customs and traditions, upholding national pride and unity (ZECF, 2013). There have been changes in how history is taught since the 20th century. This is because ''there has been tremendous expansion of the scope of historical enquiry and it has been placed in the mainstream formal education sector; new histories like economic, rural, urban, social and cultural have emerged'' (Manyane, 1999:1). However, the purpose of history as a school subject is also connected to contemporary notions of historical awareness and consciousness (Lee and Ashby, 2000; Seixas, 2012; Lee, 2011; Tambyah, 2017) rather than intuitive, memory-based understandings of the past. Teaching a national narrative helps to create patriotism (Christou, 2007). Patriotism can only flourish when citizens of a country engage with their history.

Suggestions on what should be included in the School History Curriculum of Zambia

Inclusion of local history

The study also sought to find out what kind of history the people wanted in the school history curriculum. The youth voice was very forthcoming in its suggestions on the history content. There was a consensus that since the syllabus was irrelevant and euro-centric, it needed to be revised. This was given credence by then President Lungu's call for curriculum reform after the centenary celebration of the First World War. One youth wrote:

> *The directive by HE President Edgar C. Lungu to have the secondary school syllabus reviewed is welcome… The syllabus coverage is too wide for the pupils to learn all themes in 3 years and also a lot of postcolonial history is neglected. It is not surprising to see pupils showing more interest in Civic Education and Geography than in history.*

Another added that what was needed was a more practical history which spoke to local issues:

> *We need to make it more relevant and practical. Introduction of History project can be one of the ways through which our learners can learn a lot of things. We have a lot of undocumented historical figures such as Musa Kasonka, Anoya Zulu, Omelo Mumba, Edwin Imboela, Godfrey Ucar Chitalu, and Gen. Peter Zuze etc. Other than the history of personalities there is more to learn such as transport, football, traditional ceremonies etc. We need to invest in history as it pays off. Several states generate a lot of money as a result of historical tourism. We can learn great lessons from these.... Zambia has a lot of potential to reap from this sector.*

Teachers did not shun these discussions on social media. They also participated and offered valuable insights on possible curriculum reform. One of the teachers posted on the teachers' page that learners should now learn the:

> *Origin of Lumpa church of Lenshina Mulenga, the rise of Kenneth Kaunda from 1964 to 1990,Mwamba Luchembe's coup, Chiluba, the seven wonders of Zambia; Kalambo falls, Kabwelume falls, Chishimba falls, Ing'ombe ilede, Luchele ng'anga foot step stone, Musonda falls, Luapula bank swamp, Zambezi river, Lake Bangweulu, the uprising of Adamson Mushala and what made Julia to demonstrate naked during the struggle for independence. It's not human to be learning European history and some African history but failing to explain our Zambian history. The system must change.*

Another user said:

It's the learning syllabus that should change. Most of our children do not know much about our country, our liberation struggles etc. I feel it's time this information is fused in with the changes in time. It's pointless to keep learning about Homo-Habillis, Zinjanthropus etc, we learnt about them, but what value did it do to me as an individual? Nothing!!!!! Unlike if I learn about Zambia, from the time it was Northern Rhodesia etc.

Yet another added that:

I think we should just teach an overview of European history and paying some attention to topics that concern us like Imperialism, the World Wars then teach our own history intensively. We can focus on our kingdoms or rather tribes for I don't believe they ended on declined. Then traditional ceremonies and contemporary history be included in the syllabus. What I agree with the president 100% is that history needs to be rewritten but most importantly that we should write our own history.

A concerned citizen also said that:

...I want my kids to learn and know more about African leaders not Bismarck!

The findings of this study indicate that a lot of information on national history was missing from the curriculum. The youth yearned for history tailored to the Zambian setting; they wanted personalities with whom they could identify. Atkinson (1970) noted that unless there is a radical rethinking of the traditional type of syllabus, history will not only die as a subject in the curriculum but will deserve to die. More recently, Arkell (2006) argued that, in most societies, the history curriculum has failed to help learners understand the process of change in relation to them.

The history syllabus should be made meaningful to young people. School children of all ages and abilities should face continuous challenges and the need to build on their efforts. But they must be able to perceive that what is being taught is relevant to their own lives and problems. Goksu and Somen (2019) have argued that local history should be included in history education so that students may investigate and learn more relevant geographies, form connections between past and present, and gain important life skills based on these connections. In support of this argument, Bentrovato (2017) noted that local history helps students to understand how these developments occur and how they affect our lives more effectively. History teachers must also include local history activities in history class curricula. Thus, it would be important for curriculum developers to design a history that has some local content. The challenge with the current history curriculum is that the local content in the school curriculum was mainly from the postcolonial period and a few nationalist figures. The teaching of national history in schools is a recurrent topic

of academic and public discussion across the globe (Phillips, 1998). Due to its important role in educating future generations, the content of the curriculum is a sensitive issue (Low-Beer, 2003).

A school history curriculum based on consultations

Stakeholders further suggested that consultation should be made among all stakeholders when designing a school history curriculum in Zambia. In one of the posts, it was indicated that technocrats should pay attention to the people's views about the history curriculum. Similarly, another Facebook user mentioned that they wished that the curriculum revision process was consultative enough to include the views of the youth. In addition to those sentiments, another Facebook user mentioned that:

> *Such consultations rarely involve low class stakeholders like us teachers, unfortunately. But again we need to dump the pity parties about how our opinions are ignored and find a way of getting more involved.*

Just like their contemporaries outside academia, teachers felt their views were ignored during curriculum reform. Studies on curriculum development and implementation in Zambia indicate that even key stakeholders have been side-lined in curriculum development (Mulenga and Mwanza, 2019; Kabombwe and Mulenga, 2019). For instance, Chabatama (2012) argued that history teachers were not involved in the development of the history curriculum; they only received the syllabus with instructions on what to teach and discard. He argued further that the history of West Africa and Eastern Africa was removed from the curriculum at secondary schools. Yet, it was important to the learners' understanding of African History. De Coninck (2008) contested that the curriculum is the responsibility of all societal stakeholders. Curriculum and curriculum development, at first glance, appear to be of chief concern to educators, governments and parents, and both have relevance and impact on the development of communities and prosperity (Koskei, 2015).

This study's findings align with Tyler's model of curriculum development, which states that for a curriculum to be relevant, it should capture the purpose of education in society. If a curriculum does not do so, it becomes irrelevant. While the Zambian Curriculum hopes to produce learners connected to local and global history (CDC, 2013), the finding of this study indicates that the history curriculum connects them more to global history than to local one because much of the history content is foreign. Therefore, this study strongly argues that with the current content in the Zambian school history curriculum, the Zambian education system will not achieve the aspirations of the 2013 revised curriculum. It recommends revisiting the content to reflect continuity with the Zambian past and tell

a local story on global events. The history curriculum development should be viewed as a process by which meeting learners' needs leads to improving their learning outcomes. The curriculum must be a living document in constant flux and not stagnant. It must adapt to changes in the educational community and society in general. Only then will it be able to be an effective change agent in the educational process (Alsubaie, 2016).

Conclusion

In conclusion, generally, stakeholders were dissatisfied with the content of the school history curriculum in Zambia, arguing that it was irrelevant not only to their present life but also to the future they envisioned for themselves. The overall feeling was that the school history curriculum did not contain sufficient content on the local history in Zambia. They were particularly affronted at the silence on indigenous historical figures such as Alice Leshina, Adamson Mushala and Mainza Chona, among others. They lamented that many youths had no idea of Zambia's most basic aspects of their history. In essence, they felt like they were a lost generation. This is because European historical figures like Adolf Hitler, Vladimir Ilych Ulyanov (Lenin) and Otto von Bismarck were studied in great detail. Still, the same depth was not applied to Zambian historical figures whose accounts were based on rumours and speculation. For instance, Alice Lenshina and Adamson Mushala had been reduced to exciting rumours in history.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Conference Report: The 36th South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) Conference 29–30 September 2022

Venue: Genadendal Museum
Organisers: Francois Cleophas (University of Stellenbosch), Vanessa Mitchell (Robben Island Museum), Judith Balie (Genadendal Museum), and Isabella van der Rheede (University of Stellenbosch))

The 36th South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) conference welcomed delegates from 29 to 30 September 2022 from across the history education sector to the historic and award-winning Genadendal Museum. The conference's focus was to respond to a changing 21st century, which is experiencing environmental threats, pandemics, and increasing wars. Hence the conference theme of History Teaching in and Beyond the Formal Curriculum is underpinned by the following sub-themes.

- history teaching in the formal school curriculum, history teaching in the informal school curriculum, unofficial history teaching
- history teaching for a decolonising school curriculum, history teaching in private and state museums, history teaching pedagogies in the disciplines, e.g., environmental studies, fine and performing arts, heritage, medicine, sport studies, war, religion, nutrition, etc.
- open papers on history education themes not covered by the above

The conference was attended by 80 attendees from schools, museums and universities across South Africa and 32 papers were delivered. See the image below.

During the parallel sessions across the two days, papers were delivered focusing on private and state museums and the informal school curriculum, the environment and e-learning, decolonising school curriculum, the formal school curriculum and history education and teaching pedagogies and history education. The papers and presenters from various disciplines made for fascinating discussions and debates. Debates took place about what a decolonised history curriculum in schools should be, including military history in higher education, building relationships between schools (history teachers), museums, and universities and using e-learning pedagogies.

'Conference attendees of the 36th SASHT Conference in front of the Genadendal Church.'

Two powerful keynote addresses were also delivered during the conference. In the first, Professor Howard Phillips of the University of Cape Town spoke about *Black October: the Spanish Flu Pandemic of 1918 in South Africa—the intersection of global, national and local history*. In the second, the activist and scholar Gertrude Fester engaged with *Toa Tama !Khams Ge—the struggle continues*.

The conference went well, given the limited resources available to history education and history educationists and the issues surrounding load shedding. The success of this conference was due to the synergy between the organising partners (Robben Island Museum, Stellenbosch University, and Genadendal Museum). The importance of student assistants who are keen and willing to undertake tasks cannot be emphasised enough. The social gatherings were also successful since networks were established and re-established, and informative institutional experiences were exchanged.

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Report: Black Archive[1] Symposium 4–5 August 2022

Venue: Crawford's Beach Lodge, Chintsa—East London, South Africa
Convenor: Siseko H Kumalo (University of Fort Hare, Philosophy Department | Harvard University, Centre for African Studies)
ISBN: 987-0-9947240-8-3

Overview

The Black Archive symposium was conceptualised to draw different disciplinary expertise into thinking about the next move in decoloniality insofar as decoloniality is articulated in South Africa. This conversation sought to challenge claims made in the South African academy as a way of mystifying and obfuscating the voice of Black/Indigenous intellectuals, an obfuscating move that is found in the claim that the meaning of decolonisation is not clear. As such, the symposium was organised to bring to light the reality that the historical articulations of decoloniality in the country are deeply embedded in the hopes and ambitions of Black/Indigenous intellectuals—who continued to write about the *fact* of Blackness even as they were excluded from formal sites of knowledge production, i.e. the South African University. In framing the meaning of decolonial demands in this way, the

1 Following the thinking of Alasdair MacIntyre's (1988) 'Tradition and Translation' in *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?*, it is the object of the concept of an 'archive' to relate the meaning of what is intended by 'Inqolobane'. The conceptual understanding is that the materials we engage, as we work with and through the Black Archive, are materials that were stored away, as one would store away and preserve grains in Inqolobane. In this respect we are after commensurability insofar as an African tradition can converse with a western one—with a translatable equivalent being the concept of an Archive in the western tradition. This is not to dismiss Apter's (2013) cautionary remarks about the untranslatability of certain concepts, an argument whose validity is demonstrable in the inadequacies of translating the concept of Inqolobane as an 'Archive'. Inqolobane, is itself—not without contestation—if the reader takes seriously the challenges that were inaugurated by a curated concept of Blackness/Indigeneity that arises because of the apartheid state directing what aspects of Blackness/Indigeneity are permissible and worthy of inclusion into the school curriculum. Such a framing is not to dismiss the work of Sibusiso Nyembezi, who penning *Inqolobane Yesizwe,* working with Mandla Nxumalo, could be understood as privileging certain conceptions of Zulu identity that would later be institutionalised through systems of standardisation in the school curriculum. This brief discussion on language, translation and the problematic of concepts—even as we find them in L1—is to simply demonstrate the context under which we work, in research on the Black Archive. In simple terms, it is useful to acknowledge and declare that as this concept is relatively new (with respect to its uses in the academy, and as a designator of materials that are both creative and historical in kind), the concept is not without contestation and debate. In acknowledging this reality, we also wish to welcome said debate and contestation on the premise that it will highlight the work of the scholars that we seek to showcase by working in this area.

conceptual articulations found in the scholarship of both the work of Phiri (2020) and Etieyibo (2018) are not only challenged but also subjected to scrutiny. In a review essay on *African Philosophical and Literary Possibilities* (Kumalo 2020a, 164), I suggest that "a superficial, yet positive takeaway from [the way in which the category of decolonisation is treated in the book], is the popularisation of decolonisation as a thematic area of engagement". Put in another way, "[t]he shortcomings with this approach, however, are a rendering of the movement—both in its theoretical and praxis-based analyses—as a vapid and empty signifier that continues the project of colonial violence, which was predicated on the erasure of native (Black/Indigenous) subjectivity" (Kumalo 2020a, 164). To be sure, Blackness/Indigeneity has articulated what is intended by the concept of decolonisation, an articulation that has been seen time and again in the writings of scholars like Tiyo Soga, JT Jabavu, Magema Fuze, William Wellington Gqoba, Samuel, EK Mqhayi and Herbert Dhlomo as but a few examples.

To claim that the meaning of decolonisation is not clear (which is what the reader will find in the texts of both Phiri (2020) and Etieyibo (2018), as cited above) is not only an insult but further exacerbates the erasure of Black/Indigenous ontology in the academy. Subsequently, the objective of undertaking such a historical analysis is to showcase how South African Black/Indigenous intellectuals can contribute to the global aims and objectives of a decolonial, global higher education system. The global higher education system needs alternative perspectives, first articulated by Bill Readings' (1996) timeless analysis in *The University in Ruins*. Without going into the finer details of the neo-liberal, corporatised higher education system, what is apparent is the need for a global humanities that attends to the human condition if we are to borrow from Hannah Arendt's framing. The critique here is that the humanities fail to respond to the realities of the human condition, owing to how we have monetised knowledge development. The Black Archive looks back into this history, but from a vantage point that corresponds to the needs of historical justice, offering us global futures that are interested in a sustainable developmental trajectory that does not suffer from the marauding ideologies of colonising logics.

This project is global in its orientations, witnessed in how this symposium was held in partnership with the African Leadership Centre at King's College. We identified the challenges that the global academy comes up against when treating the subject of decolonisation. In convening this symposium, we recognised that contexts like the United Kingdom could legitimately claim that decolonisation—in the context of the scientific systems of Europe—needed definitional clarity, which could come from an articulation of decolonisation in the global South (South Africa). More importantly, such an articulation

transcends the critique that has been witnessed in decolonial circles the world over. Such a framework is rooted in the understanding that colonisation, as a historical fact, took place and that its existence has been traced in the scholarship of countless post-colonial and decolonial theoreticians. In recognising this gap, the Black Archive seeks to fill it by initiating a global conversation that attends to the needs of the global humanities. Recognising this gap and having initiated the initial global partnerships accord, insofar as this project is concerned, the co-lead of the Faculty of Social Science and Public Policy Decolonisation Workstream, Ekaette Ikpe (Director of the Africa Leadership Centre at King's College), framed the aims of the Workstream—in her opening and welcome remarks—thusly:

> *Developing diverse curricular, pedagogical approaches and [being inclusive of] diverse student experiences [is the intention of the Work-stream]. This includes actionable work/initiatives toward the decolonisation of curriculum as well as consensus at what is intended by the concept of decolonisation. This is undertaken through an ongoing engagement with staff and students, in debates and critical discussions on decolonisation, which includes reflections on the make-up of disciplines in the faculty.*

There are two things to be said about these remarks. First, in the context of the United Kingdom, the concept of gaining clarity on what is intended by decolonisation is clear in relation to the fact that historical reality necessitates intercultural exchange. Simply put, this partnership allows for an inter-epistemic dialogue wherein those at the centre create platforms that exude epistemic humility insofar as this humility means the capacity to learn from those who've always been situated at the margins of knowledge development. For these reasons, King's College—through the Faculty of Social Sciences and Public Policy—would want to invite diverse student experiences to move beyond the hegemonic ontological and cultural experiences that might have dominated the institution since its founding. Herein lies the first point of observation concerning what the debates of decoloniality—as emanating from the South African context—can bring to our global partners; an ability to articulate a meaning of decolonisation informed by the experiences of those who are located at the margins. This is also true concerning the aims and objectives of the research agendas of our partners in the global South and north. Concerning interrogating disciplinary knowledge and methodological foundations in our disciplines, this was an explicit objective of the symposium, as it was conceptualised from a body of scholarship concerned with the meaning of disciplinary knowledge, how it is organised and to what end it is organised. This interrogation of knowledge gives us the second observation concerning Ikpe's opening remarks.

A point of convergence came again in Ikpe's remarks concerning the requirement

of King's College London to be responsive to the global trajectories of disciplines while also being responsive to the local conditions of the United Kingdom. This is articulated as follows by Kumalo (2021a: 4) "Research and development, specifically within the humanities and social sciences, has neglected to be responsive to the local challenges of our society". Moreover (Kumalo 2021a: 7)

> *This [balancing act, which denotes an awareness of global trajectories while being responsive to local concerns] approach does not entail dismissing and neglecting western epistemic paradigms but suggests [a dialogical exchange] with local epistemic positions as opposed to [the north] continuously dictating the terms of engagement.*

This mutuality is witnessed in our collaborative efforts, as the University of Fort Hare's Philosophy Department (jointly hosting the project with the University of Johannesburg's Institute for Pan-African Thought & Conversation) is working with the African Leadership Centre at King's College London. The African Leadership Centre has been dedicated to developing peacebuilding and state-building mechanisms for over a decade. In thinking about the questions of ''what is the role of the state in [working toward] stable peace?" and ''how is society impacted by the state […]", understanding the ontological and epistemic positions of those who experience the African state is imperative. In responding to these questions, we hope to revitalise and reconceptualise the function of the humanities in the modern world.

This returns us to the dismissal and erasure of Black/Indigenous ontology—be it because of answering the questions above or in the process of knowledge-making in South Africa, the intention of drawing in different disciplinary perspectives was underpinned by two principles. First is the desire to go beyond the critique (cf. Kumalo 2020b). Here, the reader finds, in the scholarship of those who contributed and continue to contribute to the Black Archive, articulations that go beyond the critique and begin to frame what a decolonial world might look like. In imagining this new world, it is important to note that said articulation could enrich the way the world understands and contributes to global problem-solving. We are informed by Mignolo's thinking around world-making, which is associated with decoloniality as praxis. The imperative, therefore, is on us as decolonial scholars—those of us who are seriously engaged in this area of work—to deferentially work with the contributions of Black/Indigenous South Africans (and peoples of the margins), surface their contribution while demonstrating both its usefulness and drawbacks. This would be done to realise the objective of historical justice insofar as such a demand would actualise the hopes of decolonisation. The second move was to ensure that while the South African decolonial agenda draws from the scholarship and thinking further afield,

it also privileges the voices of our context. It is here that Hlonipha Mokoena's work on Magema Fuze becomes a central tenet that contributed to the conceptual articulation of decoloniality as it is found in the Black Archive, vis-à-vis the Black Archive symposium.

Defining the Black Archive

As highlighted by our keynote speaker (Jonathan Jansen), my scholarship's definition is similar to the one we find in the Black Archives Project, developed in the Netherlands. I suggest that "the Black Archive facilitated the act of thinking through and theorising the *Fact* of Blackness, even as Blackness/Indigeneity has existed and continues to exist at the margins of knowledge production" (Kumalo, 2020c: 2). Furthermore, my definition outlines that "Blackness/Indigeneity, through poetry, literature, music and art continued to think about conditions of oppression and injustice, while aiming at curating a world that would signify the 'ontological recognition' (Kumalo, 2018) of Blackness/Indigeneity" (Kumalo, 2020c: 5). Since I have demonstrated these points in the case of *Defining an African Vocabulary; Curriculating from the Black Archive; Resurrecting the Black Archive through the Decolonisation of Philosophy in South Africa*, and most importantly, *Khawuleza—An Instantiation of the Black Archive*, I will not recite the definitional position in this report. Save to say that this area of scholarship is growing, demonstrated by the number of participants who contributed to the symposium. While we must acknowledge the differences in terminology, with respect to how these facets of the Black Archive have been treated by scholars in a series of disciplinary constitutions—i.e., African languages and sociolinguistics, art history, historical studies and historiography, jurisprudence, philosophy, political theory, and educational theory, we have all applied ourselves to similar permutations. We are all interested in spotlighting the contribution of Black/Indigenous intellectuals to the extent that they thought about the *fact* of Blackness and how that thinking might inspire contemporary responses to socio-political challenges. More importantly, the nature of the South African colonial experience helps inform the development of the disciplines in the arts, humanities and social sciences. The arts, humanities and social sciences in South Africa shaped and created a deeply divided society. The suggestion, therefore, is that we can use these tools to re-imagine new possibilities. Such a project of imagining will require our moving beyond the restrictions of disciplinary divides and towards collaborative efforts that harness the methodological tools of each of the contributing disciplinary sets that constitute this project.

Aims and Objectives

As already outlined above, the aims and objectives of this symposium lay in challenging and dislodging claims that would have us believe that the meaning of decolonisation is indecipherable in our context. I would suggest that this claim is a thinly veiled attempt at re-colonising the intellectual landscape with respect to the academy's failure to recognise what I have termed the 'ontological legitimacy' (Kumalo, 2021b) of Blackness/Indigeneity. This concept denotes the capacity for Black/Indigenous South Africans to speak for themselves regarding their life expectations, experiences, and realities.

To frame the intellectual project of Blackness/Indigeneity thinking about itself as nationalistic/parochial stems from the reality that South African intellectual circles have constantly been concerned with replacing the legitimate voice of Blackness/Indigeneity with the voices of others. Blackness/Indigeneity, it would seem, has often been viewed as credible only to the extent that it is a native informant—that is, there are processes of de-legitimation in the country's knowledge economy. This process takes place through the definition of knowledge as knowledge only insofar as it is developed by white scholars, as outlined in *Curriculating from the Black Archive* (Kumalo, 2020d). Of course, the challenge with this frame of reference is its continuation of the colonial tropes inaugurated at the dawn of colonial incursion. The resistance strategies to this reality are found in the writing of Black/Indigenous intellectuals who were writing against the oppressive regimes of colonial masters and cultural imperialism that sought to exterminate the cultural existence of Blackness/Indigeneity.

Resultantly, the symposium was organised with the intention (aim) of dispelling this myth that knowledge is knowledge only insofar as it is developed by white scholars while also organising around two main objectives. First, an understanding of the critical voices contributing to the corpus of knowledge explicitly profiling the historical accounts of Blackness/Indigeneity. This is in relation to the thinking and scholarship of those who were engaged in the process of documenting the process of cultural colonisation and developing work that acted as resistance tools—tools that are used now as Inqolobane Yolwazi (Black Archive)—even as they were excluded from formal sites of knowledge.[2] This objective is

2 Such a process of the exclusion of Blackness/Indigeneity from academic knowledge started in 1870, when James Stewart took over the principalship of Lovedale—from William Govan. His decision to put Black/Indigenous students on a more "practical"/vocational training stream was to be the precursor to the Bantu Education Act (1953) and the Extension of University Education Act (1959). One cannot understand the South African condition, of excluding the majority, without first understanding this historical fact, as was premised on Stewart's decision at Lovedale.

in line with Wicomb's suggestion (2018/[1993]: 65) that we need "a radical pedagogy, a level of literacy that will allow our children to read works of literature that will politicise them into an awareness not only of power, but also of the equivocal, the ambiguous, and the ironic that is always embedded in power". Framing the first objective in this way expresses the requirement to bring together a set of disciplinary expertise in thinking with/about historical moments that culminate in contemporary decolonial struggles. Still, it is important to note that those working in these disciplinary areas might not explicitly conceptualise their contribution to decolonisation as decolonial scholarship. The work done by these colleagues is, however, decolonial to the extent that it expressly speaks back to the second objective of the symposium, which was to work beyond the disciplinary frameworks instituted by/in the contemporary university. For these reasons, a series of scholarly disciplines in the Arts and Humanities were brought together to think through the contribution that can come from thinking about the scholarship of historical Black/Indigenous intellectuals.

The second objective was to bring together people working in this line of thinking, even as we might each refer to it differently. What informed this decision was the importance of reading beyond and outside the disciplinary ambits that structure modern knowledge development institutions. Put simply, as we have all theorised that contemporary decolonial scholarship seeks to ''re-member'' (cf. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015 & Kumalo, 2020b) insofar as said knowledge is dedicated to the reconceptualisation of the meaning of Blackness/Indigeneity, its ontological legitimacy, and the constitutive aspects that would speak to the development of knowledge that is responsive to the local needs of our people. Such an orientation, as was already outlined above, does not take away from the necessity to focus on the global disciplinary trajectories that inform the disciplines in which we are situated.

A Methodological Discussion of Conceptual Clarification(s)

Coalescing philosophy, jurisprudence, educational theory, political studies and theory, history and historiography, linguistics and sociolinguistics, this symposium was organised to go beyond these disciplines. The intellectuals who contributed to this emergent area of scholarship have each contributed substantially to the development of knowledge that concerns the lives of Black/Indigenous South Africans to the extent that their research objectives and agenda are responsive to the realities of our context.

Thinking with the local conditions, my work has centred on the requirement to respond

to these while actively pursuing the capacity to influence global disciplinary trajectories in philosophy. The pursuit of this objective was inspired by the reality that the global academy can gain substantial insights when thinking alongside the perspectives that inform our local context. For this reason, the symposium drew from the scholarly concerns and thinking of Tshepo Madlingozi; a scholar who has been informed by the objectives of reconceptualising the legal frameworks that underpin the transformation (or lack thereof) of our society (cf. Madlingozi, 2017; 2018). In thinking about our societal challenges, Madlingozi inquires (2017: 123), "What time is it? The thesis defended in this article is that apprehended from the lived experiences of South Africa's socially excluded and racially discriminated: this is the time of neo-apartheid constitutionalism". In the footnote that accompanies this introductory line, Madlingozi is careful and systematic in explaining that:

> *In section one of this article, I explain what I mean by neo-apartheid constitutionalism, and in part three I show how social justice, transformative constitutionalism's master frame for social emancipation, is complicit in the perpetuation of an anti-black bifurcated society. In response to an anonymous reviewer's suggestion that I should immediately make it clear whether I think that systemic racism continues today, I wish to state the following: the epigraphs to this article, my reference to the time of neo-apartheid and the rest of this introductory section make it clear that indeed I do believe that this is the case. For recent empirical evidence see chapter 3, "Black pain and the outrage of racism" in Swartz Another country 45-68. In this article, I invoke the lived experiences of members of Abahlali baseMjondolo - the twelve-year-old, approximately 10 000-strong social movement of shack dwellers - to demonstrate firstly, that impoverished black people still suffer racialised dehumanisation and social invisibility, and secondly, that the ruling elites are responsible for maintaining this world of apartness.*

In framing his discussion through an explicit acknowledgement of the persistent continuance of systematic racism in the country, Madlingozi is instructive in allowing us to see what is meant by the concept of the denial of ontological legitimacy, as it is denied the majority. His analysis and frame of reference—which demonstrate the point of a denial of the ontological legitimacy of Blackness—are the reality that (Madlingozi, 2017: 124) "those confined to the 'other side of the line (the 'zone of non-beings) suffer unremitting dehumanisation and social invisibility". Moreover, and in stressing the point "[a]ccording to Abahlali baseMjondolo ('Abahlali') […] - an other-side-being is a being who continues to be pushed below the line of the human, a humanoid whose 'life and voice do not count'". What is surfaced by Madlingozi's scholarship is the reality that the basic services and needs

of those on the 'other side' are not only neglected—they do not even feature in the purview of those who inherited an apartheid state. Concerning ourselves with the realities of South Africans becomes a primary focus of the work undertaken by the Black Archive insofar as this work aims to develop scholarship that is responsive to the conditions of the majority.

The dismissal of the ontological legitimacy of Blackness/Indigeneity is intimately interwoven with the worldview that structures the world. Such a worldview, in our context, is premised on the colonial settler's identity, language and systems of thought and writing. This is to say that the component of language, as a communicative device, but also as a cultural encoding system—a system of encoding insofar as such a system determines the scientific systems of possibility that exist—serves as a powerful tool. In developing historical accounts and having those accounts inform the national ethos of belonging and identity, it is imperative to inquire into the historical accounts that exist in re-imagining our worlds. From a historiographical perspective, Ian Macqueen (2019) is instructive in his scholarship when he argues that our teaching of history and historical writing should be drawing from sources that were previously excluded from knowledge production. Drawing from the work of Bradford and Qotole (2008), he makes a case for the use of texts written in African languages, citing that "such African-language accounts illuminate much, formidable linguistic barriers to their full appreciation nonetheless exist". More importantly and instructively, he argues that "[t]he linguistic barriers of translation are a matter of priority of course; consider the commitment of scholars of other regions of the world to the study of orthographies of their old languages. Thus, the excuse of impracticality or difficulty cannot be sustained".

In making this case, Macqueen is instructive in demonstrating the usefulness of language as a tool allowing us access to alternative forms of historiography. Such alternatives could allow us to imagine new possibilities as we are interested in crafting global humanity that attends to the human condition. Alternative sources for historiography and historical writing are not without their challenges. As the reader will recall from footnote 1 of this report, Apter's (2013) concept of untranslatables becomes a point of interest concerning some of the barriers Macqueen discusses in his work. More importantly, however, Macqueen's work also demonstrates a useful point concerning the role of teaching as a source of innovative research methods. In using the space of teaching and learning, as one that is generative of ideas that are responsive to the local context, the reader begins to understand the importance of not only the inclusion of Macqueen's work in this project but as a stand-alone testament to what intellectuals can do with the teaching and learning space.

The inclusion of materials from history and historiography, jurisprudence and philosophy demonstrate the contested nature of knowledge-making in the academy. If we are to craft new possibilities, our systems of thought need to draw from each of these disciplinary positions to position the task of world-making as best as we can. This point is best detailed by Zondi's thinking—in his recent book *African Voices: In Search of a Decolonial Turn*. He sums up the point of what we have been trying to demonstrate here well when he writes (Zondi, 2021: 3), "[n]otions of power, being and knowledge within coloniality/modernity are built on violence —in the form of both genocide and epistemicide". In combating how we have come to understand the structures that inform and influence knowledge development, insofar as knowledge development is intended to be in service of the needs of society, Zondi (2021: 5) follows Zaleza in arguing for the process of "stripping this tradition [i.e., western universalisms] of its universalistic pretensions and universalising propensities". Furthermore, he suggests that such a process "must also entail a combative insistence on speaking from the position of Africanicity, which is both an ontological and an epistemological strategy.". The strategy that we find in Zondi's work is aligned with the aims and objectives of the Black Archive insofar as our work is aligned with the objectives of centring and spotlighting the voices of Blackness/Indigeneity in the South African context.

African voices have, for the longest while, been silenced by fears of essentialist thought insofar as African conceptual and intellectual interests become essentialist when the process of thinking about our conditions and our histories is undertaken by Black/Indigenous intellectuals. Zondi's scholarship demonstrates that such erasure systems are not novel and new. The point being demonstrated here is that a systematic application to the writing of Black intellectuals will demonstrate that the voices of Blackness/Indigeneity have been silenced, erased, and removed from scientific contribution for fear that Black/Indigenous scholars will displace those who actively work to undermine the ontological legitimacy of Blackness. As part of this erasure, in the process of thinking with the Black condition, African intellectuals have often been accused of doing ethno-philosophy, deploying ethnocentric gazes in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology. In contrast, other disciplines have accused such systems of thinking as being guilty of naval gazing projects that are non-scientific. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) demonstrates, however, in his *Epistemic Decolonisation*, the most ethnocentric of scientists is the European colonial intellectual, who—in contravention of Bertrand Russell's suggestion (1912), as we find it in the timeless essay *The Value of Philosophy*—are unable to fulfil the project of expanding oneself and fulfilling the desire of philosophic contemplation by way of reaching beyond the familiar and the known.

In simple terms, the political, related to knowledge development, serves the function of gatekeeping while arguably styling the epistemic positions of those who enjoy more influence and power in the academy as something natural. In simple terms, politics underpins the processes by which we come to include and exclude specific knowledge systems. More importantly, it surfaces the critical question that concerns the delegitimating claims of those who style the work undertaken by and within the Black Archive as symptomatic of processes of nationalism or some parochial project of little intellectual import. In responding to such forms of styling, work was undertaken to respond and engage with the intellectual corpus of Black/Indigenous intellectuals in our country. The question must be asked concerning power. Who benefits from having academe believe that such work—when undertaken by Black intellectuals—is parochial, essentialist or nationalist in its orientations? Who derives further legitimation when we cannot effectively engage with the historical vision that some of our intellectuals had articulated for the future of a democratic South Africa? Who continues to be on the receiving end of oppressive state organisation systems when we neglect to take the concerns of our local communities seriously insofar as we style the intellectual enterprise as knowledge for knowledge's sake?

In response to these questions, the Black Archive's methodological approach brought together leading intellectuals in the fields of philosophy, jurisprudence, educational theory, political theory, linguistics and history and historiography (as a study method). Where such work has been articulated in the past, it has been found in the thinking, writing and literary achievements of some of the country's leading Black/Indigenous literati. For these reasons, some of the work that comes out of the project borrows heavily from literature, literary theory, and critique. The reasoning is that in these areas of consideration, the reader finds a meaningful way of reading and understanding the South African condition without being confined to the disciplinary divides that constitute knowledge as it is developed in the western academy. In simple terms, such a coalescence of disciplinary voices, with each contributing a crucial part of the puzzle, allows for the reconceptualisation of the knowledge project itself, as it is undertaken on the southernmost tip of the African continent. Simply, ours lies in developing knowledge that is responsive to the conditions of our people, an idea that speaks back to how knowledge was not only understood but also used by our forefathers. Such a conception of knowledge is derived from Mazisi Kunene (1996: 16) when he reminds us in his brief but erudite piece on *Some Aspects of South African Literature* that "[w]ritten literature by Africans in the earlier period when literacy was low, had a surprisingly great significance and relevance". Here Kunene was pre-empting the timeless and useful observation found in Hlonipha Mokoena's work (2009) when she wrote of *An*

Assembly of Readers: Magema Fuze and his Ilanga lase Natal Readers. This observation is made because of the later proposition that we find in Kunene's (1996: 16) analysis when he writes, "[o]n the contrary, to Africans, written literature violated one of the most important literary tenets by privatising literature". This is because of the reality that within the Zulu literary genre, one can pick from an array of five styles as they are treated by Kunene (1979: 316) himself: i.e., indaba (a popularised story), inganekwane (a tale) insumansumane (a fantastical story or tale), inkondlo (poetry/a poem) or umlando, (which is a stylised historical narrative). Simply then, the methodology deployed in this research project seeks to attend to the requirement that knowledge speaks back to the context in which it is developed. Because of this, we are not blind to the reality that said knowledge needs to keep in mind the disciplinary trajectories in which we work. Considering this balancing act, we hope this research project will lead the way in conceptualising how knowledge disciplines can collaborate to solve some of the wicked problems that afflict our contemporary societies.

The Black Archive is conceptualised as a thematic area of study that will respond to the realities of the South African contemporary state while also giving the global academy insightful knowledge that responds to the demands that our knowledge systems be decolonised. This project inspires new questions, one of which is considered (elsewhere) as ''the Decolonial Problem''. This is to say that the decolonial problem is interested in investigating how the knowledge we are uncovering from the continent, the Latin American worlds, the East and Arabia—how this knowledge is being used in the academy. In simple terms, is this knowledge being used in service of western philosophical problems and questions, or is it attending to the needs of the epistemic grids that give rise to this knowledge in the first instance? What is of crucial importance is an understanding of how we deal with the response that we get from the previously posed question. If said knowledge is in service of the western enlightenment and intellectual project, which is underpinned by systems of thought that gave us the violence of colonialism, extractivist thinking, and hyper-individualised societies that are dysfunctional owing to the reality that the human—as species, is a highly sociable creature—how then are we to treat a response that says our knowledges are in service of the western scientific structures of thought?

Conclusion

The Black Archive symposium, an event convened at Crawford's Beach Lodge in

Chinsta, Eastern Cape (South Africa), sought to grapple with the questions that arose from the preceding discussion. In bringing together, colleagues who are each thinking about the implications of knowledge production, and systems of thinking that are aimed at responding to the realities of the people, the world over, the hope was that we could spotlight and learn from the intellectual corpus of Black/Indigenous South Africans, most of whom were writing in their native languages. Our collective access to this knowledge has meant that we are privileged enough to not only still be able to read and engage with this knowledge but that we can disseminate it in ways that allow us to attend to the principal conception of knowledge, as it was held and developed on the continent. That is to say, through the knowledge produced from this project, which is still in its infancy stages, we can respond to the requirements of aiding the global academy in achieving the goal of decolonisation.

List of Attendees			
Title	**Name**	**Discipline**	**Institutional Affiliation(s)**
Mr	Siseko H. Kumalo	Philosophy	University of Fort Hare / Harvard University (Visiting Fellow)
Dr	Ekaette Ikphe	Political Science	King's College London
Dr	Clyde Ancarno	Linguistics	King's College London
Ms	Mireille Kouyo	Political Science	King's College London
Professor	Neil Roos	History	University of Fort Hare (Dean)
Professor	Jonathan D Jansen	Education	Stellenbosch University (Keynote Speaker)
Professor	Russell Kaschula	Sociolinguistics	University of the Western Cape
Professor	Siphamandla Zondi	Political Theory	University of Johannesburg (Director – Institution for Pan-African Thought and Conversation)
Professor	Tshepo Madlingozi	Jurisprudence	University of the Witwatersrand (Director – Centre for Applied Legal Studies)
Professor	Hlonipha Mokoena	Political Theory	University of Witwatersrand
Dr	Ian Macqueen	Historical Studies	University of Pretoria

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TEACHERS VOICE / HANDS-ON ARTICLES

Teaching soft skills in the modern history classroom beyond the parameters of the formal school curriculum

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Introduction

The history classroom lends itself to teaching soft skills conducive to good citizenship, sound values and cognitive processes that are critical in the world of work. It is incumbent on the History educator to become an enabler of inter-disciplinary investigation, debate and the discernment of validity, reliability and usefulness of source material. This approach stretches the child's capacity to relate intelligently with the printed word, statements of opinion, irrefutable facts, statistical analyses and artistic interpretation of reality. Unleashed is the ability to intellectually interrogate topics of the moment and cerebral engagement with pertinent issues of the modern age. The curriculum facilitates "historical comprehension, chronological thinking, analysis, interpretation and research skills" (American Historical Association, 2022) (American Hisorical Association, 2022), all of which are effective tools for the educator to hone values pertaining to Human Rights, Dignity, Unity and Justice, and which all promote a humane and caring society. Furthermore, in pursuance of an adequately educated and erudite citizenry in an era of exponential growth in the realm of available information and sources that provide a conduit for that explosion of knowledge, it is the competent History educator's role to craft lessons to enhance logical reasoning ability, discernment between fact and fiction, and the proficiency to communicate the validity of their opinions cogently.

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The formal curriculum as a starting point for the intellectual interrogation of information

In the introduction to his discourse *Twenty One Lessons for the 21st Century*, Yuval Noah Harari pertinently observes, "In a world deluged by irrelevant information, clarity is power. In theory, anybody can join the debate about the future of humanity, but it is so hard to maintain a clear vision". (Harari, 2019: 1) The school history curriculum has been expertly crafted to address this point and, concurrently, to provide a platform from which the engaged educator may explore a multiplicity of peripheral skills that enhance the academic learning experience. The formal secondary school curricula provide a content selection deemed by teams of academics, secondary school pedagogues and education administrators to be relevant to the geographic and political context in which it is being taught. The selection of content is, of its very nature, a process influenced by the biases of those who engage in it. When taken at face value, it is a process riven by controversy. It is critical to note, though, that the context in which this material is delivered and presented in the history classroom largely determines the extent to which values and life skill outcomes are cemented in the cognitive domain learners' traverse. These outcomes cannot be taught in a content vacuum. Still, the content selection need not inhibit the extent to which learners are taught to engage with and scrutinise source material. If the core history curriculum of an education authority is not obsessively prescriptive about the presentation of that material, those soft skills alluded to, namely, discernment, logical reasoning, the formulation of defensible opinions and the inculcation of sound human values, are still within the ambit of the history educator in the classroom to explore.

The injunction to history educators to make prolific use of primary and secondary source material to both elucidate and dissect the core content pertinent to the classroom presentation is a critical component of a well-constructed syllabus. It binds the educator to the primary content but opens a wide field of investigation and analysis. This approach to setting formal curriculum parameters opens a vast scope for intellectual enquiry, debate and the discernment of bias, level of accuracy and the interpretation of the chronicle of human development in a particular milieu. Concerning European imperialism, Andrew Marr points to that subjugation process as having come with "a huge dollop of humbug and self-seeking propaganda". Furthermore, and more importantly, he states, "European societies become more open and more self-critical at just the same time as they were acquiring empires. They had advanced beyond the point where they could live on a diet of humbug without feeling ill" (Marr, 2012: 438). It is precisely through this skill of recognising

'humbug', propaganda and bias that the utilisation of multiple sources representing a range of opinions can be actively taught. In the modern age, the proliferation of social media, fake information, accurate facts, bizarre theories and prejudice serve to discombobulate an undiscerning audience. History pedagogy is ideally positioned to elucidate core content with these clashing sources and to teach the discernment required to analyse the material critically. The formal curriculum, if crafted soundly, implores the educator to adopt this teaching methodology.

The formal curriculum also addresses the use of assessment as a teaching tool. A source-based assessment provides scope for learners to effectively communicate their logical reasoning, analysis and interpretation of historical discourses. Selection of supporting information from sources, assessment of the relevance and usefulness thereof, and expressing their opinion about the biases and prejudices contained therein are all required in the assessment techniques stipulated by well-crafted syllabi. As an adjunct to that, paragraph and essay writing hone written communication skills by requiring cogent arguments to be proffered using articles and visual material presented in the assessment tasks. In addition, the learner can demonstrate an ability to present a coherent exegesis or argument in response to a proposition upon which an essay topic is based. The presentation of a thoughtfully constructed line of argument is the cornerstone of historical writing.

'Soft skills' beyond the formal curriculum

The London School of Economics explains succinctly on its website some compelling reasons for studying history pertinent to this context. It states that the aim should be "to widen the student's experience and develop qualities of perception and judgement while fostering intellectual independence, sharpness and maturity" and also for their abilities to be "valuable for the graduate as [a] citizen and … readily transferable to many occupations and careers". (London School of Economics, 2022) The formal content is described in its online prospectus, and the intended aim for the student is to acquire the skills outlined as a consequence of the method by which they are taught to engage with that content.

In *The Lessons of History*, Will and Ariel Durant argue that the historian is challenged to assess, "Of what use have your studies been? Have you found in your work only the amusement of recounting the rise and fall of nations and ideas … Have you learned more about human nature than the man in the street can learn without so much as opening a book?" (Durant, 2010: 11).

The informal curriculum, which extends beyond the framework of the formal syllabus, is

the history educator's gift to address. The history classroom is the venue for the investigation of required curriculum content. Still, it should serve as a cauldron in which ideas can be held up to scrutiny, discussion can ensue, and an exchange of opinions and perspectives is freely interrogated. The history educator ought to facilitate a process in which learners delve into the plausibility of arguments and assess the relevance and accuracy of the multitudinous array of sources that masquerade as inerrant fact on electronic media and the reams of text that fill the bits and bytes of the information space. Evaluation techniques need to be taught. Discernment can be taught as a critical skill for the 21st century to eliminate the thoughtless acceptance of intellectual dross that proliferates. The history learner should be taught the skill of sifting through the verbiage and giving credence only to factual, valid opinions that pass muster when held up to the light of intellectual scrutiny.

Curriculum design and History teaching methodology

Those who design the history curriculum ought to structure it to facilitate classroom teaching that not merely presents selected content or assessment formats that restrict pedagogy to the core curriculum. The vast array of knowledge and opinion available in the information space and easy accessibility has transformed history teaching from mere content sharing to inculcating a relevant skill set in the work world. Learners entering the realm of employment, entrepreneurship and, in a broader context, responsible citizenry need to provide those learners with the agency to navigate what Marr described as ''humbug and self-seeking propaganda''. Educators, for their part, need to stretch learners' intellect beyond the formal parameters of the curriculum by actively teaching the skills of discernment and analysis cum logical reasoning.

Conclusion

The modern history classroom is more than merely a conduit through which the formal curriculum is presented to a presumed attentive and engaged audience of learners. It is where soft skills must be actively taught to facilitate active participation in holding the information up to the light of scrutiny, assessing the validity of opinions and venturing beyond the formal curriculum. It is where engaged and involved citizens are taught useful life skills and sound values.

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Teaching for belonging: a course facilitating global pluralism, and dialogue.

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The Canadian Global Centre for Pluralism and European History NGO Euroclio[1] recently offered a pilot course for teachers on *Teaching for Belonging*. The aim of the course, as stated by the organisers, was that "there is widespread recognition that education has an important role to play in building inclusive and equitable societies that are resilient to intolerance, exclusion and hate". The training sought to address challenges teachers face, including the persistence of one-sided historical narratives that can perpetuate group-based conflicts and limit students' ideas of who belongs and who should hold power in their societies, the need for dialogue facilitation training so teachers can create spaces for discussions that explore controversial issues related to diversity and the increase of fear and hate-based narratives around difference that come from the student's often uncritical engagement with social media —thus the need for digital literacy.

Let me first define pluralism: according to the Global Centre for Pluralism, diversity in society is a universal fact and how societies respond to diversity is a choice. Pluralism is a positive response to diversity. Pluralism involves taking decisions and actions as individuals and societies grounded in respect for diversity. *Teaching for belonging* encompasses pluralism in the classroom.

I attended the pilot training early this year, and this paper reflects on the course with Dr Daniel Otieno Okech, lecturer at Kenyatta University and one of the course facilitators.

As Dr Daniel Otieno Okech states when contextualising the course:

1 EuroClio. Available at https://euroclio.eu/

> *One of the ways in which the discourse around colonialism is being promoted is through virtual exchanges between countries in the global west and those in the south. Decolonisation is about reconstructing the African continent. The continent's history, the way its cultures and civilisations are studied and the understanding of its political economy have been shaped by European thinkers (Chukure, 2016). This one-sided perspective must change through candid discussions. The movement to decolonise education in Kenya started at the end of the 1960s after the country won independence from Britain. Garuba (2015) writes that the "fundamental question of place, perspective and orientation needed to be addressed in any reconceptualisation of the curriculum". Garuba (2015) has alluded that the process of decolonising the curriculum needs to be done contrapuntally. The contrapuntal analysis considers the perspectives of both the colonised and the coloniser, their interwoven histories, and their discursive entanglements – without necessarily harmonising them or attending to one while erasing the other. This means that as we revise the curriculum to incorporate African perspectives, we should not erase the colonial perspective, which also adds value to the curriculum.*
>
> "Similarly, one has to look at cross-continental dialogue and exchange of ideas within this framework – the dialogue can facilitate a better understanding of each other, but who creates the forum, and is it equal for everyone? Even language, the most basic starting point, means that not all are on an equal footing".

As a Kenyan, Dr Daniel Otieno Okech's involvement in this discourse has been mainly via participation in several virtual exchange programmes with academic colleagues from Europe and Africa as a trained and UN-certified virtual exchange facilitator. He reflects that

> *as much as the topic of decolonisation is covered in these programmes, there is a paucity of information derived from the African content that represents the African perspective. The topics of diversity and inclusion are still presented from a Eurocentric/ Americentric perspective.*

In the *Teaching for Belonging* course, I was asked to invite two or maybe three other teachers to join, as this was a pilot. I did invite and get acceptance from three other teachers, but once the course started, they all failed to attend due to teaching commitments or workload. The course was asynchronous for the most part so that one could work through modules in one's own time, and every three weeks or so, there were online meetings set up where one could choose which time zone/time slot suited one best. The modules had deadlines, including commenting on the coursework and each other's responses.

Participants included teachers from Eastern Europe, Western Europe, the USA, Canada,

Africa, Russia, South Asia, and South America. Forty-five educators from over 30 countries were selected, the majority of whom were recommended to GCP or who had reached out to express interest. Every participant was recommended because of their commitment to or interest in fostering and advancing equity, diversity and inclusion in their work. GCP anticipated that several participants would drop out throughout the training. In the end, 37 participants completed the training.

Of the 37 participants, 30 were classroom teachers who taught various subjects, from history and social studies to science and drama. The other seven participants included a history museum director, representatives from non-profit education organisations, a teacher trainer and a guidance counsellor. This led to rich debate and discussion as the course required completing modules and activities. Teachers could comment on the application of tools and approaches in their classes and engage in online dialogue with one another. There were also live webinars and debates facilitated as examples of handling conflict and ensuring that all pupils are heard. When attending the course, I could apply some of the tools and frameworks to sections of work, and it was interesting to witness pupils' engagement in difficult and emotive topics. There were some takeaways regarding insights into controversial topics and how important it is to make everyone feel heard. Still, not all opinions are inclusive, and one has to be mindful of how to deal with opinions that seek to divide and perpetuate discrimination or how to deal with a participant who may start to feel threatened by the discussion.

With such tools, it is easier for a teacher to explore controversial topics and facilitate decolonising the curriculum, as it allows for the hidden histories/experiences and voices in the classroom to emerge rather than just the dominant narratives.

As the GCP states

> *We are living in a historic moment of urgency for pluralism. Societies worldwide are being challenged to address injustice, inequality and exclusion issues. When societies commit to becoming more just, peaceful and prosperous by respecting diversity and addressing systemic inequality, the impacts can be transformational. When the dignity of every individual is recognised, everyone feels they belong. We are all better off for generations to come.*[2]

The course was full of excellent reading material on pluralism, identity and social justice.

At the beginning of the first module, participants were challenged to write down

2 Global Center for Pluralism. Available at https://www.pluralism.ca/.

ten things that encapsulate their identity. Then they were asked to shave this down to 4 aspects, and finally two. It was interesting to see how many people chose their religion or nationalism as their core identity, while others chose family member, sister or brother—more familial terms. We then discussed the social identity wheel—which helped us unpack different forms of identity. (Appendix A)

This led to a discussion on how people outside of that identity could be excluded somehow, and we assessed different forms of exclusion in our contexts.

The second module explored how historical narratives influence a person's sense of belonging in the present. We analysed multiple perspectives of a single historical event. There were questions such as:

- In a few sentences, describe a major event from the past in which there was a conflict between two or more groups as it relates to inequality and exclusion, which is part of your history education curriculum.
- Who was presented as a hero, victim, or perpetrator?
- Do you think some groups, perspectives and related events are missing? Which ones?
- How do you think your history education has contributed to present-day ideas of who belongs in your society?

The third module explored the purpose and practice of dialogue, and this flowed into exploring tools for educators to facilitate dialogue. This included designing a "brave space", setting ground rules for dialogue and formulating questions that deepen thinking. The Good questions guide helped teachers distinguish between questions that facilitate open-ended dialogue and those that are closed, slanted, or vague. (See Appendix B)

Digital pluralism and the need to create respectful and inclusive online spaces, teaching learners to recognise how online information may be filtered, monitored or manipulated was also a focus of the course.

Educators and students can take specific actions to connect with different perspectives online. Some of these individual actions include the following:

- While there is an ongoing debate on whether filter bubbles and echo chambers are more or less harmful, there appears to be a consensus that it is worth being aware of them. So, an initial step in responding to echo chambers and filter bubbles is being aware of them.
- Learn about how personalisation works on different sites. Explore which personalisation settings users have control over, especially those that can be turned on or off. Review user ad preferences. If you want to seek

wider perspectives or find out what information you would get without personalisation, you can use browsers that don't track your history or conduct your searches using incognito mode.

- Consciously (and periodically), seek out different and opposing perspectives, points of view, new sources and new forms of expression. For example, follow multiple/opposing news sources, politicians and advocacy groups. You can also access sources (e.g., allsides.com) specifically created to provide multiple perspectives. Plugins, such as Escape Your Bubble and Flip Feed, are designed to insert diverging perspectives into your Facebook or Twitter feed.
- Bring attention to under-represented stories and viewpoints. Social media provides a significant opportunity to move outside of traditional news structures. You can leverage the reach of social media to educate others on stories and perspectives that they may not be aware of. If you decide to do this, you must use your critical thinking skills and share stories that help humanise issues. Companies and institutions are involved in making algorithms less likely to amplify one perspective. In the meantime, an awareness of how these algorithms work and exploring ways to break out of your bubble—at least occasionally—can help build a digital world that supports pluralism.

Finally, teachers were encouraged to zone in on their school and identify the multiple ways exclusion can be experienced and reinforced in a school setting, evaluate the challenges of addressing exclusion in their school community and create an action plan to address one example of exclusion in their school community.

Throughout this course, lesson plans were created by the participants, which were shared and commented on by fellow participants and the course coordinators. We also commented on the readings and applied them to our contexts.

I was at the time very involved in facilitating pluralism in my school, as a history teacher in the classroom and as a member of the school's transformation committee. It was beneficial to reflect on our approaches as I did the course.

Some of my key takeaways were:

- Applying a pluralism lens to education points to the importance of looking at what is being taught, how it is being taught, and the extent to which educational institutions model and lay the foundation for pluralistic societies. Both hardware (e.g., legislation, policies, hiring practices, curriculum/textbooks, monitoring mechanisms) and software (e.g., norms, beliefs, attitudes, language, historical narratives) can either facilitate inclusion or exacerbate tensions and

deepen social exclusion through simplistic or negative perceptions of and responses to difference.

- The idea of creating a safe space in one's classroom for exploring such issues was important, and, in addition, for many who attended the course, the course became a safe space. Most participants confirmed that this training made them more self-aware. Participants also commented several times through the pilot that the experience provided them with a (brave) space where they could share in a vulnerable way about personal, political and social issues. This, in turn, led to an openness to learn and positively impacted their experience. For example, some people were more comfortable speaking openly about sexuality and gender than others. Such differences can make people try to play it safe and limit conversation or ignore an issue altogether. Establishing ground rules for engagement during this course helped.

Applying a pluralism lens in the classroom

One of the topics I was teaching at the time of the course was Social Darwinism, and I applied some of the tools to see if it helped the quieter pupils voice their thoughts. I used "what perspectives are missing from this discussion"?

It led to previously quiet mixed-race children and children of Indian origin asking lots of questions about the racial hierarchy created by Social Darwinists and trying to work out where they would have been placed and how they are viewed today. Too often, a class's larger or largest group will dominate the discussion. I find the tools developed by the course on pluralism heighten one's consciousness to constantly look for the hidden voices in the class, encouraging all voices to be equally heard and previously silent voices to emerge, thereby decolonising the curriculum.

I was running an elective for Grade-8 learners (13-year-olds) on Voices Across the Ocean, which included looking at Hydro-colonialism. The course inspired me on pluralism to explore slavery not only across the Atlantic Ocean but also the Indian Ocean and the indentured labourers brought to South Africa by the British. I had Joanne Joseph as a guest speaker to talk about her book *Children of Sugarcane*, a historical novel focussing on the journey and experiences of two Indian women brought to SA. Joanne spoke to the learners and then also talked to parents and the interesting thing was that she seemed to have opened a topic that Indian parents have not been able to address. So many women

divulged how they don't talk about this past of their ancestors because it is painful history.

I also invited professor Isobel Hofmeyr to talk about Hydro-colonialism and how many people of colour consider the ocean a spiritual place because of the drowned souls in its depths. This has led artists such as Jason de Caires Taylor, Estabrak El Ansari and Pinar Yoldas to try and depict the people below the ocean.

Others have tried to resist oil companies drilling in the ocean's depths and disturbing these souls. Recently, a service was held in Cape Town to commemorate the 200 slave souls lost at sea when the Portuguese slave ship sank off the coast in 1794. (Smith, 2015)

I also spoke of noise pollution in the ocean and how this affects the life of whales and their breeding habits.[3]

Finally, I organised an online classroom chat between my students and students from a school in Connecticut to discuss how the different education curricula covered slavery and how this impacted their historical consciousness. Here the students became the voices across the ocean. The elective wrapped up with students writing poems about their view of the ocean after the elective, and it was fascinating to see how many diverse voices emerged.

Reflection from a facilitator:

As reflected by Dr Daniel Otieno Okech:

> *The evaluations done by the participants revealed that the six modules equipped teachers with competencies related to pluralism, but it also facilitated global connections and built a network of pluralism education champions. Although the course did not explicitly cover decolonisation as a topic, the fact that participants dealt with equality and inclusion made it possible to weave in the discourse about decolonisation. Through these programmes, participants learnt a lot in the areas of intercultural awareness and understanding of global issues such as climate change, pluralism, immigration crisis, racism etc. It provided an opportunity to navigate digital technologies through collaborative tools across different continental regions and time zones. This experience has made me a better educator and a facilitator of global learning.*

Possible ways forward:

3 Ocean Care, 2022. Available at https://www.oceancare.org/en/south-african-court-bans-offshore-oil-and-gas-exploration-by-shell/.

The GCP evaluates the pilot course and considers whether it should be offered globally or regionally.

It would be important in future courses to look into a language tool to make translation easier for non-native English speakers.

A pluralism inventory was created for use in Canada and the USA that could be changed and adapted to a SA setting but contained questions which can lead to discussion. This is useful for whole school consciousness-raising, about transformation, for teachers and pupils alike, but it may need to be adapted for schools beyond North America and Europe. (See Appendix C)

The inventory is followed by discussion questions:

Were there any questions that made you feel uncomfortable? If yes, why do you think that is?

How does this inventory help us understand the concept of pluralism?

Are any questions missing, in your opinion? Are there any questions you would add that would be relevant to your context?

Conclusion

The course on *Teaching for Belonging* helps heighten one's sensitivity to issues that one may intrinsically know about the importance of addressing diversity in the classroom in a positive way. It aids a teacher's approach and facilitation skills and has practical tools to assist teachers who would otherwise shy away from difficult discussions with learners. It also creates a global network of voices, who could become a network of educators sharing resources and lessons or even just sharing perspectives as guest speakers.

Appendix A

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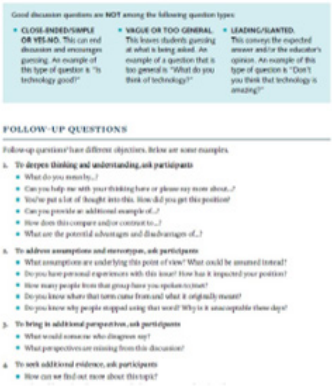
Appendix B



Good discussion questions are **NOT** among the following question types:

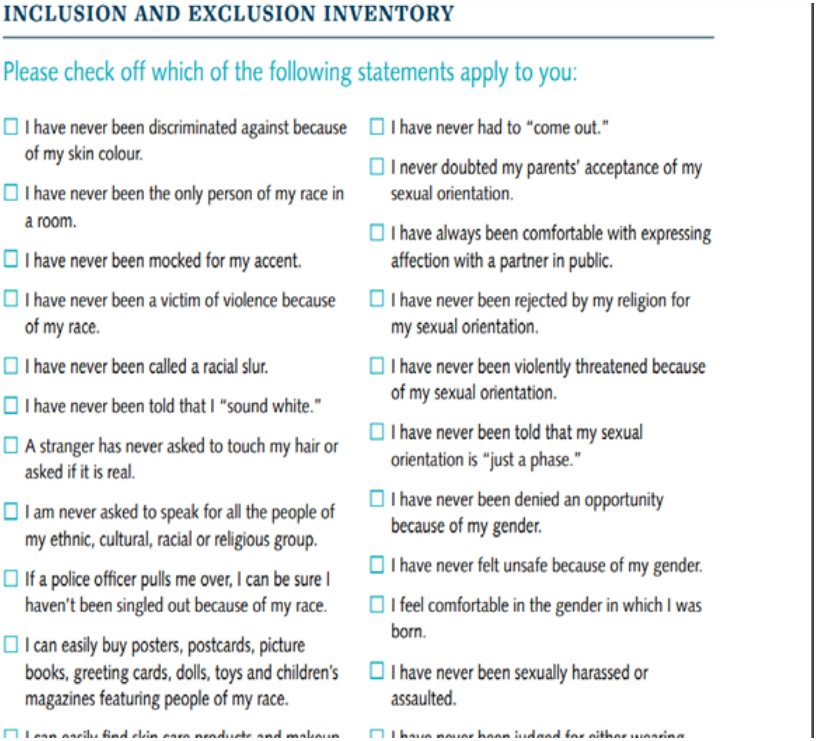
- **CLOSE-ENDED/SIMPLE OR YES-NO.** This can end discussion and encourages guessing. An example of this type of question is "Is technology good?"
- **VAGUE OR TOO GENERAL.** This leaves students guessing at what is being asked. An example of a question that is too general is "What do you think of technology?"
- **LEADING/SLANTED.** This conveys the expected answer and/or the educator's opinion. An example of this type of question is "Don't you think that technology is amazing?"

FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

Follow-up questions have different objectives. Below are some examples.

1. **To deepen thinking and understanding, ask participants**
   - What do you mean by...?
   - Can you help me with your thinking here or please say more about...?
   - You've put a lot of thought into this. How did you get this position?
   - Can you provide an additional example of...?
   - How does this compare and/or contrast to...?
   - What are the potential advantages and disadvantages of...?
2. **To address assumptions and stereotypes, ask participants**
   - What assumptions are underlying this point of view? What could be assumed instead?
   - Do you have personal experiences with this issue? How has it impacted your position?
   - How many people from that group have you spoken to/met?
   - Do you know where that term came from and what it originally meant?
   - Do you know why people stopped using that word? Why is it unacceptable these days?
3. **To bring in additional perspectives, ask participants**
   - What would someone who disagrees say?
   - What perspectives are missing from this discussion?
4. **To seek additional evidence, ask participants**
   - How can we find out more about this topic?

Appendix C



INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION INVENTORY

Please check off which of the following statements apply to you:

- ☐ I have never been discriminated against because of my skin colour.
- ☐ I have never been the only person of my race in a room.
- ☐ I have never been mocked for my accent.
- ☐ I have never been a victim of violence because of my race.
- ☐ I have never been called a racial slur.
- ☐ I have never been told that I "sound white."
- ☐ A stranger has never asked to touch my hair or asked if it is real.
- ☐ I am never asked to speak for all the people of my ethnic, cultural, racial or religious group.
- ☐ If a police officer pulls me over, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
- ☐ I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
- ☐ I can easily find skin care products and makeup
- ☐ I have never had to "come out."
- ☐ I never doubted my parents' acceptance of my sexual orientation.
- ☐ I have always been comfortable with expressing affection with a partner in public.
- ☐ I have never been rejected by my religion for my sexual orientation.
- ☐ I have never been violently threatened because of my sexual orientation.
- ☐ I have never been told that my sexual orientation is "just a phase."
- ☐ I have never been denied an opportunity because of my gender.
- ☐ I have never felt unsafe because of my gender.
- ☐ I feel comfortable in the gender in which I was born.
- ☐ I have never been sexually harassed or assaulted.
- ☐ I have never been judged for either wearing

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History Teaching in and beyond the formal curriculum Two Students Looking Back and Looking Forward

Mechall Abrahams and Waseemah Arendse
Two Oceans Graduate Institute, Cape Town, South Africa

Introduction

This article focuses on the learning journey, experiences, and research related to history education in schools and the interaction between them. I am Mechall Abrahams, a recent graduate of the Two Oceans Graduate Institute in Cape Town, where I completed my B.Ed. degree in the intermediate phase. I live in Park Rynie, a rural community in KwaZulu-Natal. As an online English teacher, I work with students from various cultures across the globe. In addition, I have gained a greater understanding of myself and other cultures through studying history. As I have become more aware of other people's viewpoints and have begun to listen to them first, my views have also evolved.

My name is Waseemah Arendse, and I have just completed my B.Ed. (Intermediate Phase Teaching) from the Two Oceans Graduate Institute. I live in Bonteheuewel, Cape Town—commonly known as the Cape Flats. I work as a Grades 6 and 7 mathematics and science teacher at a school in this same area. This article will reflect on our journey with our studies, experiences, research, and interaction with how history is taught in our schools.

Mechall Abrahams: Looking back: an evaluation and reflection on primary history education in the intermediate phase

In my four years as a student at the Two Oceans Graduate Institute, one of the most valuable opportunities was visiting different primary schools for teaching practice. By doing so, I could learn about various history teachers, history lessons, and strategies. I learned that history is commonly considered a divisive subject that is either admired or despised without much understanding of historical significance and meaning.

As a result of reviewing the Curriculum and Policy Statements CAPS Social Sciences

documents for Grades 4 to 7, it was noted that Grade 4 term one could include more oral history and folklore to understand how people perceived their environment. Moreover, I noticed that great leaders and the first settlers needed more emphasis, like focusing on oral history, poetry, and Indigenous knowledge.

Whilst having the pleasure of teaching Grade 7 learners History, I observed that most learners had not developed the cognitive capacity required to comprehend the content associated with the transatlantic slave trade. I think Grade 7 learners develop historical cognitive skills over time from Grade 4 concerning historical content. A perfect example would be critical thinking skills and collaborative skills. Furthermore, I firmly believe that providing learners with more in-depth content will give them background knowledge of how to apply historical thinking skills in the FET phase.

Moreover, I noticed that diversity and inclusiveness fit together like a puzzle, allowing learners to achieve their desired outcomes through learning. In addition, I strongly feel that in an inclusive history classroom, the teacher's primary goal must be to make all students feel valued and comfortable so they can meaningfully participate in the learning process.

When learning history during the 1980s, lessons seemed monotonous. In addition, there were no classroom debates, and as a student, I had no opportunities to question the past, investigate, explore, and research using historical thinking skills. As a history teacher, I aim to investigate unique contexts for exploring a variety of emotions and issues in history; and examine the emotional and controversial issues affecting modern society and how they interact so that we can reflect on and effectively teach controversial and emotive issues.

Waseemah Arendse: Looking back: an evaluation and reflection on primary history education in the intermediate phase

History teachers are often labelled irrelevant, and they should envy teachers who teach subjects like mathematics and science. I want to state that as a mathematics and science teacher, I have been full of envy of the history teachers at my school. For example, I knew that the passing of the late majesty Queen Elizabeth II was a fantastic opportunity to bring relevant information into the classroom that would be considered history for centuries.

Through my studying of history teaching, I discovered that the CAPS document proposes a focus on social transformation, Ubuntu, and indigenous knowledge. History education in South Africa is tasked with achieving three specific goals. Developing critical thinking involves a range of evidence and developing nation-building to create an identity,

social relations, and solidarity amongst diverse communities and cultures.

Sitting in a history classroom during my teaching practice experiences, topics such as Ancient Egypt turn into a contest of who can write like the Egyptians best instead of what they can learn from how they lived and how they built their success. Much can be said about Ubuntu and inclusivity. Teaching our learners only what is available in the textbook cannot teach them to be inclusive human beings and to create environments and communities with Ubuntu practices.

Studying at an institution that thrives on equipping us with 21st-century skills, our expectations for going to schools were relatively high. I was disappointed when I realised that teaching history consists of the teachers planning dictated in the CAPS guidelines and the textbook chosen by the school. Learners enter the classroom prepared to listen to the teacher for approximately ten minutes, and a discussion about the content might occur. The rest of the period is dedicated to learners copying notes from a textbook already in their possession.

The classrooms of the schools I visited and the way history lessons are taught have not changed since the last time I sat at those desks. I saw the conventional way of teaching with the teacher being the only person speaking for the lesson duration.

Too few resources and too little time for anything else. The learners are seemingly uninterested and uninvolved in what is taught in the classroom. Inclusivity to investigate, explore, and research using historical skills and thinking is non-existent.

Mechall Abrahams: Looking forward: possible solutions for teaching and learning primary history education

The CAPS document highlights the importance of preserving South Africa's rich heritage and legacy of the past. In addition, the CAPS content contains some references to Ubuntu and indigenous knowledge systems. However, much more needs to be added. Also, when restructuring a history curriculum, it is essential to consider the diversity of cultures and the inclusiveness of the classroom.

Regarding teaching controversial and emotive topics, I would suggest recommendations included in the CAPS curriculum for teachers to ask learners more questions. I firmly believe having the ability to listen is an essential skill that all learners can learn if they are shown how to do it. Moreover, it is essential to point out the consequences of all emotions and feelings. Consequently, it influences the learner's thinking and learning; as a result, we may be able to imagine what others feel when we have more knowledge.

The history taught in school should focus on displaying the lives of ordinary people through time. Furthermore, it should focus on integrating the 6Cs of 21st-century history education into the development of primary history education and how we teach history in our classrooms. Communicating and collaborating with learners can help develop empathy in them when dealing with emotive issues.

Waseemah Arendse: Looking forward: possible solutions for teaching and learning primary history education

So how can new teachers, along with teachers who have been teaching history for 30 years, teach history that will allow learners to become historians in the classroom? How do we teach history for learners to learn about their own cultures and heritage and feel proud of who they are as individuals living in such a fast-paced, evolving world flooded with technology that did not even exist 20 years ago?

Additionally, when reviewing and restructuring a history curriculum, it is vital to consider the diversity of cultures and the inclusiveness in a primary history classroom setting.

Teaching relevant and age-appropriate content would be an excellent example of how teaching in the intermediate phase can be transformed into an effective subject that is not perceived as a repetition of facts or a tedious practice.

Creativity should be treated with a very high level of importance. It is significant since the world's future is unknown, and we have no idea what to expect or how much innovation will be necessary to succeed. As adults, we may not see this future, but our children will, and it is our responsibility to guarantee they can thrive. Historical thinking is critical for students to build skills and tactics to help them understand the past. These skills are critical for our learners to examine, interpret, and comprehend past experiences rather than remember what occurred.

Conclusion

The past cannot be changed, but we can create new knowledge about it. To ensure the aims and outcomes of the country's curriculum are met, teachers must teach the content in a way that meets those aims and outcomes. While it is evident that primary history education requires revising and restructuring, it is our opinion that this should be started within the intermediate phase and ensure the effectiveness of the changes and implementation in the

higher grades. Our recommendation is to elevate historical thinking skills, oral history, folklore, and controversial and emotive topics to a deeper level in the classroom, thus encouraging students to become responsible citizens. Students who work with content that relates to their daily lives in the 21st century are more likely to develop humane, empathetic traits as humans.

Challenges related to the Zambian history curriculum and how the history school curriculum can be decolonised

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In Zambia, the attainment of independence and democracy in 1964 and 1991, respectively, necessitated innovations in the education system. After independence, different educational reforms were formulated, such as the 1977 educational reforms aimed at improving the quality of education by redesigning the Zambian education system and integrating work and study into the curriculum. The focus was to transform the school curriculum to help learners acquire different educational skills. The effort to improve the education system and change the curriculum continued, and the Ministry of Education in 1996 presented the aim of education as being the development of a complete and well-rounded individual for personal fulfilment and the good of society. Since 1964, the history school curriculum has been revamped to align with the rapidly changing world. Primary and secondary syllabi reflect Zambian history, but this has not been done to the merit. As of the 2013 revised curriculum, the Outcomes-based Education curriculum (OBE) was adopted. The introduction of the competency-based curriculum in 2013 was to help learners acquire knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes that are likely to equip them with competencies that they can effectively use to serve society and the nation at large. Even though such was the case, such gains are bound to contribute little, if anything, to the curriculum process as history teaching has not been conceptualised within the context of the other human and social sciences. This article aims to explain the challenges relating to the Zambian history curriculum and further explain how the curriculum can be decolonised to suit the Zambian people.

After independence, most African countries (Zambia inclusive) revised their curricula to Africanise and decolonise the former curricula to meet their societies' growing demands and promote their local cultures. In Zambia, the effort to revise the history curriculum has been made under difficult conditions. This is because the country inherited a curriculum formulated by the colonial government. The colonial history curriculum failed to appreciate the local history to greater inclusiveness. For example, colonial masters taught much of European history by praising a European man, including the history of David Livingstone

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till his death and the history of some ethnic groups that were neglected. This has continued until the 21st century, and local history is no longer relevant. It has failed to satisfy the needs and aspirations of contemporary society. For this reason, there is a need to focus on aspects of the country's cultural heritage to enable an understanding of the origin, shortcomings, failures, and successes to have an intelligent reconstruction of the curriculum (Ng'andu, 2020).

In Zambia, teaching and learning history, as a curriculum discipline, has been characterised by political, economic, cultural, and ideological imperatives, whose teleological goal is one of the nation-building process and one of cultivating a modern dimension of national identity in the global culture. However, teachers face many challenges when teaching history because the subject's content is restricted to the curriculum. The Zambian history curriculum has not been decolonised as it contains few topics relating to the country's history (Mulenga and Mwanza, 2019). For example, the grade 11 history focuses on Europe's social, political and economic history. This history addresses issues of the world from a European perspective. When teaching World War One, pupils are only taught about Europe, not Zambia. Mbala or Abercorn is not recognised as the most important site during the war and is not included in the secondary school history curriculum. Such issues make decolonising history curricula hard (Ministry of General Education, 2013). The removal of history as an independent subject at the junior level has been received with mixed feelings. History has been incorporated into social studies, which include civics and geography. This has removed many topics, especially those related to Zambian kingdoms, of which few are taught (Curriculum Development Centre, 2011).

Further, during the curriculum implementation, history teachers are left out because they are very critical about reform; their absence in the curriculum reform process means that history is placed at a disadvantage. Mzumala (2021) revealed that teaching history at all levels must admit the inevitability of development and change. Teaching history and related disciplines should raise awareness of prejudice, discrimination, inequality, injustice, and assumptions that would otherwise go unchallenged. Without that essential way of thinking critical historical analysis, learners cannot fully enjoy learning history (Mwanza and Changwe, 2020). Some teachers I have interacted with, especially in rural areas of the Lundazi district, mentioned that they are not in contact with curriculum specialists. Some of them said that their absence had delayed them in airing out the challenges they face in teaching history, especially topics on European history (Banda, 2021).

At the primary level, history is taught in social studies, which does not advocate for better access to what teachers need to deliver sound historical ontent to the learners. The

fact is that teachers are not consulted or involved in the process of curriculum formulation or development. They have no access to participate in local or national discussions on the future of social studies, compromising the quality of the aims, goals, and purpose of what social studies should be or yield (Curriculum Development Centre, 2011). For example, Matilda Banda, one of the history teachers I contacted, mentioned that for the past ten years she had taught history, she has never been consulted by anyone from higher authority. This makes it hard for her to explain the challenges she has been facing in preparing the current history curriculum. Banda further mentioned that it is challenging to teach Zambian history to merit, and some learners describe the subject as boring (Banda, 2021).

Many teachers I have engaged with complained that the secondary history syllabus includes much European history. For example, it explains many works of Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, Otto Von Bismarck and others and African leaders like Shaka are viewed as cruel leaders and never praised. Great men in Zambia who fought in world wars are never mentioned. Most of Zambian history is the history of pre-colonial times, and this focus is on labour migration and how Zambians became labourers in Copperbelt and other mines. This history is Eurocentric in nature, and it depended on gossip and rumours. It is a history of propaganda. This history is heroic in nature and judgmental. The Europeans mostly wrote what they saw, most of which was concerned with a trade that existed in the pre-colonial era (Curriculum Development Centre, 2013).

It is a pity that the country has been independent for 57 years, but its history has been neglected. Few studies have been done, and this is due lack of financial support to sponsor students to do their masters and PhDs. The country has few history professors who are old and cannot be relied on. Some of these professors are not updated with the current history. Contemporary issues in history are not well addressed because most professors depend on only the information they obtain at school (Mulenga and Mwanza, 2019). Because the examination is set in line with the syllabus, teachers do not teach what they know but what is in the syllabus. They teach what is in the book to make learners pass exams and not acquire practical skills. Most of the information in the syllabus is bookish and does not address 21st-century challenges. Most pedagogical models used in teaching history in school are teacher-centred (Curriculum Development Centre, 2013).

Despite many challenges our Zambian teachers face, I believe it is possible to decolonise the history curriculum. The following is how this can be done. Firstly, learners must gain a conceptual understanding of historical events and geographical places to understand the past. This can be more effective through the educational trip. Historical sites like the Ing'ombe Illede must be visited by the pupils at least once a term. Pupils across the country

must well utilise the Lusaka national museum. This is because the national museum is rich in the country's history. Moreover, discovery, dialogue and life experiences are essential to give learners ample chance to have first-hand information by discovering things for themselves through experiences (Mwanza and Changwe, 2020).

It can be suggested that research history courses be compulsory in all colleges and universities to allow students to participate in the writing of different local histories. This can be effective if all students research local history. For example, the University of Zambia should provide a research course to students having history as a subject. The curriculum specialists should also include history teachers before reforming the curriculum. The University of Zambia has made progress by offering Zambian history as a compulsory course. History teachers need to be consulted and their thoughts. Sponsoring the best history students is the most important thing to do as a country. Lectures and other great historians need to be involved in the history curriculum.

In conclusion, teachers face many challenges because they are not involved in curriculum reform. This challenge can end if many teachers are consulted. Also, history can be an enjoyable and worthy subject when teachers prepare effectively to foster a deep knowledge of their discipline and understand how to teach historical thinking. History teachers need to emphasise the blending of content and pedagogy. I further suggest that history teachers must be aware of contemporary issues, especially those near our region or within the country..

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Breed Apart

Author: Johan Raath
Publisher: Delta Books
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This book details the experiences of Johan Raath, a former Special Forces operator. He offers an insider's view on the training he and other young soldiers received in the mid-1980s, which is quite rare. He describes the phases of selection and training by drawing on the reminiscences of his fellow Recces. He also offers valuable insights into what constitutes a successful operator. The training cycle courses have been designed to show the range and standard of Special Forces training, including handling weapons, bushcraft, survival mechanisms, parachuting, demolitions, urban warfare, and seaborne and riverine operations. Eventually, Raath and his colleagues experienced some level of development when their training culminated in an operation in southern Angola, where the young Recces saw action for the first time. Much of Raath's lived experiences forms part of present-day Special Forces training. In light of the brief background, this book demonstrates why these soldiers are a breed apart. It is important to note that the South African Special Forces was established in the early 1970s. It is currently considered a prestigious and vital South African National Defence Force unit. Selection and training doctrines were initially based on those of the British Special Air Service, with some influence from the French Special Forces, particularly on the combat and diving and seaborne operations side. Air capabilities were drawn from the highly esteemed 1 Parachute Battalion, based in Bloemfontein in the central highlands of South Africa. It was not long before Special Forces operators were referred to as 'Recces'- an abbreviation for Reconnaissance Commando.

The Recces operators got involved in the most challenging operations in Angola,

Rhodesia (Present-day Zimbabwe), Mozambique, and other sub-equatorial African countries. Angola and Mozambique attained political independence from Portugal in 1975, and communist governments were installed in both countries. The National Party Government in South Africa perceived these communist African states as threatening white minority rule. The United States of America encouraged South Africa to reject communism outright, given its fight against the spread of communism throughout the world, which was at the height of the Cold War between the Soviet Union (Russia) and the United States of America. South West Africa faced insurgency challenges in South West Africa (present-day Namibia) by the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo). It is important to note that at the time, South West Africa was governed by South Africa as a protectorate. The National Party had to deal with the threat posed by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed military wing of the African National Congress (ANC), and from the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the armed military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

These groups were insurgents or terrorists/freedom fighters fighting the Apartheid regime first for South West Africa's independence and second for South Africa's democratization. The first South African Defence Force soldier to be killed in action in March 1974 in Angola was Lieutenant Fred Zeelie. He was a Recce operator from 1 Reconnaissance Commando. The Recce was very busy from 1975 onwards, immediately after Angola and Mozambique attained political autonomy with a backup from the Soviet Union and its satellites. Meanwhile, the white minority regime in Rhodesia faced an onslaught from the Liberation movements. When Rhodesia gained independence from the 1970s up until 1980. The Recces often worked with the elite Rhodesian SAS on operations in Rhodesia, Zambia, and Mozambique where the insurgents had training camps and from where they launched attacks against the Rhodesian security forces. Special Forces from South Africa and Rhodesia were militarily capacitated, hardened bush fighters with a wide variety of skills and specialised tactics derived from operations against numerically more significant enemy forces. In 1980, the old security forces of Rhodesia were discontinued, and a number of SAS, Selous Scouts, and Rhodesian Light Infantry (RLI) operators joined the South African Reconnaissance Commandos. The amalgamation of the Recces with these Rhodesian special operations formations created one of the finest Special Forces organisations the world has ever seen. There were three South African Special Forces units by the late 1970s, namely: 1 Reconnaissance Regiment (Durban), 4 Reconnaissance Regiment (Langebaan), and 5 Reconnaissance Regiment (Phalaborwa). The Special Forces HQ was located in Pretoria. All the operators were schooled in bush warfare, parachute deployments, demolitions, basic seaborne operations, and urban warfare, and each unit

specialised in certain kinds of deployment. 1 Recce became experts in urban warfare, 4 Recce in seaborne operations, attack diving, and underwater demolitions, and 5 Recce were masters of larger-scale bush warfare operations, often expedited through fast strikes delivered by light armoured vehicles. Military or police conscription for all white males between 17 and 65 became compulsory from 1976. Initially this duty was performed over nine months. In the early 1990s, military conscription for white males was reduced to one year after Namibia attained independence and the ANC and other political organisations were unbanned. Compulsory military conscription in South Africa was finally abolished in August 1993.

The author provides incisive accounts on his early life which informed his interest in the title of the book. He was born in 1968 in the city of Bloemfontein, in the Free State province. He comes from a modest middle-class family. His father was a teacher and his mother was an administrative secretary at the local municipality. Both his parents grew up on farms in the Free State. His entire family comes from a community of farmers. Raath showed interest in military matters from a young age, including toy guns and real firearms. One of his uncles afforded him an opportunity to experience farm life in the mountainous eastern Free State during school holidays. The uncle taught him how to use a rifle and hunt small animals such as rabbits, dassies (rock rabbits), meerkats, and various birds. Raath made significant progress for example; from a 22 long rifle to a shotgun and later to a larger calibres, which were used to hunt various species of buck (Antelope). He eventually excelled at shooting. Raath's father taught him fishing which he enjoyed very much. He learned horse riding and loved outdoor life in the veld. The author soon realised that all the skills he was taught were actually in his DNA, as they were meant for the Boers who trekked from the Cape into the hinterlands during the 19th century.

Raath's father taught history at high school and was particularly interested in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, as well as its battle sites around the country, which exerted a profound influence on Raath to pursue his military interests to a large extent. Furthermore, he enjoyed narratives on military service, border battles between South West Africa and Angola. Here the South African Defence Force was also engaged in battles against Swapo guerrillas and the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of Angola (Fapla), the armed forces of Angola's communist government. Tales and rumours about secretive Recces and outstanding group of combat soldiers they were. The author developed an interest in becoming a Reece and took part in the cadet camps that young men were encouraged to experience during the winter holiday break. At the age of 16, Raath was ready to actualise his dream of becoming a soldier. He also desired to become a Special Force operator. He

was not interested in school. Rugby, cricket, parties, girls and a regular bar fight, were the subjects Raath excelled in. The latter caused him serious injuries that compelled him to undergo facial reconstruction surgery. The consequences thereof imposed some limitations on his academic and social life. He missed school for a couple of months and could no longer play rugby. When the call-up papers arrived, they clearly stipulated the criteria to be met by recruits who wished to join Special Forces. Raath could not meet some of the criteria. Communicating in English was a major challenge given his background as a Dutchman coming from the Free State. Eventually, he was sent off to perform military duties at the age of 17.

The author has been able to detail his lived experiences and perspectives on South African Special Forces coherently through fourteen chapters, which speak to the book's title. In the first chapter, he highlights the most crucial aspects of his journey of discovery that he willingly undertook, hence the crux as a sub-title. The second chapter details the basics of the Special Force and its experiences. Chapter three deals with the orientation of the Special Forces, including induction programmes designed to educate them on the ideals of military engagements. In the fourth chapter, the author explains the selection criteria and standard procedures in-depth. The primary aim was to ensure that recruits are were for purpose. Chapter five covers the role of individuals within the Special Forces Units. In chapter six, the focus is on Seaborne and Water Orientation. The aim was to equip Special Forces with the requisite skills, including diving.

Chapter seven discusses the military strategies that help identify the enemy. In chapter eight, the author delves deeper into the components of the Parachute Course and the extent to which it meets expectations. In chapter nine, Raath provides a detailed explanation on how Aof Operations were conducted. Chapter ten deals with Demolitions and Mine Warfare. In chapter eleven, the author highlights Bushcraft, Tracking, and survival as part of the narrative on the country's Special Forces. In chapter twelve, the Forces are taught minor tactics, guerrilla and unconventional Warfare. Chapter thirteen deals specifically with Urban Warfare. In the book's last chapter (Chapter fourteen), Raath explores the avenues of life beyond the Recce cycle.

In conclusion, Raath's book is a carefully thought out piece of academic writing. It captures the essence of the title so well. Chapters have been chronologically organised, which makes it a lot easier for the reader to grasp the gist of the entire book. The language used has been simplified well for the benefit of the reading audience. The literary style is good. The use of photographs as a visual representation of episodes covered in the book is commendable. Overall, the book is quite an exciting read.

My Pretoria: An Architectural and Cultural Odyssey

Author: Eftychios Eftychis
Publisher: Dream Africa
ISBN: 987-0-9947240-8-3

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My Pretoria, an Architectural and Cultural Odyssey is a coffee table book, a collector's limited edition unlocking some of Pretoria's (Tshwane) (the administrative capital of South Africa) magnificent old edifices such as churches, mosques, temples, as well as educational and residential buildings etc. in the form of drawings. The book launch took place at the Hellenic Community Hall in Pretoria in July 2022. At the opening event, there was also an exhibition of some of the author's original drawings.

All the fifty-six illustrations of heritage buildings were created between 1979 and 1980 by the author, Eftychios Eftychis, a well-established architect and artist in Pretoria. Though the images were drawn more than four decades ago, the selected buildings exemplify their well-maintenance and preservation as captured at that time. Yet at present-day, due to neglect many of the structures are in decline, and, as the author states, "require urgent renovation" (p. xvii).

This special edition is dedicated to the author's wife, Dimitra (Loula), whom he describes as "a driving force in his life" (p. xii). The book has a dual aim: firstly, to artistically contribute to preserving visually the architectural creations of Pretoria, and secondly to evoke sentiments of nostalgia to those who have been living under the shade of the illustrated edifices and form part of the city's history.

The title of this volume, *My Pretoria, an Architectural and Cultural Odyssey* is well-chosen. Eftychios Eftychis, of Greek Cypriot origin, was born and raised in Pretoria, hence his closeness to his South African hometown. By defining his book as "*… an Architectural and Cultural Odyssey*", Eftychis expresses eloquently his blended South African-Hellenic cultural identity.

The term 'Odyssey' in the title, instantly caught my attention as it resonated Constantine

Cavafy's poem, *Ithaki*, which defines the joy of one's journey to be found not in reaching their destination but in the course of the journey itself:

"Το φθάσιμον εκεί είν' ο προορισμός σου, Αλλά μη βιάζεις το ταξείδι διόλου…"

(Arriving there is your aim...But don't rush the journey at all…) (Ithaki),

My Pretoria, an Architectural and Cultural Odyssey takes the reader on an artistic journey which starts with the author's early life, sails with us through his student life, early career, his family life. Sharing his travel adventures, we arrive at the final section of the book, realising that viewing the artworks – is what we were 'destined for', i.e. to enjoy the journey without haste, aesthetically, scholarly and sentimentally.

As for the layout and design of "*My Pretoria…",* realised by the author's son, Creon Eftychis, they are visually appealing, as they maintain a balance between a voguish styled journal and a classic publication. The typography and layout are professionally designed with a colour combination of black and white, highlighted by purple to strengthen the visual language of the book. The purple ink symbolises the beautiful Jacaranda trees of Pretoria whilst the black and white is a reminder of the political struggle between black and white in our multi-cultural, multi-lingual country. Apart from representing the beautiful Jacaranda trees which were introduced to Pretoria in the early 1800s, mostly for aesthetic purposes, the purple colour also complements the author's eccentric clothing, i.e., his "favourite Carnaby Street outfit of yellow bellbottoms" (p. 18), creating thus an imaginary contrast in visual colour.

The book is introduced by four highly distinguished specialists, Emeritus Prof Dr Dieter Holm Emeritus Head of the Department of Architecture, University of Pretoria, Mr Leon Kok, political and financial reporter, news commentator, editor-in-chief and parliamentary correspondent, Mr Han Peters, Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa, and by the Very Reverend Archimandrite Fr. Michael Visvinis, Dean of the Holy Orthodox Cathedral of the Annunciation of the Theotokos (Mother of God), Brooklyn, Pretoria. The opening section (pp. x-xxi) ends with the author's own voice, giving the reader a deeper understanding of the *why* and *how* he decided to transform his architectural sketches into a long-lasting publication, preserving them in his own way as part of an "Africana" shared cultural heritage, which now belongs to a diverse country. These sketches depict structures built between 1876 and 1933, the time when "Dutch and British colonisation had a huge impact on the architecture of the edifices in the urban landscape…" (p. xviii).

The opening of the book is followed by two main sections, *My life in Pretoria* (pp. 1-27) and *The Built Environment* (pp. 29-139) which are further divided into sub-headings,

starting from: *Early Life; Back to My Roots; World of Learning and Work; Family, House, Home; Adventure and Creativity*.

In this section, the author introduces us to his Greek Cypriot family, starting with his life's foundation years. Eftychis' father Euripides, immigrated to South Africa in 1934 but returned to Cyprus to marry the author's mother, Katina in 1946. They settled in Pretoria and as so many Greek emigrants at the time, his father too, opened his first café, the Union Café. The business later moved to Brooklyn where his father established the Brooklyn Terminus Café. This café was a hub frequented by high VIPs which included, cabinet ministers, ambassadors, doctors, lawyers. The author shares interesting facts and happenings relating to the South African social-political conditions of the time. For instance, while in exile King George II of Greece and his brother, Crown Prince Paul with his wife, Princess Frederica with the rest of the family, came to settle for a while in South Africa during the Second World War (Rand Daily Mail, 1941, p. 7; Fourie, 2013, Mantzaris, 1978, pp. 52-53). As they were touring the country, Eftychis's father, as one of the Pretoria Greek community members, was invited to attend the welcoming ceremony of the exiled royal family, hosted by the Prime Minister and General, Jan Smuts (p. 5).

It was in 1942, here in South Africa (Cape Town), where the youngest child of Crown Prince Paul and Princess Frederica was born. With General Smuts as her godfather, the young princess was symbolically named Irene (in Greek Peace), a ceremony that took on a most important role in the Greek Orthodox socio-religious events. As a matter of interest, in 1889, businessman, Alois Hugo Nellmapius bought two thirds of the Doornkloof farm (outside Pretoria) and renamed it 'Irene Estate' after his own daughter, Irene. In 1908, General Jan Smuts bought one third of the original Doornkloof/Irene farm, making his permanent home for more than 40 years. The house, declared a national monument in 1960, today is known as the Smuts House Museum. After his death, General Smuts' ashes were scattered on Smuts Koppie near Doornkloof (Heathcote, 1999, p. 266).

Concerning the social-political tensions in South Africa around 1953, the year when Eftychis was a boy of merely six years, one of their customers, the Russian ambassador, came to bid them farewell, because the South African Government had closed down the Russian Embassy (p. 4). All these socio-cultural events are relevant because, pedagogically both directly and indirectly through narratives, have played a significant role in shaping the young Eftychis's personality and his socio-cultural value system.

The author had identity insecurities and experienced cultural clashes just as many immigrants' children do. His insecurities started at an early age at school when his fellow mates made stereotypical remarks about his Greek family's roots, which linked to their

business and daily life made the author wonder about his identity. Was he a Greek, a South African or rather neither, but just an "uitlander", as many had labelled him (p. 6). This part of the author's narrative is extremely relevant regarding the childhood of those with parents who had emigrated especially from Southern Europe countries such as Greece, Portugal, and Italy, as they tried to adapt in a highly segmented South African socio-cultural structure. Luckily, today South Africa as a most diverse country, accepts and fosters multicultural communities.

To make things worse, on 10 September 1966, ten days before Eftychis's nineteenth birthday, Prime Minister Hendrick Verwoerd, the father of Apartheid was stabbed to death by the Greek-Mozambican, Dimitri Tsafendas. Eftychis remembers vividly how "all café owners were forced to close their shops for fear of retaliation and damage to the property" (p. 6). It was not an unusual happening to have riots in South Africa, in fact, during 1915 to 1917, violent riots, instigated by the Boers and the British, broke out against Greek shop businesses, because Greece remained neutral during World War I (Chrysopoulos, 2022).

Regarding his escape from the world of reality through his art, Eftychis had the privilege of being taught both art theory and practice by the renowned South African artists, Walter Battiss and Larry Scully during his high school years, and of course not forgetting his Italian teacher, Aunty Delia who had been his private art teacher for not less than ten years. Battiss's vibrant use of watercolours and his love for Greece and islands, as well as Scully's abstract approach to art, succeeded to motivate Eftychis to becoming a better creative thinker and inventive artist and architect (p. 7). Eftychis's designs reflect his ancient Greek, Danish and Finnish inspirations as well as his art teachers' stylistic influence in terms of applying vibrant colours, scale and harmony.

With reference to the influences on his early life and later his married and family life, while reading through the sections Back to *My Roots; World of Learning and Work; Family, House, Home; Adventure and Creativity* (pp. 9-27), it is evident that Eftychis developed more strength to mature his artistic talent. He wanted to show that one's heritage is important on the journey from the past to the future, as one's past also influences how one perceives the world around them. Through his humbleness, endurance, and strength, I believe, the author became more empathetic and aware of the importance of the environment in everyone's life.

Moving to the second section, *The Built Environment* (pp. 29-139), we find a well-balanced sequence of drawings of heritage buildings in Pretoria, purposefully divided into categories of representative types rather than chronologically, i.e., *Government Buildings, Commercial Buildings, Places of Worship, Places of Learning, Residential Buildings* and ends

with P*arks and Recreation Buildings*. This section – the emphasis being on the drawings – opens up with two maps, one of P*retoria Central Business District* and the other of *Greater Pretoria*, to give the reader a better understanding of the structures' placement and how the buildings link with one another, followed by many heritage landmarks.

Each panoramic page has a drawing accompanied by a short, informative text about the heritage site, highlighting the different styles of architecture used to create porticos and façades, cupolas and turrets, galvanised roofs, pediments, pillars and columns, and mouldings and finials, which were created in the past by different regimes. Furthermore, the author provides the reader with factual information by adding some interesting historical points on events linked to a specific building (e.g. seat of government, museum, train station etc.)

If I had to select one as my favourite drawing, it would be the *Burgers Park Curator's House* in Jacob Maré Street (now Jeff Masemola Street) (Figure 1) (p. 127), designed after a Victorian red brick façade with typical tiled roofs by Van der Ben, and built by Simon, in 1892. This heritage building is decorated with some curvy-linear Art Nouveau features which include fish-scale patterned metal roof, hat-shaped turrets, ornate wooded brackets and oval shaped windows makes it one of my favourite buildings (p. 126).

Figure 1: *Burgers Park Curator's House*, (p.126), drawing by Eftychios Eftychis. The building is in a good condition and unoccupied, today a national monument.

Paging through the visually rich artworks of the *Places of Worship* (pp. 78-95) makes one realise that South Africa is indeed home to multi-diverse groups of people, a fact that defines the country as a multi-coloured mosaic of multi-religious and multi-cultural particles. The impression is overwhelming as one looks at the meticulously and detailed hand-drawn sketches of Churches of Protestant denominations, a Roman Cathedral, the Queen Street Mosque and the Old Synagogue, built by various communities, demonstrating thus collective commitment towards their second country and freedom of cultural identity. Yet, in my opinion, this collection would have been more complete had the author added a depiction of the Mariamman Temple as it is one of the architectural jewels of Pretoria. Located in the historical district of Marabastad, the Mariamman Temple was built for the Tamil Community in 1928. Today, compared to the rest of the building sites, it is someway isolated from the inner-city and therefore seems somehow deserted.

The historic artistic narration, and to many readers also nostalgic, continuous as the author guides us from *Places of Worship, to Places of Learning* (pp. 97-105), with buildings that have hosted and educated thousands of young South Africans towards responsible citizenship. The section is followed by the *Residential Buildings* after which the author concludes his guidance with *Parks and Recreation Buildings* (pp.135-139). At this point, the reader can assess the value of Pretoria's infrastructure through which architectural art has been trusted to successfully combine three most vital elements in a human life: a. the physical, in terms of safety and permanence; b. the spiritual, in terms of inspiration and faith; and c. the intellectual, in terms of a human value system, developed since childhood at the proper educational environment.

There is a wide range of sources substantiating the given information and for further research on the architectural history of Pretoria. The book ends with the final section which presents, in alphabetical order, a scholarly detailed index of names, places and other information associated with each relevant topic.

My Pretoria, an Architectural and Cultural Odyssey will appeal to everyone with an interest in the heritage buildings beyond Pretoria's outskirts in other South African cities too. It is aesthetically a pleasing volume that enriches the collection of books about Pretoria, firstly as a carrier city of an important heritage legacy, and secondly by setting the city as a socio-political centre globally significant where human values have prevailed and upon which the future of the new, rainbow nation has been designed, built and publicly

manifested by any new political leader.

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Institutional Curiosity

Edited by: Mary Crewe
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Institutional Culture is a collaborative endeavour between the University of Pretoria and Emerging Scholars Initiative Press (ESI Press). This book includes the writings of fourteen UP academics in different genres such as opinion pieces, thoughts, and reflections. This collection had at its aim illustrating the reimagination of the University of Pretoria and how it may look in the future from the perspective of UP academics. Two questions were the drivers of these writings: *How do we think UP looks now?* and, *How do we think UP should or will look in the future?* First, this work is exceptionally significant because all authors belong to the institution about which they wrote. Subsequently, the authors provide the reader with an insider perspective, (Lindbeck, & Snower 2001). These authors are well-positioned in that they are writing *about* the institution from *within* the institution. Second, all authors have some institution knowledge (Corbett, Grube, Lovell, & Scott, R., 2020), which further proved to be valuable and is evident in all the writing pieces. These are authors who know the institution and this fact enhances the credibility and significance of this work.

Last, this work is timely. During the COVID-19 pandemic the entire educational arena came to a complete standstill for a brief moment in time. For a moment, there was a worldwide pause in education before all academic staff frantically started developing emergency plans to navigate their professional identities, professional contexts and teaching practices to navigate the unfamiliar and threatening circumstances. This 'pause' encapsulated more than the rethinking of teaching and learning practices to include a deep reflection on the nature of tertiary institutions in its entirety. Globally, much has been written about the changing landscape of tertiary institutions, (Burki, 2020; García-Morales, Garrido-Moreno, Martín-Rojas, 2021; Mhlanga & Moloi, 2020; Paudel, 2021). In *Institutional Curiosity*, the publication addresses in innovative ways with a fresh approach

on how policy can be used to generate change, debate, and institutional curiosity, rather than being perceived as a form of control and coercion.

The title, *Institutional Culture*, is concise and well-selected. It summarises the gist of the entire book in an apt phrase. The cover design by Alastair Crewe complements the content in that the image of the feather pen in an 'old' inkpot links with the idea of personal and authentic writing such as personal thoughts and opinion pieces.

The book is divided into eleven sections. Each new piece of writing is indicated with a clear heading followed by the identity of the author(s). I thought it especially fitting that the book was not divided into chapters which might be an alternative divisional possibility. The fact that the division is merely indicated by the title of the consecutive writing piece, creates the idea of all writings being equally significant and strengthens the idea of 'personal' writing.

The book is introduced by Mary Crewe, the former Director of the Centre for Sexualities, AIDS, and Gender (CSA&G) at the University of Pretoria. In the Foreword, she introduces the book with a powerful metaphor about pearl fishing. She compares the upsetting of the natural sedimentation of the academic institution to the way in which pearl fishing 'upsets' the ocean floor. The foreword is written powerfully, and the author succeeds in setting the scene for what follows: the disturbance of layers of history, several engagements in topics such as change, continuity, knowledge, and excellence. Furthermore, she unpacks the rationale for the title of the book: to challenge the term of 'institutional culture' by extending this to 'institutional curiosity' and by so doing, changing the narrative. The author clarifies the way in which the publication reflects how the University could be re-envisioned, and address questions raised by institutional culture. According to Mary Crewe, 'one way to think about institutional culture and all that arises from it is to change the narrative to institutional curiosity'.

Authors in this work dealt with several contemporary and pressing issues concerning reimagining the future of UP. All authors agree that the landscape in higher education is changing, and that it should be ensured that we *shape* the landscape, rather than being left behind. The views of authors are critical of the previous regime and how the inequalities were exacerbated by the pandemic (among other factors) but also optimistic. Professor Siona O'Connell commented on the effects of prevailing inequalities and social engineering "that characterised the apartheid system" (p.14), despite nearly three decades of democracy. She

offers practical suggestions for engagement with these issues in an attempt to pave the way towards a better future. It is worth mentioning that although authors engaged in a critical way with certain issues, they are also hopeful. I appreciated the positive tone evident through all the writings and several authors provide helpful suggestions to alleviate some of the fears and concerns they shared.

Authors engaged with UP as *learning space* from different perspectives. In this book, UP is reimagined as a shifting and dynamic learning space within the broader contextual city of Tshwane and the surrounding community is addressed. Authors showed how the immediate and broader context in which the institution is situated, can be utilised to learn from each other and the surroundings. I found the section on the "city as classroom" (suggested by Profs Stephan De Beer and Jannie Hugo, p. 26) especially insightful. Additionally, the changing nature of this learning space were considered from varying angles with a strong focus on how the pandemic changed the educational landscape of the institution. Authors engaged critically with the advantages of hybrid learning spaces. However, they also highlighted disadvantages such as online-fatigue experienced by students, the lack of opportunities for socialisation and especially how the pre-existing socio-economic gap might be widened to an even larger extent.

Extending UP as learning space, authors also engage with issues regarding this learning space as being a *person-centred learning space* in the future. They dealt with a range of topics focused on the person within the changing learning space. Matters of family structures, sexual harassment, poverty, the intersectionality of race, class and gender were deeply interrogated in various sections in this work and unpacked from divergent points of view. Exceptionally significant points were brought to light in all the writing pieces, and it would be interesting to view the next volume in this series.

Each writing piece concludes with a reference list and in certain cases, words of acknowledgment. All authors have used a wide range of recent and relevant sources. The book ends with the Index as last section. This section consists of an alphabetical, detailed list of scholarly terminology with correlating page numbers which makes for easy reference by readers.

Institutional Culture is an important collection of opinion pieces, thought and reflections by writers from within the institution, the University of Pretoria. This book is a brave collaborative attempt to unlock the possibilities for the future of this institution in what is expected to be a series of publications surrounding this topic. During the book launch of *Institutional Culture*, the Vice-Chancellor, Prof Tawana Kupe, described the book

as 'pushing the frontlines, intersections and opportunities that arise with institutional curiosity to pave the way for us all in one way or another to be both activists and intellectuals.' The publication includes contributions from Prof Siona O'Connell, Prof Christian W.W. Pirk, Prof Stephan de Beer and Prof Jannie Hugo, Ms Heather A. Thuynsma, Prof Faheema Mahomed-Asmail and Dr Renata Eccles, Prof Cori Wielenga, Dr Aqil Jeenah, Dr Chris Broodryk, Prof David Walwyn, Dr Sameera Ayob-Essop and Prof M. Ruth Mampane, and Prof Nasima M.H. Carrim.

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The Boer War in Colour

Author: Tinus Le Roux
Publisher: Jonathan Ball Publishers
ISBN: 978-1-77619-203-8

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In the opening section of the book, the author highlights the importance of infusing technological revolution in photography, in order to capture the essence of the Anglo-Boer War that broke out in 1899-1902. The war impacted South African society politically, socially and economically. It also changed the political landscape of the country in various respects. The Afrikaners suffered a crushing defeat in the war and were circumstantially obliged to regroup as a nation.

The book presents a pictorial history of the Anglo-Boer War which represents technological and digital realms in modern times. The author contends that since the beginning of the 21st century, there have been developments in the technological and digital spaces. Le Roux's practical application of the technological revolution in photography in this book, is a modern milestone. The title: 'The Boer War in Colour', attracts the reader to explore the unique format of the book. It further triggers an interest in what really sets it apart from previous publications on the Anglo-Boer War. At first glance, the phrase: '*A picture is worth a thousand words*', rings true. The overall format of the book is beautiful, it makes the reading thereof a pleasant experience. The effective use of full colour enhances the magnificence of the photographs. The visual images of the war presented in the book, capture the interest of the reader. Furthermore, emotions are evoked and the reader becomes more empathetic through this visual representation of the war. The book stretches beyond the boundaries of literacy and covers a broader spectrum of the reading audience. The people who cannot read can easily grasp the true essence of the war. The participants in the war and how it impacted them was fairly captured through the use of photographs. It sought to provide a balanced version of the war and its features. However, the book does not delve deeper into full scale war and its intricacies. The narrative provided is not extensive enough given the gravity of the war and its impact on South African

society. There are no chapters in the book, only a brief overview of some episodes of the war that have been covered. Selected albums that portray visual images of the war reign supreme in the book as opposed to an in-depth account of the war. Extensive coverage of the war coupled with visual images, would have been more welcome. In essence, the author explains in some more detail the selected photographs, rather than a more detailed account of the war. The book covers the conventional phase of the war particularly from October 1899-September 1902. The Afrikaner infiltration into Natal and the Cape Colony, the siege of Ladysmith, Kimberly and Mafikeng. The major battles such as Elandslaagte, Magersfontein and Paardeberg, are some of the aspects of the war that were covered in the book. The author further provides visual images of the campaigns, life in the concentration camps, gunners in action, infantrymen on the march, the burghers, nurses, musicians and prisoners of war.

However, some crucial aspects of the Anglo-Boer War such as the military positions of the British and the Boer armies, the role of Blacks, British Scorched Earth Policy, the role of Emily Hobhouse, the guerrilla tactics of both armies, various places within the country where the battles took place, the crushing defeat suffered by the Boers and the Treaty of Vereeniging which concluded the war, were not covered extensively in the book. A much more detailed narrative on these aspects, coupled with relevant photographs, would have been judicious. Fransjohan Pretorius, South Africa's renowned historian who has written extensively on the Anglo-Boer War, contends that it is terrific to experience the Anglo-Boer War in colour, which represented various episodes endured by its participants. The author provides a brief account of the causes of the war, which is highly contested. Some scholars believe that the war was primarily fought over South Africa's mineral resources, particularly gold on the Witwatersrand. It was more of an imperial war waged by the British on the Boers, seeking to harness the country's mineral resources. The Afrikaners were merely resisting British imperialism.

Le Roux argue that the origins of the war can be traced back to the 19th century and the British occupation of the Dutch Cape Colony in 1806. The issues of governance by the British drove the Afrikaner farmers out of the Cape Colony. They embarked on what was known as the *Great Trek* and headed to the hinterland literally running away from British control. They were also looking for good farming prospects and better grazing land for their livestock. The Boers were mainly the descendants of the Dutch, German and French settlers. They sought total emancipation from British control and economic prosperity. The author demonstrated the semblance of growth and development of the Boers after leaving the Cape Colony. They managed to assert themselves as an independent nation. Eventually

two Boer Republics were established namely: Transvaal and Orange Free State. At first, the British recognized the independence of the Boer Republics, however, such recognition was short-lived. It would have been prudent to highlight the two phases of the Anglo-Boer War and the fundamental differences between them. The first Anglo-Boer War was triggered by the British attempt to annex Transvaal in 1877. It then broke out from 1880-1881. In this phase of the war, the Boers emerged victorious. The British suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Majuba Hills at the hands of the Afrikaners. The Transvaal independence was therefore restored. The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886, made Transvaal the richest province in the country and the entire Southern Africa. Such economic prosperity attracted migrant workers from a variety of world countries. The spectre of challenge presented by this economic development was an increase in the number of foreign migrants which outnumbered the Boers in the Transvaal who were mostly farmers. The Transvaal Government was left with no option but to impose strict control measures on immigration. Franchise and full South African citizenship were among the conditions laid down by the Government, in order to mitigate the impact of immigration on the country's economy and political stability. Interestingly enough, Le Roux sheds some light on how Transvaal's economic prosperity was manipulated by the imperialists such as Cecil John Rhodes who was prime minister of the Cape Colony at the time, in order to achieve their selfish ends. Rhodes used the Uitlanders question as a pretext for imperial expansion.

He attempted to stage a Coup d' etat in the Transvaal led by his close ally Dr Jameson. The aim was to topple the Transvaal Government. A well-armed group invaded Transvaal from Bechuanaland (Present-day Botswana). However, the Jameson Raid was thwarted by the Boer Commando long before they reached Johannesburg. The Boers in the Transvaal and Orange Free State decided to step up their security. They embarked on a re-armament programme, acquired an arsenal of modern arms mainly from Germany, France and also from Britain. Jameson resigned following the failure of the Raid that he orchestrated and carried out. The Boers were now united by a common goal, which was to rid themselves of British control and occupation of their territories. Under the presidencies of Paul Kruger in the Transvaal and Marthinus Steyn in the Orange Free State, the Boers demanded the withdrawal of the British army from their provinces. They laid down an ultimatum to that effect, which the British Government rejected outright. The Boers were left with no option but to declare war on 11th October 1899.

At the beginning of the war, the British army was at the highest peak of its military preparedness. They had a military advantage over the Boer army. The author does touch on the military strategies of the Boers. The focus was on the elimination of the British garrison

towns and the railway lines closer to their borders. The Boer offensive took place on in October and November 1899 on three fronts namely:

1) Natal front which features northern Natal: Newcastle, Ladysmith, Colenso and Escourt.
2) Western front, Cape Colony: Mafikeng, Kimberly and Belmont.
3) Central front, Cape Colony: Colesberg and Stormberg region.

On the Natal front, the Boers achieved some level of victory, however, they lost the first two Battles at Dundee (Talana Hill) and Elandslaagte. The author's coverage of the Battles that took place on these fronts is commendable. It provides the readers with perspectives on both the Boers and British offensives. However, a visual representation of these Battles would have been more welcome. Furthermore, it would have been more interesting for the author to provide a much more detailed account of the Battles that took place on other fronts within the country, coupled with photographs relevant enough to compliment the entire narrative. The format of the book has challenged conventional approaches which accounts for its uniqueness. The author has demonstrated innovation and creativity which help the reader capture the true essence of the Anglo-Boer War and its overall impact on South African society.

The book has successfully represented various episodes of the Anglo-Boer War through the full use of photographs. It responds to modern trends which are technologically driven. Furthermore, it demonstrates the extent to which historiography fits in the digital world. Such innovation will undoubtedly encourage history teachers to explore avenues of technology which will make the teaching and learning of history a pleasant experience. Pictorial versions of history writing have been confined to primary school learners with an understanding that they best suit their cognitive levels. Le Roux's book is challenging this notion. In light of the visual representation of the war, pictorial versions of history cut across all cognitive levels. They help simplify the content and make the entire reading fascinating to the reader.

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.
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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 eighteen centuries", *Journal of African History*, 3(1), 1972, p. 76.

Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

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

To:

P Erasmus, "The 'lost' South African tribe …", *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

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

Examples of a reference from a book

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

JJ Buys, *Die oorsprong en migrasiebewegings van die Koranna en hulle rol in die Transgariep tot 1870* (Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, 1989), pp. 33-34.

[**Please note: The reference variety to page numbers used.**]

Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book

From:

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

To:

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

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book

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

Shortened version:

S Brown, "Diplomacy by other means …", C Leys, JS Saul et.al, *Namibia's liberation struggle …*, pp. 19-39.

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

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

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

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

or

Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references

Interview(s)

Provide at least key details such as: Name of interviewee and profession; the interviewer and profession and date of interview

Example of interview reference

K Rasool (Personal Collection), interview, K Kotzé (CEO, Goldfields, Johannesburg Head Office)/E Schutte (Researcher, NWU, School of Basic Science), 12 March 2006.

Example of shortened interview reference (after it has been used once in article)

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

Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter

E-mail: W Khumalo (Bigenafrica, Pretoria/Z Dube (Researcher), 22 October 2006.

National archives (or any other archive)

National Archive (NA), Pretoria, Department of Education (DoE), Vol.10, Reference 8/1/3/452: Letter, K Lewis (Director General) / P Dlamini (Teacher, Springs College), 12 June 1960.

[Please note: After the first reference to the National Archives or Source Group for example, it can be abbreviated to e.g. NA or DE.]

A source accessed on the Internet

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

A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:

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

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

Shortened version:

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

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

GENERAL

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The appropriate positioning of the image should be indicated in the text. Original copies should be clearly identified on the back. High quality scanned versions are always welcome. **Authors, PLEASE obtain copyright and reproduction rights on photographs and other illustrations.**

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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).

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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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   Example:

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   University of Pretoria

   Pretoria, South Africa

   Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za

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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.
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5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract. The word '**Keywords':**10pt, bold.
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