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Manuscripts, in English, not exceeding 15 pages (approximately) in single spacing and 12pt font should be submitted electronically to the editor as a Microsoft Word attachment. Images (such as photographs, graphics, figures and diagrams) are welcome. A summary/abstract in anyone of the official South African languages must be included. Contributors are encouraged to submit articles written in a clear, reader-friendly style. 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 final approved manuscript to *Yesterday&Today*. Six to ten keywords should be included in the manuscript. For more information, see the "Template guidelines for writing an article" and "The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines" at the end of the journal.

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EDITORIAL

The publication of Issue 7 (July 2012) of *Yesterday&Today* (*Y&T*) is a milestone in the history of the journal. From the 1st of January 2012, the journal is included in the Department of Higher Education and Training's (DoHET) list of approved South African journals. Consequently, all peer-reviewed articles published in the first section (Articles) of the journal will qualify for subsidy. This achievement was the result of the contributions of many individuals and institutions over the years. It was, from 1997 onwards, due to a lack of funding, that its continued existence was an interrupted one. For more than a decade, all those who firmly believed in the journal's continued existence worked hard for its revival. At the forefront of the revival attempts, was Professor Elize van Eeden. As secretary of the South African Society of History Teaching (SASHT) since 1996, and as chairperson since 2010, she used the SASHT as platform to obtain funding to give *Yesterday&Today* a new lease on life. Once financial support has been obtained, the publication of the journal could be resumed. She continued to work behind the scenes with unflagging enthusiasm to obtain accreditation for the journal. Voltaire once wrote: "Appreciation is a wonderful thing. It makes what is excellent in others belong to us as well". Given these words, the Editorial Board of *Yesterday&Today,* on behalf of all present and future contributory authors, wants to speak a word of appreciation to the editor, Prof Elize van Eeden for her dedicated and effortless commitment to this process, which will ultimately empower all of us.

The main focus of *Yesterday&Today* is twofold: to publish contributions of excellence and which were subjected to a rigorous peer-reviewed process; and to promote and improve the teaching and learning of H(h)istory at all educational levels. The Editorial Board, therefore, encourages creative and scientifically-sound research that does not only concentrate on knowledge and diverse historical perspectives, but also provide innovative reflections on the methodology of History teaching, and its practical application in any history theme. Against this background, the Editorial Board also includes a minor percentage of articles of a more practical nature, the so-called Hands-on articles; which GET, FET and even HET educators may find helpful in their teaching. Hoewever, these articles, due to their nature and focus, will not qualify for DoHET subsidy. The July 2012 Issue of *Yesterday&Today* contains

a variety of creative contributions by experienced scholars and practitioners of history from all over the country – representing several academic disciplines.

This Issue of *Yesterday&Today* starts with two critical reflection articles on the present-day History curriculum, authored by Carol Bertram and Peter Kallaway respectively. Bertram focuses on Bernstein's theory as a possible tool for doing research on the History curriculum reforms in South Africa; and Kallaway indirectly accentuates Bertrams argument by providing an extensive critical review of the CAPS document for History, Grades 10 to 12 (2011). He recognises its value, but also turns a critical eye to question the credibility of the new curriculum in terms of knowledge criteria and pedagogic viability. Johannes Seroto, in his contribution also critically dwindles on an important aspect of curriculum development. His reflects on the provision of citizenship education to Africans between 1948 and 1994. He provides a refreshing analysis on why citizenship education upholds a rather negative than a positive contribution to History teaching. According to Seroto, citizenship education often ignores some important features of History teaching such as critical thinking and dialogue. Kallaway also identified this tendency in his review of the CAPS document (2011), and responded negatively to such an approach.

In the next article, written by Kathalin Morgan, the focus turns from curriculum matters to critical issues in recently published History textbooks, such as stereotypes, prejudice, the self and the other. This article is based on an extensive literature study. Morgan provides thoughtful ideas on the possible moral responsibility "locked-up" in the self, and not in History *per se*. Chitja Twala produces a fascinating contemporary-based contribution on the self-inspired, local militant activities of the Three Million Gang of Maokeng in Kroonstad. He evaluates the responses of the African National Congress on this Gang, which inevitably arouses debate on to what level non-state groups (especially gangster groups) could undermined the sovereignty of the state. Twala effectively applies real voices to record the memories of the Kroonstad gangster group in which refreshing information surface that could also be applied to debates pertaining to ideology, local service delivery and violence.

The final two articles provide insight into methodological aspects regarding the teaching of History. Derek du Bruyn and Marietjie Oelofse unlock the potential and possibilities of oral history teaching for skills development on third year level at the University of the Free State. The two authors argue that oral history's potential creates new methodological approaches for developing a diversity of new skills required by a changing social context. Schalk Raath

(geographer) and Pieter Warnich (historian) on the other hand, explore aspects of a changing identity in Modimolle (Nylstroom) by means of an interdisciplinary discourse. In many ways, this contribution compliments the quest of Morgan for moral responsibility as an assignment of the self.

Hands-on articles

Siobhan Clanvill's article on the analysis and construction of the South African youth in historical-related images and texts on especially Youth day (16 June), provides a refreshing way through images and the oral history methodology on how young people construct and perceive the anti-apartheid-struggle history. This is a practical hands-on article for History educators which will not only stimulate debate, but also pave the way for the development of other similar teaching and learning experiences.

Book reviews

Four reviews of recently published books are included. Gavin Heath reviews a publication dealing with map work in the geography classroom. Karen Horn reviews an edited book with contributions of 35 different authors. The purpose of the book is to report and stimulate present-day discourse on History Didactics as a scientific discipline in various European (and possibly other) countries. Leevina Iyer critically assessed the value of the Social Sciences publication "*Our world, our society"* for utilising it on the Grade *8* level. In the main she reviews it to be a fair and unbiased publication. Lastly Marshall Maposa reviewed the 2011 Oxford University Press Grade 10 learner publication titled *In search of history* and applauds its reader- and user-friendliness.

In conclusion, the Editorial Board will strive to encourage contributions of a high standard – ones based on fine quality research that will not only stimulate intellectual debate, but which will also ensure that *Yesterday & Today* will be read widely in future.

Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device as a frame to study History curriculum reform in South Africa

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Abstract

This article reflects on the usefulness of Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device to frame a (previously reported) study of history curriculum reform in South Africa: to what extent, and in what ways does the concept of Bernstein's pedagogic device assist in describing the recontextualising of the history curriculum? The article sets out the reasons for using the pedagogic device in that study as both a theoretical and methodological frame and a structuring frame which ordered the study and held the various parts together. This perspective locates the study in a field that engages with knowledge from a sociological lens. The article discusses the ways in which Bernstein's theoretical language supported and strengthened the research, and also shows how it was not specialised enough to engage specifically with the subject of history. Thus it was necessary to weave the field of history education and sociology of knowledge perspective together.

Keywords: Pedagogic device; History curriculum; Sociology of knowledge; Curriculum reform; South Africa.

Introduction

The subject of this article is the utility of Bernstein's pedagogic device as a frame for a study in history curriculum reform (Bertram, 2008a). The article is concerned with the methodological question: To what extent does Bernstein's pedagogic device assist in describing the recontextualisation of the history curriculum? The task in studying such a recontexualising is to follow the curriculum message as it moves from the curriculum writers, to the written curriculum document, to teacher training, to text book writers and finally to teachers in history classrooms. In the sociological dimension which is implicit

in such a process, the case study recognised that the 'roll-out' of a curriculum message is not smooth and that teachers will not easily and seamlessly adopt all the requirements of official policy (Ball, 2006), and that in fact 'policy fractures' (Davies and Hughes, 2009:596) occur as there are disjunctures between the espoused, the enacted and the experienced curriculum. The purpose was to describe how the official policy message is re-interpreted and recontextualised at various points in the implementation process.

The particular case of curriculum reform under scrutiny here is the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) (Department of Education, 2003) for Further Education and Training (FET) school history curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa, which was implemented in Grade 10 classrooms in 2006. The findings of the case study have been reported elsewhere (Bertram, 2008b, Bertram, 2006) and thus will not be repeated in great depth. The aim here is to describe the methodological issues of tracking the recontextualisation of the curriculum. The article begins with a brief overview of the literature on policy research in order to locate the present discussion within the broader field of sociology policy studies and then describes the design of the 2005–2006 case study and how it was informed and framed by Bernstein's pedagogic device. Finally the article discusses how the theory and the methodology both supported and constrained the research in describing how the curriculum message was interpreted at different levels of the education system.

Ways of thinking about policy

De Clercq (1997) suggests that policies can be conceived of either as rational activities aimed at allocating resources and values or as exercises of power and control. Ball (2006:17) describes this binary as a contrast between a conception of policy which treats policies as 'clear, abstract and fixed' and one in which policies are 'awkward, incomplete, incoherent and unstable'. The latter perspective assumes that policies do not emerge in a vacuum but reflect compromises between competing interests (Taylor et al., 1997) and in fact the expectation is that policy fractures will occur (Davies and Hughes, 2009). This perspective is often understood as critical policy analysis, or sociology policy analysis, and is the perspective in which this study is located.

These broad perspectives give rise to differing understandings of the relationship between policy-making and implementation. On one hand, there is the rational bureaucratic process model or state control model,

which assumes an unproblematic translation of policy into action, and on the other hand, the conflict and bargaining model, which understands the policy process as loosely coupled and impossible to tightly control (de Clercq, 1997). Generally policy makers and government officials would understand policy as a set of rational activities and be concerned that policies are correctly implemented, while academic researchers may be more concerned with issues of complexity, power and control. The study here is located within an understanding of policy as a complex and contested terrain.

Curriculum reform in South Africa and history

Although there were some curriculum changes from 1994 – 1997 (van Eeden, 1997), the major post-apartheid curriculum reform movement was Curriculum 2005, which collapsed the boundaries of knowledge and placed an emphasis on group work, relevance, local curriculum construction and local choice of content (Hoadley, 2011).

These were radical demands and different teachers interpreted them in very different ways (Jansen, 1999). History educators were particularly concerned that the subject was collapsed into the learning area called Human and Social Sciences (Seleti, 1997, South African Historical Society, 1998). Prof Kader Asmal, the new Minister of Education in 1999 instituted a review of *Curriculum 2005*. The Committee that reviewed *Curriculum 2005* recommended that the curriculum be streamlined and that the revised version (which came to be called the National Curriculum Statements) should detail the curriculum requirements in clear and simple language (Department of Education, 2000). These new curriculum statements introduced a stronger knowledge dimension to the school curriculum and reduced the number of learning outcomes per learning area (Chisholm, 2005, Chisholm, 2004). As a result of the curriculum review, a revised set of curriculum statements were developed in 2002 for the General Education and Training (GET) band, which comprises grades R–9. History was more firmly represented as a subject with its own learning outcomes, although still coupled with Geography in a learning area called Social Science. A set of National Curriculum Statements was developed for the Further Education and Training (FET) band (grades

10–12). It is the FET history curriculum that is described here.[1]

The field of curriculum reform has provided a fertile ground for researchers over the past 15 years (cf. Harley and Wedekind, 2004, Morrow, 2000, Jansen, 1999, Reeves, 1999, Green and Naidoo, 2008). In terms of the history curriculum in particular, there are studies on the curriculum changes from 1994-1997 and the making of C2005 (Siebörger, 1997, Chisholm, 2004, van Eeden, 1997), on textbooks (Bertram and Bharath, 2011, Chisholm, 2008, Schoeman, 2009) and on assessment practices (Wilmott, 2005). Many studies have focused on the extent to which teachers have succeeded or failed in implementing the new curriculum. In this sense these take a 'fidelity' perspective (Christie et al., 2004), which carries the expectation that policy implementation (the enacted curriculum) should be true to the policy vision (the official curriculum).

Fidelity studies are underpinned by an implicit assumption that the curriculum policy text is infallible and that it represents the best of education practice and education research. This can be problematic in terms of research, as Ensor and Hoadley (2004) show in a review of a number of classroom observation instruments used in South Africa for a particular range of research projects in 1999 (the President's Education Initiative). They found that most classroom observation schedules were informed by the requirements of the curriculum (for example, using group work as evidence of learner-centeredness) rather than by theoretically-informed teaching and learning strategies that actually created engaging learning environments. They argue that there is a need to find ways to describe what is happening in classrooms that are informed by research and theory rather than only in relation to what is required by the official curriculum documents. Bernstein (see next section) provides one such way of doing this though his theory of the pedagogic device and pedagogic discourse.

Explaining the pedagogic device

Basil Bernstein was a British social theorist who developed his sociological theory of pedagogy over a period of more than three. In a concise overview, Maton and Muller (2007) show how Bernstein's theoretical thinking developed

1 The school curriculum was reviewed again in 2009, and the revised versions of the National Curriculum Statements are now called the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS). These are being implemented in classrooms in the Foundation Phase and in Grade 10 in 2012. This article does not deal with the NCS CAPS 2011.

from pedagogic code to pedagogic discourse and then to knowledge, in the latter part of his life and career. Bernstein's major focus was on understanding how education could be understood in its own terms, and not merely as a relay for social class and other inequalities. He believed that cultural reproduction studies examined what is carried or relayed by education, such as class, gender and race inequalities, rather than 'the constitution of the relay itself' (Bernstein, 1996:19). He argued that these studies failed to focus on any internal analysis of the structure of the discourse itself. He wanted to explicate the inner logic of pedagogic discourse and its practices.

Bernstein made a distinction between what is relayed (the message) and an underlying pedagogic device that structures and organises the content and distribution of what is relayed. The key process is recontextualisation, whereby knowledge produced at one site, the site of knowledge production (mainly, but not exclusively, the university), is selectively transferred to sites of reproduction (mainly, but not exclusively, the school). This process is not straightforward and cannot be taken for granted (Moore, 2004).

The pedagogic device is an attempt to describe the general principles which underlie the transformation of knowledge into pedagogic communication (Bernstein, 1996).

Bernstein uses the term to refer to systemic and institutionalized ways in which knowledge is recontextualised from the field of knowledge production into the school system and its distribution and evaluation within the schooling system (Jacklin, 2004). Singh (2002) describes it as an ensemble of rules or procedures described by Bernstein which provide a model for analysing the processes by which expert knowledge is converted into classroom talk and curricula. It allows a researcher to go beyond the normative question of how faithfully the official curriculum message is interpreted and implemented, to describing in nuanced ways the substance and nature of the message carried by the new curriculum and the ways in which the policy message is re-fashioned, recontextualised and re-interpreted as it moves through various levels of the education system.

According to Bernstein, the process of recontextualising entails the principle of de-location (that is selecting a discourse or part of a discourse from the field of production where new knowledge is constructed) and a principle of re-location of that discourse as a discourse within the recontextualising field (2000). In this process of de- and re-location, the original discourse undergoes an ideological transformation. This process 'presupposes intermediations and

produces dilemmas' (Lamnias, 2002:35). In this article, I want to evaluate the extent to which the pedagogic device is useful in describing this transformation and these dilemmas as they pertain to history curriculum reform in South Africa.

The distributive rules of the pedagogic device produce three main fields, the field of production, the field of recontextualisation, and the field of reproduction, which are involved in the production of pedagogic discourse (Singh, 2002). The field of production is the process by which new knowledge, discourses and ideas are created and modified, usually by university academics. The field of recontextualisation is the place where there is a selection of knowledge from the field of production, and this process results in the production of pedagogic discourse (Ensor, 2004). In the Official Recontextualising Field, the curriculum designers make selections about the knowledge, pedagogy and assessment that will become part of the official curriculum. Textbook writers and teacher trainers then interpret the curriculum document in the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field. The field of reproduction is the arena where teachers engage in pedagogic and assessment practice and where the evaluative rules regulate what counts as a legitimate production. Thus the pedagogic device points to the possible empirical fields within the education system for investigation.

A brief overview of the case study

The case study was designed to incorporate a wide range of data that would serve to track the 'official message' from the history curriculum documents through the various levels of the system to the pedagogic and assessment practices of teachers in classrooms. The new FET curriculum (Department of Education, 2003) was implemented in Grade 10 classrooms in 2006, and the study collected classroom and teacher interview data in the year before and during the first year of implementation. Data included analysis of the history curriculum documents, participant observation of a provincial teacher training workshop in 2005, interviews with writers and publishers from three major textbook publishing houses, classroom observation of three Grade 10 history teachers in three different co-educational high schools in 2005 and 2006, interviews with these teachers and analysis of the assessment tasks set by these teachers in 2005 and 2006.

The case study could be called a policy trajectory study (Ball, 1993), which analyses policy formulation, struggle and response from within the state itself through to the various actors who receive and interpret the policy. 'The trajectory perspective attends to the ways in which policies evolve, change and decay through time and space and their incoherence' (Ball, 2006:51). While Ball's trajectory perspective delineates the contexts of research and enquiry, it does not provide a clear conceptual language with which to interrogate the contexts, nor a model of how the contexts relate to one another. The pedagogic device on the other hand, both identifies the fields of empirical research in the field of curriculum recontextualisation and provides a theory of pedagogic discourse that generates an external language of description, which is powerful tool of analysis within at least two of these empirical fields.

Bernstein's method distinguishes between two qualitatively different languages in theory and research. On the one hand, there is the language of a theory itself – a language internal to it – and on the other, the language that describes those things outside the theory within the field it investigates, known as an external language of description (Moore, 2004). It is an external language because it enables the research to engage with the empirical data. Bernstein sees a close connection between the theoretical model and the methodology for data analysis (Jablonka and Bergsten, 2010). He provides the researcher not only with the contexts or fields to investigate curriculum reform, but also with an external language of description which enables one to describe and analyse the phenomena in each field. The analytic tools that Bernstein's theory provides to engage with the data, will be described further on in the discussion.

The field of production and the case of history

According to Bernstein, the function of the distributive rules is to regulate the relationships between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice. Distributive rules specialise forms of knowledge, forms of consciousness and forms of practice to social groups. They establish who gets access to what knowledge – that is, to which privileged and specialised ways of classifying, ordering, thinking, speaking and behaving (Ensor, 2004). The distributive rules translate sociologically into the field of the production of discourse. It is in this field that the production of new historical knowledge may legitimately take place.

The field of production is primarily concerned with how knowledge is structured, and here Bernstein provides us with the distinction between vertical and horizontal knowledge structures (Maton and Muller, 2007, Bernstein, 1999). He states that vertical knowledge structures depend on a previous knowledge base while horizontal knowledge structures consist on incommensurable parallel languages (Muller, 2006). Martin (2007) suggests that history would be characterized as a horizontal knowledge structure because it is not hierarchically organized and learning new knowledge does not rely on previous knowledge. Its speciality comes from its mode of interrogation and the criteria for the construction of historical texts, rather than a search for a universal explanatory theory that encompasses all others.

A sociology of knowledge perspective brings different lens to the history curriculum, as writers within history curriculum and education tend to be more engaged with the content of the history knowledge in the curriculum (van Eeden, 1997) than with knowledge structures. The terms vertical and horizontal knowledge structures do not provide an understanding of the logic and structure of history as a specialised discipline. For this, it was necessary to look to historians and history educationists, such as Leinhardt (1994), Wineburg (2001), Lévesque (2008) and Seixas (1999; 2006) who have interrogated the ways in which historians understand the nature of their work. It appears that history is specialised in that historians must construct a compelling narrative with internal coherence that has considered all the evidence exhaustively. Thus, analytically, Bernstein's theory of vertical and horizontal knowledge structures were a starting point for the analysis of this field, but were not sufficient to interrogate history as a specialised discipline. In order to do this it was necessary to go to the field of history education and of curriculum studies more generally.

A useful distinction and analysis of history knowledge for school purposes emerges from Lee (2004) and Dean (2004), who drew on Schwab's (1978) two complementary strands: (a) syntactic or procedural knowledge, which is knowledge about conducting historical enquiry, and (b) substantive or prepositional knowledge which represents the statements of fact and the propositions and concepts which are constructed as a result of the procedural investigations carried out by historians. This distinction between procedural and substantive knowledge became a useful analytic tool in the case study. This did not emerge specifically from Bernstein's language, but from the discourse of history education.

The official recontextualising field (ORF) and the history curriculum

The ORF is the field in which selected ministries and agents of the state make selections from the knowledge produced in the field of production and use these selections to design an official curriculum. What is considered legitimate knowledge produced by the discipline of history is recontextualised into the school curriculum. It is not only the nature of the knowledge structure that informs how this knowledge is recontextualised, but also pedagogical and political processes operating in this field. The empirical fields here are the process of writing the curriculum, and the actual curriculum document.

The members of the NCS history curriculum writing team were interviewed, with the aim of gaining an understanding about the process of writing the curriculum document. The team that designed the NCS curriculum said that there was strong external regulation by the State in the form of strongly framed guidelines regarding the organising of the curriculum around outcomes and assessment standards, as well as incorporating the constitutional values of democracy and inclusion.

The writing of any curriculum document is a product of a range of recontextualisations which have come before. School history education in South Africa has been, and continues to be (Siebörger, 2007) influenced by the curriculum changes which took place in Britain under the auspices of the British Schools' Council in the 1960s and 1970s (Schools Council History 13 -16 Project, 1976, Mathews, 1992). These changes brought about a new perspective on history teaching in which students were introduced to the nature of historical evidence, the nature of reasoning from evidence and the problem of reconstruction from partial and mixed evidence (Wineburg, 2001). There was a particular group of history educationists in South Africa who had embraced this epistemology and pedagogy in the 1980s (Kros, 1988), although during apartheid much history teaching was mostly located within the fact-learning objective tradition (Sishi, 1995). Generally all of the people writing the new history curriculum were located within the tradition of a constructed, interpreted approach to history teaching with a pedagogy which supports history as a mode of enquiry rather than the learning of objective facts. This approach dovetailed with the official curriculum focus where the curriculum had to be designed-up from learning outcomes, and thus the outcomes were articulated around the procedures of learning history at school, and not around particular propositional knowledge.

The FET curriculum history was strongly focused on procedural knowledge, and was thus quite closely linked to the work of historians in the field of production. As historians ask questions about the past and engage with sources, this is what the curriculum required of teachers and learners also. Thus it seems that there was a strong link between the Field of Production (academic historians' work) and the purpose of the NCS history curriculum document (in the ORF). Bernstein (1996) would argue that when a school subject is recontextualised, it is no longer derived from the intrinsic logic of the specialised discourse, but in the case of the FET history curriculum, there was an idea that learners would learn to do the work of historians.

The NCS history curriculum documents (2003) were analysed in a systematic and deductive way using the key concepts of classification and framing (Bernstein, 1971). Classification is about the strength of the boundaries between objects, and gives researchers a way of describing the extent of integration of knowledge seen in a curriculum document. Integration can be described as interdisciplinary if there is integration between history and other disciplines, as intra-disciplinary if there is integration between various themes or topics within history, and as inter-discursive if there is integration between history and what is generally understood to be 'everyday' or local knowledge. The analysis shows that greatest integration requirement in the curriculum document is within history (intra-disciplinary), as the knowledge is framed by key questions which bring together various key concepts, for example: "What was the link between the Atlantic slave trade and racism?". Thus we can say that at the level of intra-disciplinary integration, the curriculum is weakly classified (Bertram, 2006).

The theory of instruction informing the curriculum was analysed using the concept of framing, which concerns the extent to which the learner or the teacher has control of the selection, sequencing and pacing of the content (Bernstein, 1971). The curriculum shows that the envisaged theory of instruction is focused on the learner, who is described as developing a range of skills which are articulated by the learning outcomes. The concepts of classification and framing provide a useful language of description for curriculum document analysis, but do not capture all the key issues, and thus a broader qualitative analysis was also necessary. The concepts of procedural and substantive knowledge again became useful in the document analysis, which showed that the assessment standards give greater weight to the procedural (the 'how-to' of doing history) than to substantive knowledge (the

'what' of history knowledge). This was not evident using only the concepts of classification and framing, thus Bernstein's external language of description was not sufficient to analyse the curriculum documents.

The ways in which teacher educators, textbook writers, and teachers interpret and engage with the official curriculum message becomes apparent in the next parts of the discussion.

The pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF) and professional development of teachers

This official curriculum message is interpreted and recontextualised by teacher educators and textbook writers in the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF) as they train teachers, write textbooks or conduct research. One empirical field was a four-day provincial Department of Education (DoE) workshop held in October 2005 which I attended as a researcher and participant observer. The purpose of the workshop was to introduce teachers to the requirements of the new FET history curriculum, which was to be implemented in Gr 10 in 2006.

One of the issues that emerged from this data was the fact that most of the teachers present struggled enormously to work within the history 'enquiry' mode that underpins the new NCS FET curriculum. In one task, teachers needed to design questions for learners using a number of history sources that were given to them. However, very few of the 28 teachers present were able to design questions that required learners to actually engage with the sources as historical documents, and instead designed basic comprehension questions. This points to an epistemological gap in that the curriculum designers, and the teacher educators assume that teachers have knowledge of both the substantive and procedural aspects of the discipline of history, while most did not appear to have this knowledge. In Bernstein's (2000) language, the teachers did not have the realisation rules necessary for them to produce the 'history as enquiry' practice legitimated by the curriculum. This will obviously impact on the way in which the curriculum message is recontextualised in classrooms.

The field of reproduction: History classrooms

It is in this field that teachers interpret and recontextualise the official curriculum message in their classroom through their pedagogic and assessment practices. The empirical field is the school classroom. This is the most complex field to analyse and if this is to be done with depth then the sample of classrooms has to be small. In this case study, the sample was three Grade 10 history classrooms in differently resourced high schools in KwaZulu-Natal. One school was administered by the ex-House of Assembly Education Department, one by the ex-House of Representatives, and one by the ex-Department of Education and Training.

The classroom data comprised video recordings of each participant teaching five consecutive lessons in 2005 and in 2006. 2006 was the year that the NCS was introduced into Grade 10 classrooms. Bernstein describes pedagogic discourse as an instructional discourse (the knowledge) which is embedded in a regulative discourse (the rules about order and conduct). Building on Hoadley's (2005) work, an external language of description was used to describe the pedagogic discourse in specific ways. I analysed the extent to which knowledge was classified in terms of showing integration between topics/themes in history, between other subjects and between everyday or local knowledge. I also analysed whether control was located with the teacher or the learners regarding how the pacing (how quickly the content was covered), sequencing (how the knowledge was sequenced) and evaluation (to what extent were the evaluation criteria made clear).

What emerges from this analysis is a clear description of the classification and framing relationships of the pedagogy in each classroom. While this clearly is somewhat reductionist in that it can never capture all the complexities of pedagogy, it enables a researcher to ascertain in what ways the classification and framing relationships were similar to, and different from the official curriculum message. Unsurprisingly the pedagogic discourse within each classroom did not change across the two years of classroom observation, thus confirming that a new curriculum document seldom brings about immediate change in pedagogy.

The pedagogy in one of the classrooms quite closely matched the requirements of the new curriculum in terms of knowledge integration and the non-hierarchical regulative discourse (ie, a classroom where there was a relaxed and open relationship between learners and teacher). The curriculum assumes self-regulating learners and personal relations between teacher and

learner where the teacher listens to reasons for learners' actions (Baxen and Soudien, 1999), and this was present in this classroom. The teacher integrated knowledge across themes. There was strongly framed evaluation, in that the teacher made the evaluation criteria very clear to learners. This was a classroom where the instructional and regulative discourse required by the new curriculum is already present, the teacher clearly has the recognition and the realisation rules of the legitimate text. This makes implementation of the new curriculum almost seamless (Harley and Wedekind, 2004).

This was not the case in the other two classrooms where the teachers did not integrate knowledge across the topics, developed very little conceptual depth in the content knowledge, and did not make the recognition rules explicit through evaluation. This means that teachers seldom asked learners to explain their reasoning for an answer, and seldom gave them constructive feedback on a verbal answer or performance (for example, a group report-back). The regulative discourse was more hierarchical, where the teacher relies on positional control. In these two classrooms the pedagogic discourse required by the official curriculum is not the norm, and the teachers did not display the realisation rules required by the new curriculum.

Classification provides a language for describing the extent and the type of knowledge integration. However it does not provide a way to engage with the quality and the purpose of the integration. For example, one teacher linked learners' everyday knowledge of informal settlements to a historical concept of slums during the Industrial Revolution. While the living conditions are similar in these two contexts, the teacher did not explain clearly how the two concepts are different, so it was not clear that this analogy made the historical concept more relevant and easier to understand. The descriptor of 'weak classification' does not capture this variance.

While observed pedagogy did not change over the two years, the types of formal and informal assessment tasks used by two teachers did change. In these cases, the assessment tasks did change to show the form of an enquiry-based history. However, in many instances students were not being assessed on their ability to coherently and competently work with both substantive and procedural history knowledge as the official curriculum envisions. Often they were simply required to answer comprehension-type questions on a historical text. Thus the specialist knowledge inherent in the field of production, and the legitimate text as embodied in the official curriculum document shifts and changes and emerges as something quite different in the field of reproduction.

Bernstein notes that evaluation condenses the entire pedagogic device. However, his theory does not provide a tool of analysis that enables a deep engagement with the substantive knowledge or cognitive demand of assessment tasks. Framing relationships enable the researcher to ascertain how explicit the assessment criteria are made by the teacher, but not to evaluate the quality of the criteria, nor to evaluate the cognitive demands of a particular task. In order to do this, I used Bloom's Revised Taxonomy (Anderson et al., 2001) to describe the cognitive demand and level of knowledge. This is not necessarily a shortcoming of the pedagogic device, but simply the reality that one theory can seldom analyse a range of different empirical fields in the same detail (Hugo et al., 2008).

The challenges of using the pedagogic device to frame curriculum research

The pedagogic device brings a lens from the sociology of knowledge to curriculum reform. The theory is generic because it is not located within a specialised disciplinary discourse. Bernstein's fundamental concepts of vertical and horizontal knowledge structures do not carry us far enough into the details of specific disciplines – in this case, history. There has to be a deep engagement also with the structure and concerns of that discipline. A sociological perspective asks different kinds of questions of the discipline compared to the kinds of questions that history educationists are asking about curriculum. The sociological perspective is interested in the structure of knowledge and how this then has implications for the project of social justice. While there is a tradition of sociology of knowledge in the field of mathematics education (Ensor and Galant, 2005, Dowling, 1998), the field of history education is more usually informed by a psychological perspective. However there can be generative engagement with different fields, such as mapping the domains of school history practice onto the domains of mathematics practice described by Dowling (Bertram, 2012).

Using the pedagogic device as an internal language of description and the analytic tools as an external language of description to research history curriculum reform means that a range of different fields is being brought together – namely, sociology of knowledge, history education and curriculum (policy) analysis. Sociology, history and education would also all have a horizontal knowledge structure. And because these fields may not usually speak to each other, it is not always easy to bridge the divides between them.

Not least, this is because Bernstein's language is also complex and demands a deep engagement to understand it. Morais (2002) describes this problem in her work with Science educators, who, she says, feel the theory is very complex and have not been prepared to make the effort to understand it. However, the fact that Bernstein's theory has a strong grammar and an explicit conceptual syntax which can generate fairly precise empirical descriptions has encouraged some Science educators to accept it, as its tendency to higher forms of abstraction appeals to those inducted into the vertical knowledge structure of science. This same strong grammar may put off other educationists who are used to education as a horizontal knowledge structure comprising a range of parallel languages that have a weak grammar!

The huge canvas created by the empirical fields of the pedagogic device makes it difficult, if not impossible, to engage in depth with each field. Working across the different levels of the education system is essential for an understanding of the way specialised knowledge is recontextualised into the classroom. But by the same token there cannot be equal depth of engagement with all fields and choices must be made to engage with some fields in greater analytic depth.

Using the pedagogic device reminds us that Bernstein believed that education is never just a relay for other social forces (Young, 2008). Education has a social specificity of its own that centres on conditions for acquisition of knowledge that can never be reduced to politics, economics or problems of administration. The pedagogic device served well as structuring frame for this study, as it identifies the key empirical fields for a recontextualising study. The language of description developed by Bernstein regarding pedagogic discourse was very productive in analysing the curriculum documents and classroom pedagogy. But it was also necessary to look into the field of history education to recruit a more fine-grained description of history knowledge, and to Bloom to find a language to describe the quality and content of assessment tasks.

Conclusion

This discussion has argued for the importance of describing curriculum reform across the various levels of the education system in order to better understand how different actors recontextualise and interpret the official message in differing ways. I argue that Bernstein's pedagogic device gives us both a frame to structure the process of tracking the recontextualisation of

the message, and a theory of how knowledge is transformed into pedagogic communication. This theory provides an internal language of description, with concepts such as vertical and horizontal knowledge structures, classification and framing, recognition and realisation rules which can be developed into a fine grained external language of description, which can speak to empirical data. The article has shown that while the pedagogic device is a useful theory to describe curriculum recontextualisation, the external language of description is not sufficient to address all the empirical fields in detail. The case study showed that the NCS curriculum message was strongly focused on 'doing history' but that many teachers in the departmental workshop were not able to design productive source-based activities, as envisioned by the curriculum. The idea of 'history as enquiry' was interpreted, practiced and assessed in different ways in the three different Grade 10 classrooms. The teacher whose practice was most 'true' to the official curriculum message was in fact already teaching in this mode before the NCS was officially implemented in 2006.

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History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment

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Abstract

History Education has been a neglected aspect of the great educational debate in South Africa in recent times. Despite its high profile in anti - apartheid education the subject has not received the same attention as science and maths in the post 1994 debates, and was to a large extent sidelined by Curriculum 2005 and OBE reforms because of the emphasis on constructivist notions of knowledge which devalued formal historical learning. Although partially rescued by Asmal's reforms in the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) of 2002, it has taken the CAPS curriculum of 2010-2011 to put it back at the centre of the educational picture by recognising the importance of history as a key aspect of the worthwhile knowledge to be offered at school. This article looks at the new CAPS curriculum for senior school (Grades 10-12) and recognises its value but also turns a critical eye to question the credibility of the new curriculum in terms of knowledge criteria and pedagogic viability.

Keywords: History Education; Curriculum development; South Africa; Historiography; Teacher knowledge; Pedagogy; CAPS.

Introduction

During the 1990s the new South African government introduced "the most radical constructivist curriculum ever attempted anywhere in the world." (Taylor 2000 cited by Hugo 2005: 22) which was intended to complement the new post-apartheid constitution. It integrated different disciplines, their learning areas, education and training, knowledge and skills, "with all the intention of creating a transferability of knowledge in real life"(Hugo, 2005: 22). For all its Progressive resonance and radical innovatory signals, the curriculum of the 1990s was for the most part a *pot pourri* of curriculum proposals with largely unacknowledged origins that can be traced from

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Dewey to Freire. Some of the discourse was drawn from People's Education and various worker education projects that were a distinctive product of the community and trade union struggles of the 1980s. Added to this there was the influence of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the American educationalist Spady's notion of Outcomes Based Education (see Christie & Jansen, 1999) In much of this there was a strong reliance on notions of constructivist curriculum design which had enjoyed a resurgence at that time, emphasising the virtues of learning from the social context and the immediate environment of the learner. There was an emphasis on the relevance of local knowledge.

These proposals, which were aimed at providing a constructivist alternative to apartheid education, represented a direct challenge to more orthodox notions of curriculum and pedagogy which relied on conventional structures and traditions of knowledge by "making clear the content, sequencing, pacing and assessment requirements within strongly differentiated subject boundaries." (Hugo, 2005:23) The rejection of the apartheid education curriculum was confused with the abandonment of a curriculum that was based on historically constructed knowledge. Apartheid education was characterized in terms of formal knowledge; the new curriculum was presented as an oppositional project. As Jansen (1997) and others pointed out at the time, these proposals failed to engage with "what the conditions of possibility were for the elaboration of the new curriculum dream."(Hugo, 2005:28) The ideas that underlay this romantic view of radical curriculum reform ignored the crucial work of Gramsci in the 1930s which had warned against the notion that radical working class knowledge could be conceived of as something different in kind from traditional academic or modern scientific knowledge. He argued strongly that general public education should provide "a historicizing understanding of the world and of life," which could only be obtained through traditional academic pursuits. (Hugo, 2005:31; Gramsci, 1971; Entwistle, 1979). As Michael Young has pointed out with regard to curriculum innovation in the UK in recent years, whatever the pedagogical merits of the progressive, or technical-instrumentalist view of curriculum, the radical progressive proposals give "scant attention to the nature of knowledge, or to "the cognitive and pedagogical interests that underpin the production and acquisition of knowledge" which gives such knowledge "a degree of objectivity and a sense of standards." (Young, 2008: 33, cited by Roberts, 2010: 8).

Since the unveiling of Curriculum 2005 in 1998 there has been a strong response to it and a gradual recognition of the limitations of the various forms of proposed curriculum development (Jansen, 1997); (Christie & Jansen, 1999); (Kraak & Young, 2001); (Hoadley, 2011); (Hugo, 2005); (Young, 2008). Most significantly there has been a concerted attempt to challenge the epistemological foundations of the reforms. There is not sufficient space here to engage with that whole curriculum reform process between 1994 and 2011 – namely the NATED 550 exercise (1996), the Revised Curriculum Statement (NCS, 2006), and the new CAPS: Grade 10-12: History curriculum of 2011. The focus here will just be on the most recent iteration of that curriculum, with some brief references to the comparisons with the pre 1994 syllabus (see Appendix A).

The Issues

By 2010 - 11 the weaknesses of the new curriculum and the critique levelled against it gave rise to the new National Curriculum Statement (NCS), *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement*, (CAPS) that was released for Grades 6 - 9 in 2010 and for Grades 10 - 12 in 2011. A key element of the revision has been the return to notions of curriculum disciplinarity in the secondary school history curriculum with a new history curriculum (CAPS Grades 10-12: Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: HISTORY) representing a return to forms of knowledge that experienced teachers would find more familiar. (It has to be noted that the process by which that change took place remains obscure and calls for further careful research)

By comparison to the focus on literacy and numeracy or science and maths in the years since 1994, very little of that debate has focussed specifically on the area of history education. There has been very little research on the apartheid history curriculum or a clarification of what was at fault and what needed to be changed. The only initiative directed at this general area was Kader Asmal's *Values and Education* policy statement and campaign in 2001 which was only partially related to the area of history education (DOE, 2001). Chisholm (2005), Bertram (2008, 2009) and Sieborger (2011) have been the only significant contributors.

An adequate review of the global context of history in schools at the present time is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is important to note that there is a degree of concern about a decline in popularity of the subject, attributable to the changing culture of globalisation and the market economy (Judt,

2009; Tosh, 2008). The significance of the study of *History in Education* has been underscored by the recently published report by David Cannadine and associates under the auspices of the Institute of Historical Research in the UK where the subject has been under pressure in the schools (Cannadine, 2011). In that context there has been considerable argument in favour of the teaching of history in schools and a reconsideration of the role of history in education. Christine Counsell, also writing about history education in the UK, notes that "bringing an epistemic tradition to the pedagogical site so that pupils can understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made will never be easy" (Counsell, 2011:202), but she argues that good history teaching does foster thinking, reflection, criticality and motivation. Thus there is little need for these skills to be introduced through constructivist strategies designed to promote generic critical thinking.

In that context, and in the best of history teaching in South Africa since the 1970s, history teachers have been aiming to develop student understanding of the distinctive properties of this form of "disciplinary knowledge as a mechanism for exploring issues of similarity and difference; change and continuity and cause and consequences." They have pursued these ends by the use of teaching strategies that are driven by notions of "the active and engaged exploration of the structure and forms of historical knowledge, using concepts and attendant processes." (Counsell, 2011:207-217).

Much of the confusion about the nature of reform in history education seems to stem from approaches which confuse information or content with knowledge in the wider sense elaborated above (Roberts, 2010:7). In the South African case a key element of the reforms proposed for history was that they were to replace rote learning (associated with Christian National Education and Bantu Education) with critical thinking. That juxtaposition of content-based learning – "learning or memorizing *the facts*" – with critical and analytical thinking, radically misrepresents the issues at stake. Critical understanding and learning in history is arrived at through an interrogation of the narrative, the events, or the evidence related to various interpretations of events. The habits of critical thinking are therefore arrived at through an understanding of the interaction between that narrative or the understanding of events and the ability to pose the right question when engaging in historical explanation.

Although the learning of history in school during the apartheid era is usually associated with rote learning and indoctrination, this only represents part of

the picture. There had for a long time been a tradition in South African history education which challenged those assumptions. In the Joint Matriculation Board (JBM), Natal and Indian education versions of the national curriculum and assessment practices, specific reference was placed on the ability of students to critically engage with a question and demonstrate a range of skills specifically associated with history (HSRC Report, 1992).

Counsell's cautionary warning about the difficulties of teaching history as an academic discipline at school in the form proposed is of course to be taken seriously. To teach history well at the level we are addressing is an extremely demanding task that requires considerable expertise, resources and commitment by teachers and students. It also requires that the teachers do not only have pedagogic teaching skills in the conventional sense, but that they are able to bring the "epistemic tradition" of history to the classroom in forms and under conditions that will allow for meaningful learning to take place and enable students to gain access to this valuable means of understanding and interrogating the world.

Although many history teachers are very pleased to see the return of a credible history curriculum to the secondary school, on closer examination I am disturbed by the limitations of the new document and the lack of attention to key aspects of its credibility with regard to formal academic knowledge and the pedagogical value or implementability of these proposals in the classroom. Given the lack of research regarding a critique of the apartheid education history curriculum, and the clear shortcomings of the curriculum process regarding history since 1994, the new curriculum statement still seems to demonstrate a degree of confusion about what history teaching at secondary school should entail, how content should be selected and assessed, what it is precisely that is being reformed, and what its objectives should be in a context where we need to give teachers much more clarity about the goals of history teaching. As commentators on the curriculum process unfolding here, we need to know a lot more about the process by which this was conducted and the criteria for the investigation. Who decided on the need for a curriculum revision and on what grounds? Who was consulted in the process?[2] How did the consultation take place and how were the investigators and drafters of the new curriculum chosen?

In summary, the CAPS document very competently sets out a table of skills to be promoted which emphasise the distinctive nature of historical knowledge

2 During the time of the JMB professional historians were always involved in that process.

and the means for its promotion. But I am concerned that the actual framing of the curriculum and the organisation of the content presents very significant obstacles to the achievement of these goals for a majority of teachers.

In short, I think that the CAPS History Curriculum for Grades 10-12 is far too ambitious in terms of the factual content to be covered, the conceptual targets for the students, and the demands on the teachers. My approach to these complex issues will be to focus on two key aspects of the process of history curriculum development. Firstly, the process of content knowledge selection and historiographical perspective, and secondly, the pedagogical issues relating to the level of capacity required in terms of teacher ability and resource availability to achieve the ends proposed.

Curriculum selection

One of the issues that concerns me is that there are unstated principles of selection at play regarding content knowledge which are influenced by the notion that history in the classroom should be tied to the principle that it "demonstrate the current relevance of the events studied." (CAPS: History Grades 10-12:10) This would seem to imply an unacceptable presentism. We would need much more clarity on what this means and how it is to be effectively put into practice since the whole enterprise of OBE was based on such presentist principles and has been found to be flawed in many ways. Although the new curriculum makes considerable advances by reasserting notions of historical disciplinarity, it often tends to ignore complexity and *context* and reverts excessively to narrow notions of race and nationality in what appears to be a quest for 'relevance'. If we are to be able to effectively assess the engagement of students with this field of study we must be able to understand precisely what effective learning would amount to ie. to understand precisely how assessment would work and what the relationship is between history education and civic education (Kallaway, 2010). Another issue to be highlighted is that the lack of chronological continuity means that students can easily be disorientated and fail to make the kinds of linkages that are required. The search for "relevance" in the selection of content has dangers when events are ripped out of due sequence – something that is the hallmark of historical studies. This leads to students "thinking in bubbles" (Tosh, 2008:4) and insufficient awareness of the links between the contextual and structural issues and the events being studied, or adequately linking international and local events.

Level of capacity

One of the greatest flaws of the Curriculum 2005/OBE proposals was the lack of capacity in terms of person power, skill and resources to carry out the elaborate curriculum plans it required. The knowledge capacity, or ability of the majority of teachers to drive the curriculum goals and their ability to engage effectively with the complex pedagogical requirements of implementing this curriculum, was often questionable. The lack of historical training at advanced levels of many teachers and the limited access to library and resource materials in schools and communities compounds the problem. There is little awareness in the curriculum of what used to be called "the psychological aspects of history education," namely the need to shape the curriculum to suit the cognitive level of the students. Bertram found in her research, reported in 2009, that there was a lack of capacity of teachers even in advantaged schools to translate the pedagogical goals into practice (Bertram, 2009:57- 60). All of these issues need to be taken into account once again when assessing the appropriateness of the CAPS initiative.

These issues will now be discussed in more detail.

Knowledge and the Curriculum

Of utmost relevance to an understanding of the issues raised here is a question of what precisely should be happening in the history classroom if effective teaching and learning is to take place. It is quite fundamental to grasp the essentials of this issue if curriculum development is to proceed with any degree of professional confidence. There seems to be wide acceptance of the negative consequences of content memorization and of rote learning in the history class as in other curriculum areas. But there does not always seem to be a good grasp of what an adequate and creditable alternative would be in the history class. What is it that the teacher should be doing? What kinds of learning should be promoted? What skills are central to the task? What should the students be learning? How do we select an appropriate mix of skills and content? What are the criteria for content selection? And what knowledge and skills are necessary on the part of the teacher if this process is to be managed in an educationally credible manner? What modes of assessment are appropriate? Above all, who should be involved in the process of curriculum reform? It seems to me that much of this is only dimly grasped in policy discourse and educational practice and it is essential to investigate whether the CAPS Curriculum for history manages to capture these issues in

ways that do justice to history education.

The CAPS Grades 10-12 History document makes a commitment to promoting 'history as a process of enquiry" but it seems that the process of content selection is strongly influenced by another stated goal – the commitment to the study of history as a means of "support for citizenship within a democracy" (Section 2:8).

A specific issue mentioned in this regard is citizenship education: upholding the values of the South African constitution and helping people to understand those values; reflecting the perspective of a broad social spectrum so that race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented; encouraging civic responsibility and responsible leadership, including raising current social and environmental concerns; promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices that involve race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia, and preparing young people for local, regional, national, continental and global responsibility."

It is not clear from the document how these goals are to be reconciled with the more traditional goals of history education. These have been defined in various ways. In CAPS the aims of teaching history are to promote "an interest in and the enjoyment of the study of the past", the imparting of "knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the past and the forces that shaped it." The introduction to "the study of history as a process of enquiry" and the promotion of "an understanding of historical concepts," is acquired through coming to understand the nature of "historical sources and evidence." (Specific Aims: 2.2:8) The concepts to be emphasised (2.3.2) in the promotion of historical knowledge are: cause and effect; change and continuity; time and chronology; multi-perspectivity; historical sources and evidence.

A key question to ask concerns what is and what is not engaged with in 2.1: "What is history?" What seems to be missing in the description of the project is any reference to the essence of historical studies: a *reading and interpretation of an existing body of literature* in the field of historical studies in the light of the available evidence (historiography – the politics of historical writing). This refers to knowing what interpretations have been presented in the past by the major scholars in the field. That exercise should also identify the overarching issues which shape the architecture of the study and need to be considered in interpreting historical change, issues such as the political, social and economic forces and processes, or the context that needs to be understood. Students need to understand by doing what historians do: to a

large extent to balance the weight of explanation by weighing the influence of the interpretations of major scholars in the specific time and context under discussion. Such a vision shapes the context of historical studies and puts into place a background for understanding more specific explanatory conceptual markers such as race, class, ideology, human rights, gender, etc. To attempt to teach history without attempting to engage with that background seems to put in question the whole legitimacy of the enterprise.

The history curriculum and the history class have long been at the centre of the debate about the nature of education in South Africa. In particular the question of historiography, namely what version of history is presented in the curriculum, the textbooks, the 'matric' examination papers and by the teachers, has been a key to political debate about education throughout the twentieth century. Although we still lack anything like an adequate account of the history of history in South African schools, everyone who studied school history in pre-apartheid times will remember debates about British colonial versions of South African history, and in apartheid times much heat was generated about bias in the curriculum in favour of Afrikaner nationalist interpretations (Van Jaarsveld, 1964; Auerbach, 1966; Dean, *et al.*, 1983). There is also very little recognition of the fact that the history taught in schools was revised at various times during the apartheid era. The curious path of history in schools after the introduction of Curriculum 2005 and Outcomes Based Education, and through the reforms of the Schools History Project of Minister Kader Asmal, has still to be critically assessed in detail in relation to these issues of historiography and bias.

CAPS (Grades 10-12 History: Section (2.4:10) refers to the "rationale for the organisation of the content and weighting." The focus of my comment below refers primarily to this issue. We are told that "a broad chronology of events is applied in Grade 10 - 12 content, from the 17th Century to the present." It is not at all clear to me what this means. There is no clear statement regarding the criteria for selection of the topics chosen, e.g. key organising themes, issues, links, barring a reference to the need for balance and "interconnectedness between local and world events." There is also a statement about the Grade 10 content being "reorganised more logically" – whatever that might mean. In summary there is a commitment to ensure that 'learners gain an understanding of how the past has influenced the present' and the key question for FET is: "How do we understand our world today?" (2.4:10) According to CAPS it would seem to be a fundamental principle

that "in teaching history it is important to demonstrate the current relevance of the events studied."(2.4:10) This is an issue that has long been contested in discussions about the goals of history teaching and raises the question of the role of civic education and its relationship to the history curriculum. This would seem to be a possible but not a necessary condition for good history teaching and it might even be a dangerous yardstick by which to judge all classroom practice. Is effective history teaching to be judged by these criteria of relevance, or by the quality of the understanding developed in relation to the specific goals set about above for history education? How is the teacher to interpret this discourse and these instructions?

The Content

My first concerns relate to the manner in which the content has been selected. The return to a specified content will be valued by those who have argued against the constructivist curriculum form and for a discipline-based curriculum, but the manner in which that content has been selected, and the fragmented manner in which it is presented, represent a cause for serious review. As in the pre 1994 South Africa history curriculum, there is no clear statement of why this content was selected rather than any other. Tosh has remarked with regard to the new English history curriculum that the "constant switching from one topic to another means that the students do not learn to think historically. They fail to grasp how the lapse of time always places a gulf between ourselves and previous ages… and to understand that any feature of the past must be interpreted in its historical context." He concludes that "instead of emerging from school with a sense of history as an extended progression, students learn to 'think in bubbles'." (Tosh, 2008:4). It seems that this comment could be aptly applied to our own CAPS curriculum and I will attempt to demonstrate below what I mean by this.

The CAPS rationale for the organisation of "the content and weighting" (CAPS, 2011, 2.4:11) makes reference to: "Key questions used to focus each topic." These are stated as follows:

A. "questions convey that history is a discipline of enquiry not just received knowledge." It would seem that it is necessary to spell out more carefully what this means.

B. "historical knowledge is open-ended, debated and changeable." This would seem to imply that such debate is simply a matter of subjective opinion and argument. There should be a rider to this comment which states that this is

"subject to the knowledge/evidence/approaches engaged in by historians"?

C. "history lessons should be built around the intrigue of questions". There is no indication of what "the intrigue of questions" might mean or how these questions might be arrived at. What are good and bad questions? How do we decide? What are the criteria?

D. "research investigation and interpretation are guided by posed questions." I would suggest that this is misguided as historical questions are not just the result of "posed questions"; they are guided by the state of research in the field which gives rise to such questions.
This is a key section of the document which needs careful revision and elaboration for teachers, as there is abundant evidence from long experience that teachers simply fall back on content delivery and rote learning where they are unable to interpret the topic or the period in a critical manner.

All this is highly complex and there are few easy solutions to the issues raised, but these seem to be the key issues to be kept in mind when evaluating a new curriculum for South African schools which claims to encourage critical thought and the promotion of democratic citizenship. I am essentially in agreement with Carol Bertram regarding her concerns that the new CAPS curriculum is a question of "Rushing Curriculum Reform Again" (Bertram, 2011). I am concerned that we have failed yet again to achieve an adequate and clear statement of the objectives for history education in our schools that manages to capture the need to "bring the epistemic tradition of history to the classroom in forms that allow the students to understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made." (Counsell, 2011:202). By so doing we are still undermining the credible teaching and learning of this subject in the classroom and thereby depriving young people of access to the fundamental educational skills that are potentially available to them though access to this mode of enquiry. The question of how to assess student achievement in the field is directly related to these shortcomings.

Although CAPS has rescued history as a knowledge discipline from the clutches of OBE, it still seems to me to hold older apartheid era ideas that the essence of the curriculum is to impart various content(s) to "learners" in order to teach some kind of, usually unarticulated, though implied, LESSON. A hidden curriculum! This is clearest with regard to the goals of civic education articulated in 2.1 as spelt out previously. Those objectives are framed in terms of the study of the virtues of the constitution, 'promote civic responsibility', encourage an awareness of 'current social and environmental

concerns,' challenge prejudiced thinking, and promote global responsibility.'" But the relationship between the promotion of those civic goals and "learning to think about the past, which affects the present, in a disciplined way" as part of "a process of enquiry" is not made explicit.

It might be argued that selection is a necessary condition of historical practice and curriculum content choice. As EH Carr pointed out years ago, the notion of "objective history" is a myth (Carr, 1961). If selection is necessary or inevitable, should we seek to be more explicit about the "lessons" we wish history to teach? If we agree that we cannot teach "objective" or "value free" history, it seems that, for our practice to be educationally credible, we need to be explicit about the pedagogic goals. We have tried, to our cost, to leave this issue to teachers to decide, based on the romantic assumptions of constructivist knowledge. Such degrees of subjectivity and random selection leads to a complete loss of coherence in terms of the practices and conventions of the formal study of history.

Given the complexity of the issue, and the centrality of selection as an issue in the process of planning or revising a curriculum, it seems of crucial importance to understand how this selection of the CAPS curriculum content was made and by whom and how it is justified? The curriculum reveals a return to subject knowledge specification. That knowledge is selected in very particular ways with, for example, an emphasis on the conflict between capitalism and communism; the significance of African history; the role of race and racism in history etc. Whether such selection is to be justified or not needs to be understood within the context of longstanding history curriculum debates and scholarship internationally. These questions were central to our challenges to the apartheid era history curriculum. Should the same question not be given salience at the present time in the context of history education in a democratic South Africa?

The lack of contextual sequence is also a key concern (e.g. how are students to engage meaningfully with the history of nationalism in South Africa, the Middle East and Africa (Grade 11: 4) or Independent Africa (Grade 12:2) without careful attention to the background to the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century Europe and the post-War world? How are they to understand the Cold War (Grade 12:1) without having a background to the politics of the inter-war era and the origins of World War I and World War II? This tendency to isolate certain topics that seem to offer the prospect of "relevance" arises from neglecting to take into consideration the difficulties of

shaping the content and the themes without careful regard to the state of the discipline itself. In the desire to focus on skills and concepts there still seems to be insufficient focus on the contemporary literature of historical studies. What is not sufficiently emphasised is that the study of history at school needs to be carefully aligned with, and to take proper cognisance of, the state of the disciplinary knowledge in the area.

Another issue relates to the connections between world history and South African history in the new curriculum. In the section on "the rationale for the organisation of the content and weighting" (CAPS History: Grades 10-12:10) a key issue seems to be "the comparative approach (which) reveals the interconnectedness between local and world events." This has long been a fundamental assumption of school history in South Africa. A return to this is to be applauded. But in the past this approach was often criticised because the two sections lacked any overt linkages. It is therefore necessary for the new curriculum to spell out with care the principles or criteria which inform such linkages. One seeks in vain for such clues.

The History Teachers

Further to these issues is the question of the teacher's role. Teacher background and familiarity with specific content is a necessary condition for effective teaching. This is no slight issue. It is the teacher's familiarity with and critical grasp of the key issues and dynamics of a particular era and set of issues and concepts that are the necessary conditions for effective historical learning to take place in the classroom. It is that understanding and insight that enable teachers to pose the appropriate questions and engage productively and effectively with students. With the best will in the world a teacher cannot teach effectively if he/she is not in control of the content and the knowledge that is to be engaged with. To put it in Wally Morrow's terms, the teacher needs to have epistemological access, namely, a comprehensive and critical engagement with the issues, concepts and contemporary relevance of issues if teaching and learning are to proceed effectively (Morrow, 1989). At universities we do not assume that a Latin American specialist is competent to teach Asian history; or that a social historian is competent in economic history, so why should we assume that a secondary school history teacher is automatically capable of teaching any topic that is prescribed by curriculum planners? (At the very least we surely need to investigate the competency of the teachers to engage in these tasks or to ensure that adequate and comprehensive support for them

to be able to do so.) A key question for me is whether this key issue has been considered in the process of designing a new curriculum for our schools. Are the majority of our high school history teachers in a position to deliver on the task that is being required of them? Or, given the daunting nature of the task, will they just revert – as generations of history teachers have done in the past – to memorisation and rote learning, thus defeating the goals of the new system?

The new curriculum seems to characterise the teacher as a person who is competent to teach any stipulated historical content. The curriculum planners make decisions about what it is desirable to teach and the teachers simply carry out the mandate. This reasserts the role of disciplined knowledge in curriculum construction but it makes a lot of assumptions about the teachers and their levels of competence in the discipline. It can be more or less taken for granted that few have ever conducted historical research, yet the curriculum document seems to often assume a level of understanding of such processes. The assumption is that any history teacher can teach the history of Songhi or Latin America with the same depth, and with the same insight and critical engagement, as he or she would teach the history of Europe or South Africa in the nineteenth or twentieth century. There seems to be an assumption carried over from the earlier curricula since 1994 that "interesting themes" and foci can be selected or imagined by the curriculum planners and that the teacher will then be able to simply adapt to these themes with ease. Only with considerable effort in relation to continuing / in service education and the provision of appropriate teaching and learning support materials for teachers will these challenges be met.

In summary, teachers, the conveyors of the new curriculum, do not seem to have been considered by those compiling the curriculum which raises questions about the nature and inclusivity of the consultative process. They have not been given a history or considered in context. The reality is that, given the limitations of their own historical training, many teachers battle to get beyond reliance on the textbook and rote learning. In that context it is essential for the compilers of the new curriculum to ensure as far as possible that they follow a path that will enable all teachers to engage as effectively as possible with the new script by relating it to what they know and feel competent to teach? In parts of the curriculum this condition seems to have been kept in mind and there has been a degree of continuity. In other places many teachers would feel totally at sea and would find themselves

in a situation where there would be little support material available in the school library (where there is one) or the local public library (where there is one), for example in relation to topics like those to be covered in Grade 10: Ming Dynasty, Songhi, Mughal, the conquest and history of Latin America, Southern Tswana kingdoms, Ndwandwe.

The converse point is simply that the areas of the curriculum that are more likely to be taught with some degree of confidence and critical engagement are those that have an established historiography and literature, and some continuity with past syllabuses. Such topics would have some degree of articulation with the knowledge teachers are familiar with. The topics which would have a better chance of being taught with relative competence are:

Grade 10:

Topic 2: European expansion and conquest during the 15th to 18th Centuries
Topic 3: The French Revolution
Topic 5: Colonial expansion (in South Africa) after 1750
Topic 6: The South African War and Union

Grade 11:

Topic 1: Communism in Russia 1900-1940
Topic 2: Capitalism and the USA 1900-1940
Topic 4: Nationalisms in South Africa – the rise of Afrikaner nationalism the rise of African nationalism
Topic 5: Apartheid South Africa 1940s (presumably 1948 is meant) to 1960s

Grade 12:
Topic 1: The Cold War
Topic 2: Independent Africa
Topic 3: Civil Society protests 1950s to 1970s

My intention below is to review the CAPS history curriculum for Grades 10-12 with the above reservations in mind. Due to lack of space I will only compare the content selection with the pre-1994 history curriculum and will not refer to the various articulations of the curriculum since 1994 related to Curriculum 2005 (1997) and the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS, 2000).

Detailed comment on CAPS History Curriculum: Grade 10-12

The rest of this paper will attempt to engage with the above issues in the context of a detailed review of the CAPS History G10-12 document. Whatever the merits of the new CAPS history curriculum, can we be confident about the selection of content to meet the goals set out in 2.1 and 2.2, and about the promotion of skills as set out in 2.3.? Can we be confident that teachers

as practitioners are able to understand fully and achieve the goals set for them in the guidelines for teaching? Are we not handing them a poisoned chalice in the form of an impossible task and then blaming them when they are not successful in achieving the ends that we demand? And what of our educational responsibility to the students?

Content for Grade 10

This is broadly in keeping with the general approach proposed, with three world history topics preceding the South African history and the chronology following sequentially (see Appendix B for CAPS Curriculum, 2011) Grade 10-12 and Appendix A for a statement of the 1980s History Curriculum for Standards 9 and 10, for purposes of comparison). I will first examine the content of the CAPS curriculum by giving an outline of what is stated in the CAPs document. Then comment with reference to the rest of the CAPS curriculum for earlier Grades (see CAPS: Social Sciences Senior Phase: Final Appendix B), and finally make brief references to the manner in which this topic was dealt with in the pre - 1994 history syllabus at this level (specifically in relation to Standards 9 and 10) (see Appendix A).

CAPS HISTORY:

G 10: Topic 1: The world around 1600 ***Time allocation: 3 weeks***

Statement: ***What was the world like around 1600?***

Background and focus: The intention is to provide a broad comparative overview of some of the major empires at this time with Europe.

Societies were dynamic and undergoing change – although change was slower at this stage than after European expansion. ... all units include the role of women in society. ... first accounts of contacts with Europeans before conquest, when relationships were "still balanced."

China: A world power in the 14th and 15th Centuries (1368-1644)

Songhai: An African Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries (around 1340-1591)

India (Mughal) (1526-1858)

European societies: Feudal societies; Science, Art and technology: The Renaissance.

The early modern world is a difficult but coherent sphere of historical studies and the cross-over between world history and southern African history in the Grade 10 syllabus (Topics 4 and 5) makes a lot of sense. Another positive factor is that each of these topics has been well researched and have a coherent historical literature. (I doubt whether the injunction to compare these societies, 'assess their rates of change' (?) or engage with the role of women in each, is a realistic call.)

What disturbs me most is that from my knowledge of high school history teachers in South Africa, very few of them would have the necessary depth of

knowledge to teach much of this material in a meaningful way that would go beyond textbook content coverage or rote learning. How many South African teachers have the knowledge or the resources to engage with China in the 14th and 15th Centuries, Songhai in the 14th and 15th Centuries, the Mughal empire – or even early modern Europe? (The Renaissance era is a vast and complex field). How many of them would have studied these topics in the course of their training or even read a history of these Empires? The reality is that few public libraries have material on these topics so teachers will be reduced to teaching out of the textbook without alternative sources for the most part unless they are able to access Provincial Education libraries or make effective use of the Internet. This is not a promising context for stimulating interest and critical thinking about a key period of history that is intended to provide an introduction and gateway to historical studies at secondary level.

It is hard to imagine what teachers are going to make of the need for "broad comparative accounts of the empires" of the time, or the notion that "relationships were still balanced" or comments that "change was slower" in some areas. At the very least we could have asked for more careful editing in an official national curriculum document.

CAPS HISTORY

G 10: Topic 2: European Expansion and conquest (from) the 15th to 18th centuries. Time allocations: *6 weeks*

Statement: *How did European expansion change the world?*

Background and focus: Continuity from previous topic; how and why Europe was able to colonise large parts of the world in this time. The focus is on the early processes of colonisation and the consequences for the colonised societies, or ideas of racial superiority, and on the balance of power in the world.

America: Spanish conquest / Africa: Trading empires: Portugal, Dutch

Focus on: The process of conquest and colonialism how colonisation led to the practice of slavery the impact of slave trading on societies the consequences on (*for?*) the indigenous societies and the world

(Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G6:2, 3: Explorers from Europe "find southern Africa"/East African coast/trade; G7:2: American Revolution; G7:4: British/American slave trade)[1]

The focus here seems to be on the causes of these events. What were the key issues in European history that led to the age of discovery – and what were the results? (This is not quite the same thing as "why European expansion was possible" (p. 14)). It is doubtful whether this topic can be taught meaningfully without a greater understanding of what was going on in Europe at this time ie. without more background even if this was only to explore why slavery was an integral part of these economic developments. On the whole this seems to be a sensible section and would probably be able to draw on a degree of knowledge of teachers as one would assume that most teachers would

have studied this at some stage in some form. Resources would also likely be available.

The focus on slavery is also sound given the degree of research on this topic, but the implication (message) of the curriculum seems to be that the sole consequence of colonialism was slavery and its negative consequences for African societies.

CAPS HISTORY

G10: Topic 3: The French Revolution ***Time allocation: 6 weeks***

Statement: How did the French Revolution lay the foundation for modern democracies?

Background and focus: France in 1789: Conditions in France pre 1789;

Causes and course of the revolution; Napoleon and the modernisation of France;

Legacies / consequences?

(Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G7:2: American Revolution and Constitution; G11:4 Nationalism; G12:2 : Independent Africa)

This anchor on European history is to be applauded and should provide a degree of continuity for good teachers with Topics 1 and 2. The focus on concepts of democracy and individual rights, the modern state and the transition from feudal to modern society is to be applauded. This is a topic that remains one of the anchors of the history curricula for South Africa. In the pre 1980s era it was dealt with in Standard 8.

Teachers would hopefully have some knowledge of the topic and materials would be easily available. The conceptual and disciplinary background would be familiar to most competent teachers. It provides an excellent backdrop to other themes to follow. There is high quality international historical published material on this and a variety of pedagogic materials are available.

CAPS HISTORY ***Time allocation: 6 weeks***

G 10: Topic 4: Transformations in southern Africa after 1750

Statement: What transformations took place in southern Africa after 1750?

Debates about the emergence of new states.

Background and focus: Deconstructing the debate on the *mfecane*;

understanding how historical myths are constructed.

What was (African society?) South Africa like in 1750?

Focus on the southern Tswana and the Zwide 1750-1820; Political revolutions between 1820 and 1835; Zulu, Ndebele; Sotho; Griqua, Boers etc.

Memorialisation: How has Shaka been remembered?

(Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: Grade 5:1: Hunter Gathers and Herders in SA; Grade 5:2: Iron Age farmers in SA; African kingdoms: Mali/Timbuktu. Grade 6:1)

G 10: Topic 5: Colonial expansion after 1750 ***Time allocation: 6 weeks***

Statement: How did colonial expansion into the interior transform South Africa?

Background and focus: The focus on the impact that the demands of the emerging capitalist economy in Britain had on societies in southern Africa; southern Africa and the world economy. (Link to French Revolution, Industrial Revolution, slave trade, "the technologies of colonialism.")

The British at the Cape and Natal; impact on indigenous peoples; responses of indigenous peoples and the Boer inhabitants; Eastern Frontier and Zulu/Natal; cooperation and conflict on the Highveld – Case studies: Boer Republics and Basuto.

(Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G7:3: British colonisation of the Cape; Zulu kingdom; British Colony, Indians in Natal.)

These topics cover essential fields in South African history and provide a platform for careful analytical teaching. But I am puzzled about these two topics – How are they different? Is this an attempt to keep black and white history in separate compartments? Why? Recent historiography emphasises the unity of the processes of political and economic change at this time. What is the justification of returning to a racial/racialised version of South African history? At the very least it seems that the approach needs to be explained? More guidance on the thematic and/or conceptual anchors would also be useful.

There is a substantial amount of quality literature on the topics and many teachers would probably have a fair knowledge of *Topic 5*. (I am not so sure about Topic 4) Would it not be possible to ask for the coverage of ONE example of an African state in this period in the interests of manageability? An ample allocation of time for these topics is to be applauded.

CAPS HISTORY

G10: Topic 6: The South African War and Union ***Time allocation: 6 weeks***

Statement: How did the period 1899-1910 shape 20th Century South Africa?

Background and focus: Broad implications of this event are set out;

Background to the SA War: Mining capitalism; The South African War 1899-1902; Union; The Natives Land Act 1913.

(Pre 1994 Curriculum: Standard 9; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G8:1: The beginning of the industrial revolution in South Africa: Diamonds: G8:2: European colonisation in Africa; G4:3 & 4: Transport and Communications.)

This statement jumps to the explanation of broad historiographical debates, but it needs to begin by exploring the specific nature of the topic in its own terms. It emphasises the role of mining capitalism but British imperialism and the nature of the ZAR and the Uitlander question are hardly mentioned. Students need to be introduced to the historiography of debates on the topic to get a sense of how history is made and changed and how debates take place.

This topic is very similar to the pre-1994 curriculum. It is based on a sound historiography that raises fundamental question about South African history and there is a good chance that most teachers will be competent to teach it in a balanced and critical manner. It is logical and chronological and deals with causes and consequences in a way that students can understand. There is a good deal of material available on the topic. The conceptual underpinning is

sound.

It would be helpful to spell out more carefully what it is that the students are expected to know on the completion of the topic and what is meant by the broad goal of understanding how the war shaped the politics of the 20th Century. If the goals of studying the topic (i.e. what is expected of teachers and students) lie beyond and outside of the boundaries of the topic itself, teachers need to know what it is that is expected of them in terms of these goals.

Content for Grade 11

General theme: How do the concepts imperialism, communism, racism and nationalism define the century 1850 to 1950?

CAPS HISTORY

Grade 11 – Topic 1 – Communism in Russia 1900-1940 ***Time allocation: 6 weeks***

Statement: How was communism applied in Russia under Lenin and Stalin?

Summary of content: The aim of the topic is to provide an understanding of Marxism, socialism and various forms of communism in the Soviet Union; 1905 Revolution; Lenin, Trotsky, 1917 Revolutions; civil war; NEP; World War II.

(Pre 1994 Curriculum: Std 10: The Rise of Soviet Russia; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G8:3: World War ; G8:I; 4: Russian Revolution)

It seems that the pre 1994 syllabus title for this topic (see Appendix A) was more appropriate to the history curriculum since it is the history of Russia/USSR that is being studied not just the history of the "application of communism" under Lenin and Stalin." This is one instance among many in the curriculum where this feels like a political science course that investigates political systems and their application rather than a comprehensive account of all aspects of the historical situation. In this instance, it is not just the application of communism that interests historians but also the resistance to that process and how all of this has been part of a major historical developments and debates of the 20th Century.

On the positive side there is a strong narrative element to this section which allows teachers to build on the rich literature and materials available in the area and provides a background to the study of the Cold War that is to follow.

There was only one form of communism in the USSR after 1917 – so it is not at all clear what the reference to "socialism and various forms or communism in the USSR" means.

This is a tried and tested topic in South African secondary school history and

many teachers have a solid background in this, so it makes eminent sense to continue with this as it shapes our view of key events in the twentieth century.

CAPS HISTORY ***Time allocation: 6 weeks***

Grade 11 – Topic 2 - Capitalism and the USA 1900 to 1940

Statement: How did the Great Depression bring about a crisis of capitalism?

Summary of content: The rise of capitalism in the USA; The nature of capitalism; The 1920s; The Depression; The New Deal; World War II.

(Pre 1994 Curriculum: Std 10: The Rise of the USA; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G7:2: American Revolution and Constitution.)

The "Background and focus" begins by highlighting the contrast between this section and Topic 1. It incorrectly refers to the fact that students have "looked at socialism in the previous topic…"! This is not the case. The previous topic studied communism in the USSR; socialism was perhaps a by-product of that study but it can hardly be said that it represented a study of socialism. The curriculum seems to conflate the two concepts which seem to betray a radical misunderstanding of 20th Century history.

The topic has some merit from the viewpoint of relevance – but why the history of the USA should only be seen through the lens of a single concept is somewhat puzzling. The framing of the topic is based on a binary distinction between communism and capitalism, rather than paying attention to the actual history of the USA in its own right. And that is surely an essential issue in the study of history: to understand the uniqueness of historical events and the need to explain them in context. There is a lot to be said for a study of the USA between 1900 and 1940 as a way of framing an approach to the modern world and acquainting students with key themes in contemporary history. But I would be in favour of a less constrained curriculum than one which emphasises only "Capitalism in the USA." (Unless everything is identified as being a result of capitalism – in which case the usefulness of the concept disappears).

Again – the strength of this topic is that many teachers will have some background to these issues and many would have some background in academic study in the field. There are also many resources available at all levels. (In addition, the topic has a credible history in senior high school history going right back to the days of the Joint Matriculation Board.)

The rest of the topics for Grade 11 fail to qualify in terms of academic credibility and teacher familiarity with the content areas.

CAPS HISTORY ***Time allocation: 6 weeks***

Statement: What were the consequences when pseudo-scientific ideas about Race became integral to government policies and legislation in the 19th and 20th centuries?

Background and focus:
Theories of race and eugenics; …The theories were a social construct...; ...theories and practices.
Case studies:
Australia and the indigenous Australians; Nazi Germany and the Holocaust – Nuremburg trials.
(Links to other CAPS curriculum topics:G.9:1: The rise of Nazi Germany and World War II; G9:4: Genocide in Rwanda).

It is difficult to imagine what most teachers will make of this topic: "Ideas of Race in the late 19th Century and 20th Centuries: What were the consequences when pseudo-scientific ideas of Race became integral to government policies and legislation in the 19th and 20th Centuries?" (Which "government policies"? "consequences" for whom?) How will teenagers make sense of such complex questions that are as yet poorly represented in secondary historical literature. Social Darwinism; eugenics; discrimination; racism; ideology; the emergence of science. There is no indication of how the learning of this material might be evaluated. The designers of the curriculum seemed to misjudge the level of competence of their teachers and the level/sophistication of conceptual development of the students.

It is of course not a question of the lack of significance of such issues: it is a question of how "teachable" they are and how examinable they are given the existing state of easily accessible published resources and teacher expertise available in most schools. To the best of my knowledge there is no single easily accessible volume that covers these issues in terms of content quite apart from the possibilities of teaching and examining the topic. It is not at all clear to me how adequately Aboriginal Australian history can be taught outside of a thorough analysis of Australian general history. Or for that matter how the Holocaust can be taught outside of a thorough study of Nazi Germany as it always was in the old JMB Matric Syllabus (this topic was last touched on in Grade 9 with a focus on the World War II).

It would seem that this section is clearly aimed at linking issues of eugenics to Australian aboriginal genocide, to the Holocaust, to apartheid, but this is not stated upfront. It leaves me uneasy to say the least! This is a selective focus on particular aspects of history – a foregrounding of specific themes, which precludes a careful contextual analysis. Issues of race conflict need to be explained in the context of the particular histories being engaged with. The whole historiographical revision of the 'seventies in South Africa rested on challenging the view that South African history was all about race and reinterpreting that history in terms of a balance between race and class analysis. This highlighting of race once again seems to preclude those perspectives.

How effectively will the majority of teachers engage with these topics? It seems to me to be unfair to ask a teacher to do this in a credible historical manner.

CAPS HISTORY

G 11: Topic 4: Nationalisms - South Africa, the Middle East and Africa

Time allocation: 10 weeks

Statement: When is nationalism beneficial and when is it destructive?

Background and focus:

What is nationalism? The origins of nationalism in Europe and the effect of WWII.

Case study: South Africa: African nationalism/Afrikaner nationalism.

Case Study: The Middle East; From Gold Coast to Ghana.

Review of the positive and negative features of nationalism.

(Pre 1994 syllabus for Std. 9 and 10 dealt with these issues but as separate topics: The Middle East; Independent Africa; South Africa 1910-1970; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G.8:2: European colonisation in Africa; 9:1: Nazi Germany + World War II.)

Although there is a statement about the need to "understand where nationalism comes from" there is little space to explore this important issue. Nationalism is here taken up here as a major theme without sufficient reference to its sources in nineteenth century Europe. It is reified and decontextualised. (The last reference to European history was in relation to the French Revolution in Grade 10). The complex background to nationalism as a means of understanding contemporary history has not been put in place. In that context I am concerned about the *Statement* which once again seems to be located in the realm of political science rather than history.

The focus on nationalism in the South African case would seem to preclude the highlighting of other themes and other ways of approaching and understanding South African history during the period prior to the 1940s (Topic 5). This represents a return to the much critiqued view of the cultural and national interpretations of our history that were decisively disputed in the historical revisions of the 1970s and 1980s and which placed the rise of capitalism, class conflict and social history at the centre of the picture. The historiographical revolution of the 'seventies and 'eighties seems to disappear in this recast of school curriculum. We seem to return to a present - centred curriculum here with an exaggerated focus on race, ethnicity and nationalism.

There is certainly a large literature on these topics and this is accessible to a wide audience, but there is a danger of seeing history in cultural and ethnic terms and downplaying the central role of non-racism and democracy in the constitutional background to our understanding of our history. Once again this retreat from modern historiography, while understandable in the ideological climate of post 1994, is to say the least problematic if understood

from the point of view of historical studies and professional historiography. Any teacher who is conversant with modern interpretations of South African history would surely feel uncomfortable with this reversion to nationalism as key lodestone for understanding South African history.

Other studies of nationalism are indicated presumably by way of comparison to the above, namely the post War experience in the Middle East and Africa. There is no explanation for the focus on the Middle East. The controversial nature of the topic and the complexities and difficulties of exploring these issues in a scholarly manner, in a context where on-the-ground knowledge and history expertise is thin, are decidedly problematic. One cannot help but ask why this topic was chosen. Few teachers would be in any position to teach this complex topic effectively with a degree of objectivity. I imagine that there are few resources available on this topic for most teachers.

The inclusion of a topic on Africa and the Gold Coast clearly makes more sense in terms of an African study of a particular context relating to *Uhuru* politics. And it provides a mirror for understanding the transition processes of the post-War War II world in Africa and the Third World and links to world history to the South African focus.

CAPS HISTORY

G:11: Topic 5: Apartheid South Africa1940s to 1960s ***Time allocation: 6 weeks***

Statement: How unique was Apartheid?

Background and focus: (link to Topic 3).

Emphasis on race as an explanatory factor in history; Segregation and apartheid; Resistance to apartheid; Apartheid in the context of global struggles for human rights and equity in the 1960s.

(Pre 1994 curriculum: South Africa 1910-1970; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G9:3: Apartheid and forced removals; G 11:3; Ideas of race in the late 19th and 20th Century.)

The selection of this topic is in keeping with the commitment to "content and weighting" in a comparative approach (which) reveals the interconnectedness between local and world events. (CAPS:10) It is a core topic that has always dominated the study of school history at the top of the high school. Here, as in Topic 4, the overwhelmingly emphasis seems to have reverted to race as the major explanatory category in South African history when there has been a host of challenges to that exclusive focus in the years since the seventies. As such it presents a rather traditional and nationalistic perspective on the topic – with insufficient emphasis on the revisionist challenges to historiography. There is little on the rationale or explanation for apartheid in political, economic and class terms: Why such policies came into existence/what they sought to defend or create. There is very little in the way of a careful analysis of the nature of National Party power and what apartheid was about in terms

of political agendas. There is very little on the important explanations of apartheid in economic/class terms.

The overwhelming emphasis is on the opposition and resistance to apartheid. It seems curious that in the long list of list of organisations arrayed against the apartheid government the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party are ignored! One cannot help wondering why this is so!

It seems doubtful whether the framing question for the Statement in terms of the question "How unique was apartheid?" would provide a useful guide to teachers. Is this a historical question? How can the question be answered without a comprehensive knowledge of world history in the 20th Century, which by definition students would not have. The questions which frame and inform the teaching cannot rely on exogenous knowledge if they are to be fair to the students.

In the outline the experience of South Africa under apartheid is not placed in the context of the African revolution or the politics of the Cold War.

Content for Grade 12

General theme: "What is (sic) the nature of the post-Second World War world?" (p. 25)

CAPS HISTORY

G12 – Topic 1: ***Time allocation: 4 weeks***

Statement: The Cold War: How did the Cold War shape international relations after the Second World War?

Background and focus; The origins of the Cold War; Its nature, context and implications; It effects on Europe and the rest of the world.

Extension of the Cold War: China: How did China rise as a world power after 1949, or Vietnam:

How was a small country like Vietnam able to win a war against the USA (1954-1975)?

(Pre 1994 syllabus: Std 10: The Cold War/East Asia/Middle East; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G9:3: Rwanda and genocide)

This is a clear statement of an important topic for study at this level. But it is not clear how students will be able to engage intelligently with these complex issues without a comprehensive background to the inter-war period, the causes of World War II and the outcomes of the war. (These issues were last studied in Grade 9). All that is mentioned in the curriculum is: "the end of WW II (introduction) and why did the Cold War develop?" This leaves significant gaps for an understanding of the history of the 20th Century and means that there is a lack of context for this study.

The danger of studying history through a rear-view mirror or with hindsight

(looking at the Cold War as the focus and then looking backwards) is that the issues that dominated in the Cold War period might clearly be seen to be the major explanatory features of the earlier era. This is clearly not entirely the case! The only place where European history is referred to is in Grade 9:1: The rise of Nazi Germany and World War II; Grade 10: Topic 3: The French Revolution, and in Grade 11: Topic 3, where reference is made to the origins of nationalism in Europe and the Holocaust as an aspect of Race and Racism in the 20th Century. It seems that there is an underestimation of, and lack of appreciation of, the complexity of these issues and the difficulties of teaching them critically and meaningfully without a comprehensive background to European and World History.

What makes logical sense is the extension of the Grade 11 topics: Communism in Russia 1900 to 1940 (Topic 1) and Capitalism in the USA 1900 to 1940 (Topic 2). But this runs into the danger of hindsight – of seeing the emergence of the Cold War as a logical and inevitable outcome of these forces in conflict. It erases other aspects of the history of the 20th Century, in particular the challenges to both Communism and capitalist/liberal democracy by Fascism and the Totalitarian powers.

There is no careful periodization of the Cold War or explanation of the dynamics of the post-World War II settlement. In the "Background and focus" there are specific directions for the teaching of "The Origins of the Cold War" which emphasise "overview; source-based questions; broad narrative". It is not clear why the instruction about "overview and "broad narrative" is linked to the use of source materials? Source materials and documents are usually particularly appropriate in relation to detailed study where the student has a good grasp to the context.

CAPS HISTORY

G12 – Topic 2: Topic: Independent Africa ***Time allocation: 4 weeks***

Statement: How was independence realized in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?

Background and focus: The focus is on the political, economic, social and cultural successes and challenges that countries faced in Africa after independence.

What were the ideas that influenced independent states?

Comparative case studies: The Congo and Tanzania.

The impact of internal and external factors on Africa: The Cold War Case study: Angola (links to South Africa).

(Pre 1994 Curriculum: Std 10: The Emergence of Independent Africa; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G6:1: African kingdoms; G6:3: Explorers from Europe find Africa; G7:4: Slave trade; G8:2: European colonisation.)

This topic is virtually identical to the earlier version in the pre 1994 syllabus (see Appendix A). It needs to be linked to Grade 11: Topic 4: Nationalisms.

What seems to be missing is the context for the rise of African nationalism: the history of nationalism in Europe from the 19th Century to the mid 20th Century and the expansion of those ideas (the post World War I and II settlements in Europe) and the impact on Africa of nationalist struggles in India and elsewhere during and after World War II.

The general framing remark is rather curious, since it is not just the question of "how independence was realized in the 1960s and 1970s" that is a key to the study of the topic, but what the outcome and consequences of that process were during the period indicated and in the context of the Cold War. The general overarching topic does not reflect what follows in the curriculum outline – which does indeed engage with the "successes and challenges faced by independent Africa.

There should surely be attempt to make links here with Third World struggles in Latin America (Che Guevara and Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution) and its linkages to Topic 3 (Civil society protests 1950s to 1970s) the rise of protest movements of many kinds in the West during these years. Extensive research has demonstrated that these movements were not all about nationalism, i.e. nationalism is one of many explanatory factors which inform an understanding of the history of the Cold War era. Careful guidance is needed if teachers are to grapple with this in an analytical manner rather than simply assume that all historical change is to be attributed to nationalism.

In general the outline is comprehensive and does link coherently to G 12: Topic 1 and to G 11: Topic 4 which deals with Nationalism in Africa (specifically Africa: Gold Coast to Ghana) and elsewhere.

CAPS HISTORY

G12 – Topic 3: Civil Society protests 1950s – 1970s ***Time allocation: 4 weeks***

Statement: What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s to the 1990s?

Background and focus: The post-War world; the emergence of a counter-culture; The significance of protest – the emergent role of women and youth in Europe and North America.

Intro: Overview of civil society protests: Anti war protests; Race and civil rights in the USA; Links to Third World revolution.

Case Study: The US Civil Rights Movement; The Black Power Movement.

(Links to South Africa: Resistance to apartheid; Anti-apartheid, women's movement; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G9:2: The Civil Rights Movement in the USA.)

While this is an attractive and "relevant" topic that lends itself to innovative approaches, and to the linkages between global history and South Africa, it is doubtful whether many teachers have a systematic background in the issues concerned.

The curriculum planners seem to have forgotten that much of the protest of this time was Anti- War – "Ban the Bomb" in the UK and Germany and anti Vietnam War in the USA. (Link to Topic 1). The great 1968 Paris Student Revolt and many similar responses throughout the world are not mentioned. This is extraordinarily remiss for such a key set of issues. In addition there were other reactions to the post war situation by the Bader Meinhoff Gang, Red Brigade and so on and Third World revolution (Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon and Cuba) and issues of development, poverty and Third World liberation. It seems strange that the uprisings in Hungary and Czechoslovakia neglected.

The whole focus here is on the USA and the Civil Right Movement, and the Black Power Movement and the significant rise of the Women's Movement. The topic seems to be framed in terms of race and gender issues, while the history of worker and peasant struggles, trade unionisms and community protest (class) seems to disappear. Some would argue that the whole history of the period is more accurately understood as a set of power issues that were structured around First World economic policies and initiatives linked to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These issues have direct relevance to an understanding of Topics 4 and 5 on South Africa. But the linkages need to be more carefully specified.

A few brief points. Topic 3 is essentially logically prior to Topic 2. Much of the substance of the Independent Africa section would become much clearer if it were dealt with after this topic, which sets the scene (with Topic 1) for the post - war world. The term "civil society" does not seem appropriate here as this was not a term that was in wide use at that time and reveals a degree of hindsight regarding terminology. In terms of the logical presentation of topics it is essential that the curriculum reflect the logic and chronology of historical convention. The Women's Movement (mentioned five times in various forms) was in fact a late comer to high profile politics of the 'sixties and should be dealt with in correct sequence. Finally, if the framework set out by the curriculum planners demonstrates such an inadequate grasp of the issues to be covered one can only fear for the degree of confidence with which teachers will approach the topic. As mentioned above – it is doubtful if most teachers would deal with these issues with confidence.

CAPS HISTORY

G12 – Topic 4: Civil Resistance in South Africa 1970s to 1980s

(Continued from G11:5; G12:3) ***Time allocation: 4 weeks***

Statement: What was the nature of civil society resistance after the 1960s?

Background and focus: Apartheid and resistance; Black Consciousness; The crisis of apartheid in the 1980s; Government reform; Internal resistance (UDF etc); International response; The end

of apartheid.

(Pre 1994 Curriculum: Std 10: South Africa: 1948-1970; Links to other CAPS curriculum topics: G9:3: Civil Rights movement in the USA.)

It is difficult to understand why the theme of "civil resistance" should be exclusively selected. This theme cannot be understood outside of a full analysis of South African political, economic and social history in this era. It does not make sense to pick out the resistance theme without referring to the dynamics of power in the apartheid society, the nature of apartheid and how it was reformed over time, the nature of the state, foreign policy as an aspect of the Cold War, economic history of South Africa, as well as the history of the opposition to the NP. The issue of a repressive state and the changes it wrought on the nature of resistance politics needs to be highlighted. There is a great deal of emphasis and detail regarding the role of the Black Consciousness Movement during this time, which is appropriate, but this seems to eclipse all other players in the history of the times, such as trade unions (e.g. FOSATU) and even the ANC, PAC and other key players. Somewhat strangely, there is very little reference to the armed struggle and years of exile for many South Africans. War is surely something that needs to be considered as well; as the role of the UDF in the 1980s. Much that is important in the context of resistance seems to be left out!

"The crisis of apartheid in the 1980s" is carefully addressed, but there is insufficient focus on what was being reformed and why. The macro picture is not spelt out with care.

(This section refers back to G11: Topic 5 and to G12 Topic 1: The Cold War.)

It needs to be appreciated that the historical literature of the period is often new to many teachers and that there is a need to ensure that teachers are adequately informed about this "familiar" struggle history and that it is taught with rigour and a degree of objectivity. Questions that need to be asked are: How much do students need to know? What do they need to know for examination purposes? To avoid simple regurgitation of content, careful guidelines would need to be given about the nature of the learning to be encouraged. This is a formidable task and one of the reasons why contemporary history is often avoided at this level where there is little established historical literature or source materials. Thus the limitations of teacher knowledge is probably a significant barrier to effective and critical teaching and learning of this topic.

CAPS HISTORY

G12 – Topic 5: The coming of democracy in South Africa and coming to terms with the past. ***Time allocation: 4 weeks***

Statement: How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crisis of the 1990s and how did South Africans come to terms with the apartheid past?

Background and focus: "The topic focuses on the debates around the negotiating process between the ANC and the government." etc.; end of Cold War context; Compromise; Reconciliation; TRC; The negotiated Settlement; The Government of National Unity; Detailed events given.

How has South Africa chosen to remember the past?; TRC; Memorialisation.

This content is specified in terms of an understanding of the processes that led to the negotiating process in "the context of the end of the Cold War" and the compromises that had to be made on both sides. Great emphasis is placed on the "the negotiated settlement and the Government of National Unity" and why South Africa chose the TRC process as a means of dealing with history/the past. (There is no critical appraisal of the TRC process.) Then there is a section on "How South Africans come to terms with the Apartheid past." And the whole issue of memorialisation and the meaning of Freedom Park, etc.

This section raises all the old questions about the teaching of contemporary history at school level – teaching history that has in a sense not yet been written. What are the key analytical issues that young people are expected to grapple with in a systematic manner? What kinds of questions would be both fair and demanding in an assignment or examination? How do we avoid politics in the classroom? There is a lot of detail about the period of the settlement in the document, but little guidance in the analytical issues at stake and the major lines of historical debate on the topic.

A key issue for consideration in relation to the South African contemporary history for Grade 12: Topic 4,5, and 6 is the difficulty of dealing with the balance between what we would like young people to know about the recent past and our ability or capacity to teach these topics with any degree of depth, distance or objectivity.

The great political changes of the period since the 1980s (struggle and revolution, state reformism, the internal uprising (UDF), the Border War, the nature of the settlement, and the post 1994 "dispensation") are of course of great significance for young people, but the state of research and mature historical writing and analysis on these issues still leaves a great deal to be desired. Historians have always stayed away from the immediate past because of the lack of perspective we have on events that are so close to our present political consciousness. With the best will in the world teachers are going

to find it difficult to give a balanced account of these issues and one which manages to impart the skills of the historian to students. This problem arises in part out of the raw state of research and published material on these issues, but it is also relates to the ability and capacity of teachers to make these issues into a valid pedagogical project that brings the craft of the historian into the classroom.

This is of course not a problem unique to the teaching of history in South Africa, but it is of particular significance in the context of the need for a balanced and nuanced set of perspectives on the volatile social, political, ideological and economic context in which we live.

This dilemma also highlights the ambiguities or contradictions between the need for civic education in the schools and the goals of history education and points to the dangers of collapsing these goals into one.

Is this not the key problem here? The more one attempts to drive the history curriculum by notions of 'relevance' or present - mindedness, the further away the outcomes become from Counsell's goals of "bringing an epistemic tradition (of history) to the pedagogical site so that pupils can understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made." (Counsell, 2011:202)

Part of the problem would seem to be that discussions on these issues in 2012 are intensely subjective and political and it is very difficult to get a perspective on such issues or even understand clearly the key issues of analysis. If the experts are still debating these issues, and the historians have not yet written in depth about them, it seems unfair to be asking students to write analytical essays and answers to any question that might be asked. What criteria would we be using in assessing the quality of the answers?

Once again we need to consider the question of teacher capacity and ability to teach this topic with rigour and a degree of objectivity. If we are not confident about our answers to these issues it seems irresponsible to proceed with this item. The question of adequate resources is also relevant here.

There is a section on Memorialisation: "Remembering the past: Memorials."

The topic is stated as follows:"how has the struggle against apartheid been remembered? (Appropriate museum or memorial, examples include Freedom Park at national level, Thokoza monument at local level)". What precisely is it that students are supposed to learn here and what would qualify as an appropriate assessment of learning or examination question? Is this not an

example of a confusion between methods of motivating students in historical studies, and substantive knowledge of the subject?

> **CAPS HISTORY**
>
> **G12 – Topic 6: The end of the Cold War and the new world order: 1989 to the present**
> ***Time allocation: 4 weeks***
>
> **Statement: How has the world changed since the 1960s?**
>
> Background and focus: The end of the Cold War: The events of 1989; The new world order.

It is not clear at all why this item is placed in this order. It is more logical and in keeping with historical convention to place all the world history topics first, followed by the South African material, if for no other reason than to demonstrate in this case that the South African changes are taking place in the context of the end of the Cold War. It is therefore logical in terms of historical explanation to place this section before the South African section given the commitment to an emphasis on the interactions and relationships between international and local histories.

There seems to be little regard for the complexity of this topic and the difficulty of understanding all the complexities of recent events. It is only with the publication in recent years of Tony *Judt's Post War* (2010), and similar works, that we have begun to get a grasp of the architecture of this field of historical research. It is very difficult to see how teachers and students with limited access to resources will be able to engage meaningfully, in the short term, with these complex issues.

There is a kind of postscript to the curriculum statement on page 31 which poses broader questions about the purposes of history education, and which it discreetly notes is "not for examination purposes." The following questions are posed:

- What have we learned from history?
- To what extent can we understand why people behaved in the way they did?
- Has history taught us more about the 'human condition'?

Conclusion

When I was a teacher, students used to often ask: "Why do we have to learn history, Sir?"

I'm not sure I had a convincing answer but I think that students and parents need a serious answer to this question today! If history cannot be taught in an educationally credible manner perhaps it should not be taught at all. Does the CAPS Curriculum for 2012 meet that challenge?

Are we just using the history class as a way of politically inculcating contemporary values? Under apartheid education it was support for apartheid, and now it seems to be support for the democratic constitution. Or is the project espoused by history educators or the defenders of a knowledge- based curriculum that is opposed to the constructivism of Curriculum 2005/OBE of a different order? The emphasis here is on the introduction of students to the practices of the historian and the means of enquiry associated with the discipline of history. Counsell's characterization is precise: "the purpose of teaching and learning history in the classroom is to bring the epistemic tradition of history to the pedagogical site so that pupils can understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made." (Counsell, 2011:202). She warns that this is not an easy task, but that it is a worthwhile educational challenge and an important objective if we are to provide an adequate educational legacy to our students that will prepare them for the challenges and difficulties of life in a democracy. This is not about teaching "objective history" as was sometimes thought in the past; it is about teaching history as a set of intellectual skills and abilities that enable students to think independently within the framework of a set of practices and methods of enquiry. As such these skills are vital to the civic understanding of citizens in a democracy.

In considering the CAPS History curriculum of 2012 we need to ask:

- What are the educational objectives of this document?
- What assumptions were made with regard to the selection of knowledge (content)?
- Why these topics rather than others?
- Why has there been continuity with previous practices in some areas and rupture in others?
- What meaningful educational objectives can be attached to the teaching of the discipline of history for 15-17 year olds?
- What resources are needed to make these objectives attainable?
- Are the teachers capable of making educational sense of the CAPS prescribed curriculum and translating it into viable pedagogical strategies?

In short: Were these topics selected with an eye to political or civic education or were historians consulted about the selection of topics or content (the knowledge selected) and were teachers consulted about the "teachability" of these topic and this content? The essence of the problem is that the historical content selected and the topics chosen need to be able to be defended in terms of the criteria of discipline - based knowledge in the profession of history and

in terms of their pedagogic suitability/teachability for teenagers, as well as with reference to the resources available.

Over half of the Grade 12 curriculum is comprised of material that is on the margins of a definition of historical knowledge that is suitable for study at this level if we are serious about providing young people with the skills and forms of understanding that are characteristic of the field of history. Only Topics 1 (Cold War) and 2 (Independent Africa) provide students with the confident possibility of getting into a mature historical literature, or provide the possibility of a teacher being prepared or resources being available. Topic 3 (Civil society protest) is extremely interesting and links many themes relevant to Topics 1 and 2 of the South African section, but I am concerned about the depth of teacher knowledge and the availability and quality of resources.

My real concerns lie with Grade 12: Topics 4, 5, 6 which might well be very important and interesting for students to know and grapple with on grounds of relevance or political education, but the difficulties of relating this material to "the epistemic tradition of (historical studies) so that pupils can understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made" would seem to be made nigh impossible in this context.

There are parts of the CAPS History Curriculum which match the criteria for teaching and learning of the subject laid out in Section 2. But it is in the main only really in relation to the traditional historical topics (often those rescued from the pre 1994 syllabus) which offer hope of achieving those goals laid out in the introduction to this curriculum document. (CAPS: 10-12: History: 8-12)

Where new and "relevant" topics have been crafted with an eye to focussing on the specificity of the post 1994 South African situation, the curriculum planners appear to have entered dubious territory from the point of view of knowledge selection criteria, the ability to assess student work with confidence, and from the perspective of teacher capacity and ability to deliver pedagogically on the demands of the curriculum. The presentism of parts of the curriculum, however apparently dramatic, relevant and significant, is a problem for careful historical analysis and would seem to indicate a degree of confusion about curriculum goals. The desire to fuse a form of civic education with this history curriculum would seem to lead to doubtful outcomes. What is undoubtedly necessary is to promote historical studies which encourage a need for students to view matters of public concern in a historical light (Tosh – personal communication, 2012), but that is by no means the same thing

as framing the history curriculum to teach banal "lessons" or promoting an approach that encourages hindsight.

An instance of the difficulties that arise here might be seen in reviewing the *General themes* that I have listed and commented on above. There is much to be said, pedagogically, for a comment that attempts to capture the essence of a Topic. But, as has been indicated above, these themes are often framed without regard to the conventions of historical writing, and at times the problems stated are exogenous to the topics under consideration. It is not possible to examine these issues in detail but I will try to give a few examples.

G10: *Topic 3: How did the French Revolution lay the foundation for modern democracies?* This states the issue in terms of a knowledge of "the foundations of modern democracies" but the historical content under consideration is limited to the history of the French Revolution itself. It would therefore not be fair to ask questions or assess students in terms of the rubric:

G10: *Topic 6: How did (the events?) of the period 1899-1902 shape 20th Century South Africa?* The same is valid. This question is not about the specific historical content of the period under review; an answer would require a comprehensive background to the whole of modern South African history.

G11*: Topic 3: What were the consequences when pseudo-scientific ideas about Race became integral to government policies and legislation in the 19th and 20th centuries?* This is just an impossible call as teachers would be required to have an international historical background in this field if they were to teach this topic with confidence. It is hard to imagine what was intended.

G11*: Topic 4: When is nationalism beneficial and when is it destructive?* The answer to such a question would require a comparative view of political science and does not lie within the framework of the content cited.

G11: *Topic 5: How unique was apartheid?* Again – this is not a question about the history of apartheid and South Africa but a comparative political science issue that is hardly appropriate to a school history curriculum.

G12*: Topic 1: How was independence realized in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?* In itself this formulation is sound, but it seems to me that the implications of the content cited in this section are not reflected in the Statement. The goal is presumably to explore both the realization of independence and the outcomes thereof. The Statement should reflect this.

G 12: *Topic 3:* The use of the term "civil society" seems problematic to me as this term only came to be widely used in later years.

This paper has attempted to map out some of the issues that need to be taken up much more systematically if we are to present teachers and students with a curriculum that is educationally sound with regard to the practices of the discipline of history and that is able to present teachers with a project that is professionally capable of providing students with a secure base for knowledge

in the area and which will add substantially to their ability to engage with a complex world.

My sense is that the curriculum presents an attempt to be innovative and relevant but that in the end it looks like a rushed job that is lacking in precision and depth and buys into fashionable approaches to the discipline. It fails to take careful regard to history as it is practiced professionally and ignores the formidable pedagogical challenges presented by the curriculum.

A major issue to be considered is that, although the new curriculum makes considerable advances by reasserting notions of historical disciplinarity, it often tends to ignore *complexity* and *context* and reverts excessively to narrow notions of race and nationality in what appears to be a quest for 'relevance,' or at other times takes a thematic political science approach. In pursuit of interesting thematic questions to comparative history there seems to be little understanding of the difficulty of engaging in this kind of exercise with confidence, and a lack of appreciation that such an approach often leads to a superficiality that undermines the credibility of history education.

This is hopefully a contribution to a debate on these issues and an invitation to practicing teachers to consider their experience in the process of implementing the new curriculum. Precisely why historians and teachers have been so silent is not clear to me. Is it that they think all is well?

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APPENDIX A: *The pre 1994 history syllabus in terms of stipulated content: (1980s)*

STANDARD 9	
A.	Introductory to Contemporary World History
1.	The emergence of the national state in central Europe: The unification of Germany.
2.	The First World War: causes, process.
3.	The consequences of World War I.
4.	The History of the USA: 1783-1900
5.	The emergence of the modern national state: Japan in the 19th and 20th Century

6. The emergence of the modern national state: Russia in the 19th Century

B. South African history

1. The economic and social effects of the discovery and mining of diamonds and gold:1870-1910
2. Imperialism, Republicanism and the incorporation of the African Kingdoms
3. Reconstruction to Union

STANDARD 10
GENERAL/WORLD HISTORY
Capitalism, Communism and Totalitarianism

1. The Rise of the USA
2. The Rise of Soviet Russia
3. Circumstances which led to World War II: The World after the War
4. The United Nations
5. The Cold War in Europe
6. East Asia
7. The Middle East
8. Latin America since 1945
9. The emergence of independent Africa

SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY
The political, social and economic development of South Africa, 1910-1970

1. South Africa 1910-1924
2. South Africa 1924-1948
3. South Africa 1948-1970

APPENDIX B: *CAPS CURRICULUM (2011): Social Science: Senior Phase*

Grade 7

The Kingdom of Mali and Timbuktu

1. The Transatlantic slave trade
2. Colonisation of the Cape in the 17th and 18th Centuries
3. Co-operation and conflict on the frontiers of the Cape Colony in the early 19th Century

Grade 8

1. The Industrial Revolution in Britain and Southern Africa from 1860s
2. The Mineral Revolution in South Africa
3. The Scramble for Africa: late 19th Century
4. World War I :1914-1918

Grade 9

1. World War II (the period 1919-1945)
2. The Nuclear Age and the Cold War (1945-1990)
3. Turning points in South African history 1948 and 1950
4. Turning points in South African history 1960, 1976, 1994

Grade 10:

General theme: How had the world been transformed by the late nineteenth century?

1. The world around 1600
2. European expansion n conquest during the 15th to 18th centuries
3. How die the French Revolution lay the foundations for modern democracies?
4. Transformations in southern Africa after 1750
5. Colonial expansion after 1750
6. The South African War and Union

Grade 11:

General theme: How do the concepts of imperialism, capitalism, communism, racism and nationalism define the century 1850 to 1950?

1. Communism in Russia 1900 to 1940
2. Capitalism in the USA 1900 to 1940
3. Ideas of race in the late 19th and early 20th centuries
4. Nationalisms – South Africa, the Middle East, and Africa
5. Apartheid South Africa 1940s to 1960s

Content of Grade 12:

General theme: What is the nature of the post-Second World War world?

1. The Cold War
2. Independent Africa
3. Civil society protests 1950s to 1970s
4. Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s to 1980s
5. The coming of democracy to South Africa and coming to terms with the past
6. The end of the Cold War and the new world order 1989 to the present

Citizenship education for Africans in South Africa (1948-1994): A critical discourse

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Abstract

The paper presents a critical discussion of the provision of citizenship education for Africans in South Africa during the period 1948-1994. A conceptual analysis of Johnson and Morris' critical citizenship framework and its four dimensions, namely, ideology, the collective, self and praxis, is presented. Utilising this framework, the author examines the goals and aims of the former National Party government in their project to provide citizenship education through history, social science and civics teaching in schools for African students. The study suggests that the goal of the state in promoting citizenship education during the former political dispensation as seen through the four dimensions did not create space for critical thinking and dialogue, crucial elements for critical citizenship education. Recommendations with regard to the form and content of citizenship education in future are made.

Keywords: Citizenship; Citizenship education; Critical citizenship education; Critical thinking; Curriculum.

Introduction

The promotion of 'critical citizenship' has become a fundamental and crucial area of the state's social responsibilities. The modern state faces the imperative to establish and maintain an authentic, free and democratic society, while ensuring that critical thinking is cardinal in society. Citizenship education in South Africa is not immune from this challenge. Mathebula (2009:81) argues that even though South Africa has established a democracy, the question of citizenship remains at the crossroads and "is stretched and pulled in different directions". The post-apartheid government is striving to mould a new kind of citizen and a new democratic nation that can move beyond the racist policies of the past and which is governed by virtues such as respect for individual worth,

fairness and justice. Certainly there is a prevailing need to re-conceptualise citizenship education in South Africa from a critical perspective.

A comprehensive discussion about critical thinking within this limited space is not feasible; however, I will provide a brief overview of some key issues and definitions in the debates surrounding critical thinking and operationalise the term for this study. Critical thinking has been a dominant element of social studies education for the past four decades or more (Beyer, 2008; Engle & Ochoa, 1988; Newmann, 1991). Scholars hold diverse views about critical thinking (Bailin, Case, Coombs & Daniels, 1999; Beyer, 1985; Walters, 1994). McLaren (1994) argues that thinking is multi-discursive, located in socio-cultural, economic and political contexts and inherently ideological. For the purpose of this study, critical thinking is understood as a form of critical social practice (Koh, 2002). Critical thinking is viewed as a culturally and historically situated critical social practice (Street, 2003). Segall and Gaudelli (2007) argue that social critical thinking means that students can challenge taken-for-granted meanings and suppositions, questioning how knowledge is constructed and used. They can also interrogate issues of power, justice, identity and the ways content and practices are shaped by different ideologies. Students can go to the extent of making informed conclusions about certain content and practices that are advantaged and/or disadvantaged by the current ideology of schooling, and that certain views are privileged while others are marginalised. Questions relating to education, such as, who makes curricular decisions, how and why these decisions are made, and whose interests these decisions represent and who benefits at the end, may be posed. The curricula of history and social studies should be used to inform decisions about the content of education. An investigation of the inclusion of critical thinking in citizenship education in the pre-democratic era in South Africa is important as the findings of such an inquiry should inform what should be included in post-democratic citizenship education (Engle & Ochoa, 1988).

What is citizenship education?

Lagassé (2000) defines a citizen as a person who lives in a nation state and has certain rights and privileges as well as several obligations to the state, such as allegiance to government. Citizenship is a symbiotic relationship between the state and the citizen. Crick (2008:126) contends that the type of citizen who is valued by society is defined in terms of the nature of his/her relationship with

the government. Galston (1989) further categorises citizens into what he calls the 'autarchic' and the 'autonomous' citizen. Instead, McLaughlin (1992:245) distinguishes between 'minimal' and 'maximal' citizenship. The autarchic or minimal citizen is basically obedient to government, whereas the maximal citizen is actively involved in questioning and has achieved a critical perspective on all important factors (McLaughlin, 1992:236, 242). The autarchic citizen is 'law abiding' and 'public spirited' but can be characterised by limited 'rational deliberation and self-determination' (McLaughlin, 1992:236). Koopmans, Statham, Giugni and Passy (2005:7) agree with Galston and McLaughlin when they state that a set of rights, duties and identities link citizens to the nation-state. From the definition of different types of leadership provided by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Veugelers (2007) on minimal/maximal types of citizenship, three categories of citizens are evident. They are: adapting citizens (with good manners, obedient and act responsibly); individualistic citizens (participate in society from an individualistic perspective); and critical democratic citizens (concerned for social justice, cooperative and motivated to change society). Staeheli and Hammett (2010:671) contend that citizenship should not just be seen as status constructed to reflect universal ideals, but it should also be seen in relation to political, economic and social processes that operate within particular temporal and geographical contexts.

The concept of citizenship education is complex and ambiguous. It has been reviewed and debated in recent literature. In most instances the context within which citizenship notions have been defined has changed tremendously, especially during the 21st century. The term citizenship education is habitually characterised by the use of various terminologies used to describe social and political education. Kerr (2000:209) uses the minimal/maximal model to distinguish between civic education (education for the minimal citizen) and citizenship education (education for the maximal citizen). According to Davies and Issit (2005:389), civic education is the provision of information about formal public institutions. Marshall (1964) argues that the civil aspect of citizenship should offer citizens individual rights, such as, equality before the law, freedom of speech and the right to own property.

Starkey (2002:5) propagates a holistic approach to defining the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education. DeJaeghere (2006:307) suggests a need to introduce a 'critical approach' towards defining and understanding citizenship education. The aim of adopting a critical approach is "to provide the conditions for collective social change through a combined focus on

knowledge and participation" (DeJaeghere & Tudball, 2007:49). DeJaeghere and Tudball (2007:51) maintain that including the critical approach in citizenship education will bring in a new perspective in developing students' sense of subjectivity or the 'self'. According to Giroux (1983), education should be used to form sound character and advocate 'emancipatory' rationality.

I use the critical citizenship education model propagated by Johnson and Morris (2010), which is grounded in critical thinking, as an underlying theoretical framework for this study. The four distinguishing elements of Johnson and Morris's critical citizenship education framework are: a concern for ideology rather than abstract logic; a collective (social) focus rather than an individualistic one; a context-driven (subjective) rather than context-neutral (objective) frame of reference; and a drive towards praxis (reflection and action) in addition to the development of knowledge and skills (see Table 1).

Table 1: A framework for critical citizenship education (Johnson & Morris 2010:90)

	Politics/ideology	**Social/collective**	**Self/subjectivity**	**Praxis/engagement**
Knowledge	Knowledge and understanding of histories, societies, systems, oppressions and injustices, power structures and macrostructural relationships	Knowledge of interconnections between culture, power and transformation; non-mainstream writings and ideas in addition to dominant discourses	Knowledge of own position, cultures and context; sense of identity	Knowledge of how collectively to effect systematic change; how knowledge itself is power; how behaviour influences society and injustice
Skills	Skills of critical and structural social analysis; capacity to politicise notions of culture, knowledge and power; capacity to investigate deeper causalities	Skills in dialogue, cooperation and interaction; skills in critical interpretation of others' viewpoints; capacity to think holistically	Capacity to reflect critically on one's 'status' within communities and society; independent critical thinking; speaking with one's own voice	Skills of critical thinking and active participation; skills in acting collectively to challenge the status quo; ability to imagine a better world
Values	Commitment to values against injustice and oppression	Inclusive dialogical Relationship with others' identities and Values	Concern for social justice and consideration of self-worth	Informed, responsible and ethical action and reflection

Dispositions	Actively questioning; critical interest in society and public affairs; seeks out and acts against injustice and oppression	Socially aware; cooperative; responsible towards self and others; willing to learn with others	Critical perspective; autonomous; responsible in thought, emotion and action; forward thinking; in touch with reality	Commitment and motivation to change society; civic courage; responsibility for decisions and actions

The critical citizenship frame of reference presented by Johnson and Morris (2010) is appropriate to evaluate the type of citizenship education that is provided in any country because the terminology that is used (namely, politics; social and collective; subjectivity and praxis) is well associated with the one used in curriculum studies. Just like any other theoretical framework, Johnson and Morris's framework has limitations (see De Lissovoy, 2008). These limitations may be addressed, partly by reinterpretations of literature on citizenship education in future.

Research problem

Citizenship education, in one way or the other, is linked with the process of state formation and the inculcation of patriotism and loyalty to the state. Curriculum issues in South Africa during the colonial period were linked to the educational activities of the early white colonists and the missionaries. The educational agenda during the different historical epochs prior to 1948 became a hybrid of politics and evangelicalism (Myers & Myers 1990). A comprehensive and careful examination of historical events in South Africa can provide a clear picture of how the attitudes of a group of people can develop and be applied in an organised way to the benefit of the dominant social institutions. Citizenship or civic education, as an aspect of the curriculum, has been used in a variety of ways to promote an autarchic type of a citizen. Using the conception of critical citizenship, discussed above, this study therefore addresses the following questions:

- How were South African citizens conceived by the government during the period 1948-1994?
- What were the goals promoted in the citizenship curriculum?
- How were the elements of critical thinking, according to Johnson and Morris, implemented in the curriculum for citizenship education during the period 1948-1994?

Aim of the study

The focus in this article is on how citizenship education was used by the powers that be those in power (the former National Party government) and the ways state power was used to manipulate and (mis)use citizenship education in an endeavour to create passive, individualistic and uncritical citizens who would suit the former government's agenda of domination and subjugation. The critical citizenship education model of Johnson and Morris is used to analyse citizenship education in South Africa during the National Party government rule (1948-1994).

Research methodology

The nature of the field research undertaken for the purpose of this article was qualitative. The study is theoretical and interpretative and does not follow a positivist approach. Holosko (2006:12) articulates that qualitative research is "concerned with understanding the meaning of human experience from the subject's own frame of reference'. The Johnson and Morris framework is used to analyse the following citizenship curricula documents: The Report of the Commission on the Native Education (Union of South Africa, 1951); The Department of Native Affairs policy documents (1956a and 1956b); Department of Native Affairs policy document of 1957 and Department of Bantu Education policy document of 1967.

Citizenship in South Africa: A brief historical background

Although this paper focuses on the period 1948-1994, a brief and selective overview is given of the colonial and Union period in order to provide the context for the ensuing exposition. The history of formal education in South Africa can be traced to the 1600s. During the Dutch settlement after 1652 there was little activity with regard to the provision of education to South Africans, since the Dutch East Indian Company's focus was on trade. The education that was provided during the Dutch settlement by the missionaries in particular was enough to meet the needs of the colonists. The principal aim of citizenship or civics education was designed in such a way that it aimed at the inculcation of personal moral virtues which had Christian Protestantism as its underlying philosophy. In 1804, Governor JA De Mist introduced secular

or liberal control of education at the Cape Colony. The aim of introducing secular education was to ensure that adequate civic education produced good citizens (Sabine, 1960:490). In 1910, the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Free State were united to form the Union of South Africa. However, the Union remained a British colony and missionaries continued to play a major role in the formulation, control and determination of the scope and limits of African education (Christie 2006:67). Mission encounters did not only examine the process of religious or cultural encounters, but it sought to refine the relationship of missions to the politics of colonial society. Notion of citizenship that prevailed during the Union government period was one that encouraged adapting types of citizens who had good manners, were obedient and could act responsibly. The second group was individualistic citizens. Citizens were regarded as legal members of the state and had rights and obligations to the state. In practice, citizens did not participate in the political system in any meaningful way (Banks 2008:136). A series of segregation policies in the form of a legislative act, which removed and restricted the rights of certain cultural groups in every possible way – politically, economically, socially and geographically – was evidence of the type of citizens the state wanted to produce. Geographical segregation became an institutionalised occurrence with the majority of Africans especially those situated in the rural areas of South Africa. The 1913 and 1936 Land Acts are two examples of legislation adopted by the Union government which segregated Africans and limited them in their rights as full citizens of South Africa. The 1913 Land Act adopted the principle that certain portions of land should be reserved exclusively for occupation by Africans. It not only set aside areas as reserves, but also prohibited Africans from buying land outside these defined territories. In total, 13, 7% of the total area of South Africa was demarcated as reserved land for occupational use by Africans only (Union of South Africa, 1955:44-46) and was situated within areas defined as "rural", including parts of the former Natal, Transkei and Ciskei (Joyce, 1989 sv "Natives' Land Act, The 1913"). The state was seen as a tool in the hands of a more politically influential sector, which used it to advance a specific group's interests. The government was not prepared to accept any integration with the Africans, and wanted to maintain the principle of white supremacy in white areas. Africans were to become geographically and socially segregated by the ruling colonial group. Economic intermingling was, however, to take on varied forms, depending on the particular needs of the more politically influential sectors within the dominant white group. In this case, citizenship, as a status, was more rooted

in a legislative framework. This type of citizenship, which was characterised by a differentiated conception of citizenship, did not encourage marginalised groups to attain civic equality. The Land Act of 1913 laid the basis of a 'South African citizenship' that was later permeated by racism, that is, a systematic process of discrimination based on one's race or colour. The total area designated as reserves by means of the 1913 Land Act was later found to be too small and more land for the settlement of Africans was made available through the promulgation of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. This Act provided for a trust fund for the acquisition of an additional 6, 2-million hectares of land for incorporation into what would later be called "bantustans or homelands" (Union of South Africa, 1936:98).

In 1948, the National Party government under the leadership of Dr DF Malan took power. The National Party immediately began to accelerate and implement its policy of 'separate development', instilling and cementing a differentiated conception of citizenship by establishing a series of segregationist legislative Acts of Parliament which enforced the segregation of Africans and white people in different areas. The rationale behind the introduction of these laws was that Africans had their own traditional territories where they should enjoy citizenship and the vote. Two such Acts which ensured that this philosophy was carried out were the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959. The introduction of "bantustan" policy was a deliberate constitutional plan of government to ensure that Africans were granted citizenship and civil rights in their own "homelands" or "bantustans". The National Party government persistently upheld the myth that there was a separate African society and a separate African economy as advocated by the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr HF Verwoerd (cf. Hansard, 1954, col 2619).

In the following section, I will attempt to show how citizenship education evolved in the period 1948-1994, using Johnson and Morris's critical citizenship model. An analysis of curriculum, especially with reference to the subjects of history, social science or civics as documented in different government policies of the Nationalist Party regime, is presented.

Results and discussions

Citizenship education during the National Party government (1948-1994)

The ensuing discussion of citizenship education has been analysed according to four main elements of Johnson and Morris's theoretical framework, namely, politics/ideology, social/collective, self/subjectivity and praxis/engagement. In 1957 social studies and history were introduced by the Department of Bantu Education as compulsory and examinable subjects at lower and upper primary school level for African students. As integrated subjects they included elements of geography, history, economics and politics, and focused on local, regional, national, and to a limited extent, international issues. Two subjects, namely history and social studies from grades 1-7 in the curricula mentioned above, have been analysed.

Politics/ideology

This aspect pertains to the knowledge and understanding of oppressions and injustices, and not just political ideology. According to Johnson and Morris (2010), students should be able to actively engage in political discourse and seek clarity on injustices that occur in society. However, the grades 1-7 history and social science curriculum only dealt with the political ideology underpinned by the government separate development theory and there was no section in the curriculum dealing with injustices or oppressions as experienced by South Africans. As early as grade 3, children were taught how certain historical factors brought about the migration of different peoples to South Africa, and how these factors, in conjunction with the conditions in South Africa, influenced their development as "separate groups" (Department of Native Affairs, 1956a; 1956b; Department of Bantu Education, 1967). The curriculum failed to open a space or create possibilities for teachers to explore the government's political ideology of separate development nor to question oppressive laws that might have been in place or justification for injustices that prevailed in South Africa. The main focus of curriculum materials was on the positive contribution by the state, churches and welfare organisations to the development of Africans.

Knowledge of South African society and its structures as a whole was not prioritised (Department of Bantu Education, 1967:66). The exposure of learners to the knowledge and understanding of macrostructures that existed

globally was limited; the focus was on local government structures. For example, from grades 3-6 citizenship education dealt with the home, town and village. From grades 3-4 local structures, such as, tribal organisations and government, local government and Bantu Authorities (homelands) were introduced. Curriculum documents did not deal with learners' development of knowledge and understanding of power structures. No academic space was created for teachers and learners to explore and debate elements of the establishment of government structures, respect for government institutions, loyalty, independence, open-mindedness and work ethic.

Critical citizenship must also open room for engagement with ideological principles. Engagement with ideological principles in the curriculum documents for citizenship education was distorted and ambiguous. The Report of the Commission on Native Education reported on different social problems in the education system (Union of South Africa, 1951: par 248-264). The Report did not provide clear and workable recommendations on how the social problems were to be addressed. The curriculum for Africans that the National Party government adopted was basically in accordance with the recommendations made by the Report of the Commission on Native Education and one would have expected the Commission to voice possible solutions to social problems. In the grade 3 citizenship education curriculum, the following is mentioned: "The following topics shall be dealt with in the light of principles and traditions which have been accepted by the Bantu…" (Department of Bantu Education, 1967:62). The statement did not elaborate comprehensively on the values from which these principles were derived and therefore it made sure that the engagement with policy issues became superfluous. One would assume that those principles referred to Africans exclusively in a rural community belonging to homelands.

Although a few ideological issues were raised, the curriculum was designed to direct students and teachers' thinking in a particular direction. In the history curriculum, economic issues, such as, the effects of mining, commerce and industry on the life of the Africans and the contribution of the state towards the African people were raised (Department of Bantu Education, 1967: 66). How students were expected to engage with the challenges raised was not detailed. Students were not given an opportunity to investigate deeper causalities about the economic factors. Doors to question the provision of state services were closed as the state did not want to create the opportunity to be challenged on their key performance areas. Students were encouraged to

focus on other school related issues, namely, water conservation or working in industry (Department of Bantu Education, 1967). Galston (1991:221-224) postulates that responsible citizenship requires the capacity to discern and respect the rights of others and to evaluate the performance of those in office and the willingness to engage in public discourse. Critical thinking was not regarded as a core element of citizenship education at this time.

Through its citizenship education, government propagated knowledge and understanding of only immediate communities. For example, grade 3 learners were to learn about their immediate societies - different ethnic groups, the white settlers, and only sketchy histories about international communities. The focus was on respect for authority and fellowmen. Dahrendorf (1994:17) argues that "citizenship is never complete until it is world citizenship". There is some evidence that promoting ideas about global citizenship actually reinforces nationalism in students (Roman 2003). Global communities form an integral part of every society and affect our beliefs, norms, values and behaviours, as well as business and trade. Every citizen, including the youth, should develop the attitudes, knowledge and skills that will enable them to interact and associate with the global world (Banks 2004).

Social/collective

This aspect of the Johnson and Morris model focuses on dialogue, cooperation and on the ways in which learners are encouraged to explore alternative values and identities. This aspect also includes the "wholeness" of citizenship education (Johnson & Morris, 2011:10). Fisher (2008:195) argues that collectivism and a "community of enquiry" help students to "build their capacity to become active and effective citizens". Citizenship education for Africans during National Party rule was grounded on the mainstream ideas and values of the state's segregationist and racial policy, which in one way or the other discouraged the notion of the "collective". One of the aims of the curriculum for African schooling during the period under review was that:

> *The [old] curriculum … and educational practice, by ignoring the segregation or 'apartheid' policy, was unable to prepare for service within the Bantu community. By blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among Natives that they could occupy posts within the European community despite the country's policy of 'apartheid'. This is what is meant by the creation of unhealthy 'White collar ideals' and the causation of widespread frustration among the so-called educated Natives (Union of South Africa, 1954).*

Non-streaming ideas and values in citizenship education are not mentioned during the period under review. Mainstream citizenship, which is grounded in mainstream knowledge and assumptions and which is underpinned by the *status quo* and the dominant power relationships in society, is evident throughout the provision of citizenship education in the subjects, social science and history. No reference was made to other external or outside sources except the policies or laws of the country. For example, in the grade 6 civic section, students were referred to South African institutions, such as, the Department of Bantu Education Administration and Development, Bantu Education, Justice Health, and Agricultural Technical Services "with emphasis on officers who deal directly with the Bantu" (Department of Bantu Education, 1967:70). There was little room for the curriculum for citizenship to promote a diversity of views. The only voice, which was vocal, was that of the dominant communities in relation to the ethnic groups.

Further, citizenship education in South Africa was deficient in promoting dialogue. It did not encourage deviation of opinions. When the social studies curriculum was published in 1956, it was stated that the social studies syllabus was oriented economically and socially with the aim to develop social consciousness and a feeling of responsibility in the African child (Department of Native Affairs, 1956b:81). The social studies curriculum further stated that the factual knowledge of the content, that is social science, would have value only when connected to the realisation that the African child is a member of a particular community and he/she should not have other factual knowledges. The state did not encourage open dialogue with other knowledges. In the grade 6 history curriculum, teachers were to reflect on the primitive nature of indigenous and how their early indigenous medicine and medical practices caused death, injury, pain and sickness (Department of Bantu Education, 1967:69). In this instance a particular type of medical practices were promoted whereas the indigenous medical practices were mentioned. The curriculum did not allow for critical discourse and debate on the topic.

The history curriculum for grade 4 stated that the aim of teaching South African history was that the identified topics (i.e., early inhabitants of the Cape; the migration of Africans to Southern Africa; the Dutch East India Company; the wreck of the Harlem; the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck), which had little to do with the actual history of indigenous peoples, was to "explain to the pupils … how certain historical and geographical factors have brought about the migration of different peoples to this country, and how these factors,

in conjunction with the conditions in South Africa, have influenced their development as separate groups of the population" (Department of Bantu Education, 1967:62). History teaching had little to do with the promotion of dialogue to create critical thinkers.

The teaching of religious education, which was dominated by Calvinism, was taught at the higher primary school level and formed part of citizenship education. Religious studies reinforced a curriculum which was defined in terms of ethnic, religious or cultural identities. Emphasis on religion or Christianity and ethnic cultures lessened the possibility of allowing students and teachers to engage with other religions, such as Hinduism or Judaism. Awosulu (1993) and Metziebi, Domite and Osakwe (1996) argue that the school curriculum should be designed in such a way that it promotes national unity, religious tolerance and cultural integration.

Citizenship education during the National Party government did not allow for dialogue in terms of challenging and engaging ideologies, such as colonialism, apartheid and egalitarianism. The curriculum for history and social science did not mention inequalities and injustices which arose from 1652 after the first white settlers arrived at the Cape. In higher grades the focus was on confrontations among the indigenous people and, in some instances, between the white colonists and the indigenous peoples. Citizenship education failed to promote tolerance, respect for others and the combating of all other forms of discrimination (Schoeman, 2006).

Self/subjectivity

According to Johnson and Morris, this aspect of critical citizenship education has to do with the area of 'self' including emotions, feelings, introspection, positivity and realism as manifested in citizenship education programmes. Emotional feelings are an integral part of citizenship education. Opportunities should be created for students and teachers to associate with their own emotional discourses. Citizenship education should help students articulate their emotions and feelings with the aim of re-directing their emotional and moral dispositions in practising their human rights (Elias et al, 1997; Goleman, 1995; Weare, 2004). Citizenship education between 1948 and 1994 reflected elements of African's legal identity. Grade 5 learners were expected to know about identity issues, such as, the importance of the "personal reference book" and how and why it is used (Department of Native Affairs,

1956b:107). Other forms of identity dealt with included aspects relating to how students were bound to their families through birth, marriage, age and group (Department of Bantu Education, 1957: 64). Citizenship education as included in the history curriculum did not reflect on the students' ability to understand their multiple and complex identities and how they were affected by the outside world. Instead, the curriculum focused on a notion of narrow identities which were confined to a particular ethnic environment. Ajegbo (2007:7) contends:

> *Issues of identity and diversity are more often than not neglected in citizenship education. When these issues are referred to, coverage is often unsatisfactory and lacks contextual depth.*

The history or social science curriculum in all grades did not demonstrate emotive language. The curriculum did not engage learners in human rights issues, which are crucial for young people to relate to their own emotional identities. By providing the chance to engage in emotional dialogue, students would have been given the opportunity to engage in critical reflection about their emotions and identities in a non-judgmental and non-discriminatory environment. Pilar Aguilera (2010:12) posits that one important field of the citizenship curriculum "is the development of attitudes that underpin students' emotional dispositions and motivations for social responsibility and active participation".

Praxis/engagement

The aspect of engagement, according to Johnson and Morris, focuses on the relationship between knowledge, reflection and action. Giroux (2003:28) argues that engagement calls for a coalition between theory and practice and not a situation in which one is absorbed by the other. Citizenship education provided by the state focused on theory. In the opening statement in the citizenship education section for higher primary school learners, the following is mentioned:

> *The following topics should be dealt with in the light of principles and traditions which have been accepted by the Bantu as well as by other peoples in the country for inculcation of good habits of courtesy and character – the child's duties, privileges and responsibilities in (a) the home, (b) the town or village and (c) the school* (Department of Bantu Education, 1967:62).

The statement above emphasises theory or the existing principles. Throughout the history and social science curriculum in both the lower and higher primary schools, nothing is mentioned about the practical component of citizenship education. The curriculum did allow for learners to reflect on issues, such as, the formation of good habits of courtesy and character. The 'how' part of the curriculum was not adequately addressed in curriculum documents. Instead emphasis was placed on theory, that is, the inculcation of the subject matter. Banks (2008:136) mentions that citizenship education (which is transformative in nature) should involve civic actions designed to actualise values and moral principles and ideals beyond those of existing laws and conventions. He emphasises that citizenship should promote social justice even when the actions of the citizens violate, challenge, or dismantle existing laws or structures.

Citizenship education curriculum documents are very clear on the ideological discourse which promotes discrimination and oppression. During this period, however, 'facts' were prescribed throughout the citizenship education programmes for Africans and there was no exploration of relationships between knowledge, reflection and action. How the knowledge acquired through citizenship education can effect systematic change was not mentioned. The authorities chose to project an optimistic picture about government affairs, while in essence its actions could have been interpreted as a fascia for hegemonic expression (Aronowitz & Giroux 1986). Allowing for reflection on what was taught about citizenship education would have given teachers and students an opportunity to reconstruct their world based on what they had learnt. DeJaeghere (2007) argues that reconstructing one's world based on the acquired knowledge fosters critical thinking skills.

Findings

From the foregoing discussion the following findings emerged:

The government during the period 1948-1994 denied full citizenship rights to ethnic groups in South Africa and citizenship education evolved to reflect the historical development of the times. Citizenship education during the National Party government did not strive to make citizens capable of contributing meaningfully to the whole development of their country. Different pieces of legislation promulgated by the state promoted segregation, which continued to be embedded in citizenship curriculum. The aim of

government was to educate students to fit into the government's "separate development" conception of subjugation, thus becoming 'good citizens'. The essence of citizenship was broadly grounded upon the development of white citizens and black subjects. These ideals were evident in the government's education projects, embedded in a curriculum which sought to balance the need to 'civilise' the 'non-white' populations with the necessity to maintain separate and superior 'white' identity and privilege (Keto, 1990).

Citizenship education promoted ethnocentrism and individualism instead of fostering the spirit of nationalism. Government did not promote critical citizenship. Many of the elements contained in the curriculum required teachers to adhere only to curriculum content and refrain from discussing any form of segregation or oppression with students. Values such as equality, liberty, justice and tolerance did not form part of the citizenship education curriculum. Citizenship education was reduced to a mere transmission of historical and civic related facts. However, students should have been engaged in a critical discourse, not just the definition and memorisation of government structures.

A critical observation of the entire curriculum is that the government wanted to translate its intentions and ideologies into an institutional expression in the school where students would be taught basic values and ideals that would make them passive citizens. However, it is highly impractical to endeavour to erode the role that memory and history played in South Africa. Citizenship education programmes/subjects cannot simply wipe away the memory of conflict and oppression that prevailed in divided societies. Instead, citizenship programmes should create space for critical dialogue.

Recommendations for citizenship education programmes

On the basis of the research findings, the following recommendations are made:

- It is recommended that future governments include diversity across the whole curriculum and/or grades and establish a sequence of learning outcomes which will develop students' critical citizenship knowledge. Students should have opportunities to study the past, not just in outline but also in depth, covering different societies and periods of history from ancient times to the modern day. The knowledge provided in each grade should foster civic skills and dispositions. An interdisciplinary approach and a more integrated whole-

school design, where teachers, professionals and administrators are involved, should be developed and adopted. These different stakeholders should ensure that learners develop critical citizenship skills and dispositions.

- Citizenship content should include the following: civic knowledge regarding such items as history (including histories of indigenous people), how government works, the Constitution, and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Citizenship education should also deal with skills development, problem solving skills, debating and dialogue on current issues. Attitudes such as a belief in liberty, equality, personal responsibility and honesty should be included in the content material.
- Citizenship curriculum should contain teaching strategies that include instruction in a variety of topics, such as government, law, history and democracy. Provision must be made for learners to discuss relevant current events and be able to engage with the 'outside the classroom' world. Provision should be made for the use of fieldwork, first-hand experience and secondary sources to find out about a range of places and environments. These environments should include learners' own localities, as well as localities in other countries. It is imperative that learners explore views and opinions about local and global issues including but not limited to education for sustainability, climate change and poverty. Learners should also be able to develop and extend local and global links through collaboration.
- Modern technology can be used to make the teaching of citizenship education interesting. Instructional tools such as interrogating databases of information about historical documents and using maps and charts, can be used to promote critical thinking.

Conclusions

This article has analysed the citizenship curriculum for African during the period 1948-1994 in South Africa, using the four dimensions of Johnson and Morris' critical citizenship education model. The curriculum was analysed in terms of politics; society and interaction; the self; and reflection, action, engagement and possibility. It was found that the previous government's citizenship curriculum failed to promote critical thinking. For citizenship education and programmes to be meaningful, especially in the democratic era, the four dimensions of the model are crucial as they provide a better means through which critical citizenship education can be implemented in schools. This framework is crucial to sustain a young democracy, such as South Africa, which has been and continues to be characterised by realities of

social divisions.

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Stereotypes, prejudices, self and 'the other' in history textbooks

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Abstract

This article is a literature review of conceptions of stereotype, prejudice, underlying assumptions and images of self and other as relevant to history textbooks and related research. History textbooks are seen as representations of a nation's official history as they build identity and form conceptions of morality in their readers. I address questions like, what are the underlying assumptions of history texts that lead to picturing ourselves and others? Could an understanding of the other be seen as a liability, given the moral responsibility it introduces? In seeking answers, instead of a sociological approach analysing the social systems of power and oppression, the perpetuating of stereotypes is viewed from an individual, psychological perspective. Hence, I ask how the psychology of hatred could be understood and what this implies for viewing the self in relation to the other through history education. I conclude by stressing that moral responsibility starts with the self and not with the other; and that the bigger enemy of history teaching is not prejudice and stereotype contained in pedagogic texts, but indifference or bystander behaviour that such texts could encourage.

Keywords: Identity; Prejudice; History textbooks; Stereotype; Underlying assumptions; Moral responsibility; Psychology of hatred.

Introduction

This article is a literature review of the notions of stereotypes, prejudices, self and other as relevant in textbook research, with a special focus on history and social science textbooks. Such textbooks represent the state-sanctioned histories of the nation and they are also the only history books that most people will ever read (Francis, 1997, quoted in Montgomery, 2005:336). Hence, what they contain is an important indicator of a nation's civic pulse as well as its people's knowledge base of history. The wider implication is that how we view our social world and our moral obligations in it when relating

to others is crucial to examine as historical and identity-developing constructs both within and beyond textbooks.

In this review international as well as South African literature is considered. The aim is both to engage with the philosophy and meaning underlying the concepts, as well as to overview the landscape or foundations on which textbook and educational research more generally may be built. Pondering the meaning of stereotypes and prejudices and trying to decode how and why their constructions come about in textbooks as well as in other situations could lead to an increased awareness of history's ethical capabilities. Such capabilities imply that learning history has the capacity to impact students' (and teachers') ability to put themselves into someone else's shoes and thereby develop a sense of moral responsibility.

Mandler (2002:28) explains that one of the purposes of historical time travel is to transport our modern selves into alien situations which allow us to highlight our own values and assumptions, a process we nowadays call "the search for identity." It is within this context that he discusses the celebrated essay by Trevelyan, 'Clio: A Muse' (1913), who stressed the educational benefits of history for the whole population and not just the academic elite. Trevelyan insisted that beyond its intellectual functions, history also has great imaginative power through its exposing students to the full range of human possibilities unlimited by our own experiences. This imaginative capability of history is connected to its ethical capability:

> *If we see through the fancy language, we find that this 'identity' is not very different from what used to be called philosophy or morality; and the 'identity-building' function of history is not so very different from what the ancients called 'philosophy teaching by example' or what Trevelyan thought of as exercising the moral imagination* (p. 28).

This moral imagination is strongly impacted by conceptions of stereotypes, prejudice, self and other as represented in pedagogic texts. I now turn to exploring these concepts in some detail.

Stereotypes and prejudice

> *How would you like to live with people who never wash themselves? How would you like to wear nothing more than a loin cloth? How would you like to spend your life in the desert and never go to school?[…] The Bushmen have strange ideas about religion. They have a number of gods, among them the moon, the rain and even the praying mantis […] At one stage they were becoming so destructive that they*

> *had to be chased out like vermin.* (Ferro, 1984:10, quoting an example from an old South African textbook for children in the fourth form, today grade 9. No reference to the actual book is given.)

This is an example of overt stereotyping. Obviously today this is in no longer an acceptable discourse in South Africa and elsewhere, although there are some textbooks that have turned this around and have used a similar strategy to show what it is like to portray history from the perspective of the 'other'. An example of this (in the USA) is to change a sentence like "Alone in the wilderness, the frontier family had to protect itself from wild animals and unfriendly Indians" to "while the people were trying to live, farm, and hunt peacefully in their homelands, they had to constantly be on guard against marauding and invading whites" (Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1978:125). What tends to happen in more modern textbooks books is that authors focus on describing events rather than personal characteristics (stereotypes). Here is an example of this: "For thousands of years the Aboriginals lived undisturbed. All this changed when the Europeans came. They cleared the bush to farm; burrowed like rats for gold; built towns with banks and churches and opened up the country with roads" (Van Leeuwen & Selander, 1995:510, quoting from a 1984 Australian history textbook). This way readers are more free to make their own decisions.

While overt stereotyping now seems easy to recognise, this is not always the case as stereotypes are often based on partial truths (LaSpina, 1998:175). This becomes a real problem when covert stereotyping is used, which hides itself in the subtle yet powerful manipulation of language, as well as in adopting a selectively critical tone. Ravitch (2003:142) shows how American textbooks sugarcoat practices in non-Western cultures that they would condemn if done by Europeans or Americans. For example, ancient India respected "the creative power of women", although a wife was sometimes required to throw herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

> *When non-European civilizations conquer new territories, the textbooks abandon their critical voice. They express awe toward the ancient empires of China, India, Africa, and Persia but pay no attention to how they grew. Textbook after textbook tells the story of the 'spread' of Islam. Christian Europe invades; Islam spreads* (p. 143).

Similarly, Oteíza & Pinto (2008:334) show how in Spanish and Chilean textbooks, in spite of an attempt to be 'objective', authors still employ several linguistic resources that allow them to insert a particular positional stance in ways that might not be obvious to the reader. These authors also note

that the textbooks translate a reconciliatory discourse of political and social harmony into a discourse in which no responsibility is explicitly attributed to the perpetration of negative or violent events, for example through the use of nominalisations and the passive voice through which agents are absent: "the violation of Human Rights continues to be a conflict that has not been resolved by Chilean society."

Even less obviously, Van Leeuwen (1992:52), through his visual analysis of textbook images, adds to this by demonstrating how graphs, for example, show the "rise" of immigration or the "fall" in employment, and how these "event images" represent things not as actions for which people can ultimately be held responsible, but as things that "happen", or "originate", or "grow", or "die", all by themselves. When textbooks do assign responsibility, Oteíza & Pinto (2008:334) note that they do it to extremist groups that are socially stigmatised: "The tension increases in the month of January, after the occurrences of the death of various protestors who were demanding total amnesty and the assassination of five lawyers at the hands of a commando of the extreme right in Atocha Street in Madrid." This way negative stereotypes are automatically associated with socially stigmatized groups but avoided with others. But is it possible and/or desirable to do away with stereotypes altogether?

Stereotypes have a place and a function. Children learn in school that life can be managed by ordering it into conceptual systems (Johnsen, 1997:35). It should therefore not come as a surprise that included in this system of ordering and categorising is not only scientific, natural phenomena, but those relating to the wider field of the humanities as well. Fritzsche (1997:109) supports this notion by asserting that group identification in itself is socially indispensable. Some argue that it is also desirable. Schissler (1989-90:85-86), for example, convincingly argues that stereotypes fit into this system of categorisation for very definite and good psycho-social reasons when "seeking to simplify the complex" (Marsden, 2001:133).

> *Stereotypes are patterns and images that reduce the complexities of a phenomenon to a few significant characteristics. They portray reality as narrow, incomplete, and rudimentary. We constantly use stereotypes. […] we orient ourselves in the world, constitute its meaning through actions, and thus make the world somewhat more manageable. This means that stereotypes are necessary for us to come to terms with knowledge and the necessity to act. Stereotypes are therefore an important step in the early stages of understanding* (Schissler, 1989-90:85-86).

Based on this reasoning, Schissler explains that, traditionally, textbook research was founded on the assumptions that by providing more accurate information about 'the other', and thus correcting 'wrong' stereotypes, children would move towards a more tolerant understanding of 'foreign' communities. See for example what Matsuura, who was Director-General of UNESCO (2003:1), has to say about the role of revision and review of textbooks and learning materials: "we must learn to know ourselves and the 'other' who is different from us. This requires that the curriculum and textbooks must be jointly revised so that they are free of hate messages, prejudices and distortions."

There is another perspective on this: according to Schissler, the assumption that a better knowledge of 'the other' will automatically lead to more peace and tolerance among pupils is unfounded: "Research shows that a clear correlation between direct experience in a foreign country, the acquisition of knowledge, and the dissolution of stereotypes and prejudices cannot be established" (Schissler, 1989-90:86). For this reason it is important to study how prejudices and stereotypes come about, how the knowledge about them gets transmitted (in the textbooks), and what one can assume children will learn from them. To put it another way: in studying textbooks it is not so much about the *what* of stereotypes (since an awareness of them does not necessarily help to overcome them) but rather *if* (and *how*) stereotypes are perpetuated, and what the implication is thereof. This approach is supported by Marsden (2001:133) who advocates that in order to promote education for international understanding, textbooks writers and teachers need to comprehend how children's attitudes to other nationalities are formed.

Prejudices, like stereotypes, play a role in this understanding. As a rule, prejudices prove extraordinarily resistant to attempts to change: by guarding against 'cognitive chaos' and self-criticism; by strengthening the feelings of self-esteem of individuals and groups; and by guaranteeing a socially acceptable form of releasing aggression, prejudices fulfill a purpose (Schissler, 1989-90:86). Although on the surface positive and negative images or stereotypes convey only 'information' about how one views one's neighbour, they in fact reveal more about one's own identity problems (Schissler, 1989:85). For these reasons, textbooks are especially suitable for finding out not just what a society thinks of others, but also what it thinks about itself, since 'to perceive oneself is always to become aware of oneself in the eyes of others' (Popitz, quoted in Schissler, 1989:85). Similarly, Marsden (2001:133) argues that "in everyone

there lurks a stereotype." Taking this argument further, Fritzsche (1997:111) asserts that a sense of insecurity and vulnerability leads to distorted ideas and images of others.

The carrier of stereotypes is language and pictures in (history) textbooks. Language has the capacity to construct reality by directing and limiting our thoughts, observations and expressions (Vitra, 2007:17). The way historical events are absorbed into our consciousness is decisive as to their influence on present and even future actions (Fritzsche, 1997:110). This implies that it is important to analyse the text of history – both linguistic and visual/pictorial. The historical concepts that such texts signify carry heavy value-laden burdens, often ignored in textbooks, which instead reproduce the concepts as if they were neutral, unproblematic mirrors of the past (Vitra, 2007:17). An example of this is Montgomery's (2005) weighty argument that by not problematising the concept of 'race' in a any critical way, Canadian textbooks, although on the surface appearing to be 'raceless' through their attitude of tolerance and inclusion, in fact promote the dependency on race-thinking as a natural phenomenon.

Underlying assumptions leading to a picture of ourselves and others

Prejudices and stereotypes are built on certain perceptions that form an underlying assumption to how one sees (and writes about) the world. Examples of such assumptions include the notion that parliamentary democracy is something positive (Bourdillion, 1992:110), or that there is agreement (in the US) that capitalism is necessarily better than communism (Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1978:127). Nash (2000:105) shows why the term 'democracy' should not automatically be associated with something positive (for example): "American children grew up with the understanding that in a democracy the portioning out of unequal opportunities and rewards according to race was perfectly natural because nature had endowed Americans of different skin hues unequally." Today the term "democracy" is more associated with justice in that every citizen regardless of socio-economic and cultural background, in principle, shall have the same rights and that national states shall not humiliate its citizens (Margalit, in Selander, 2007:12). The point is that assumptions change over time and hence they need to be constantly identified and consciously upheld.

The phrase 'underlying assumptions' needs not automatically be equated with something negative or threatening; it only serves to show intellectual honesty and a kind of humility about the limitations of our own ability to know and interpret history. Here is a rare example of how such honesty and humility could be expressed in the introduction to history/geography textbooks. It comes from a preface of a Scandinavian social studies textbook for grade 5 pupils:

> *This textbook is not in itself history. Nor is it in itself geography. It is only one of millions of books written on these subjects. And the books are written by different people who in turn have read what others have read and written. Imagine a stage so deep that no one can see where it ends. That is history. And the stage is placed in a setting so vast that no one can see all of it. That is geography. In front of it all hangs a curtain that stretches all the way to heaven. No one can remove that curtain. But it is possible to pull it aside a wee bit and get a glimpse. This textbook is just such a glimpse* (Johnsen, 1997:38; the reference given in the text is to a Norwegian book by the same author: Johnsen, Egil Børre: Verden. [The World] Oslo 1992).

This textbook thus makes no pretentious claim that by reading it the world can be changed for the better. The underlying assumption is that the book is limited and that if a reader wishes to see more depth of the stage or to pull the curtains wider, he or she would have to exert some personal effort that goes beyond this particular textbook. What is important to establish is whether underlying assumptions are based on ignorance or whether they are in fact qualified (Fritzsche, 1997:111). This is important since it is very possible to replace one set of values based on ignorance or insecurity with another. Thus the question is whether textbooks themselves – consciously or not – do not present and promote prejudices and stereotypes and the answer to this will depend largely on the categories of analysis and the criteria on which the evaluations are based (Fritzsche, 1997:107-8). Hence the method of text analysis and the theory that informs it must be a crucial part of such research.

For forming themes in textbook research, Fritzsche (1997:112) recommends that such research should know whether a gap exists in the underlying assumptions of those 'producing' and those 'consuming' the texts. For example, Kitson (2001:42) found, based on her classroom experience of teaching the Holocaust, that children have certain serious misconceptions and stereotypes about the topic; such as that all Germans were Nazis, that only Germans were anti-Semitic, and that the Nazis invented anti-Semitism. This problem is exacerbated in South Africa, where the world of schooling is characterised by a mismatch between the world of young peoples' identities and values,

and those of their teachers' (Fataar, cited in Weldon, 2005:6). Teachers and other educators who write textbooks are part of the apartheid generation and grew up with racism and abuse of human rights as fundamental organising principles of every aspect of their lives, whereas young peoples' identities are shaped by consumption (choices about music, clothes and sexual activities). This consumption culture is more powerful than race in influencing choice so that race as a crude form is not as visible or dominant as it used to be (Weldon, 2005:6) although race continues to be an underlying influence in school culture. Thus the gap between those who consume and produce textbook knowledge is wide and such underlying assumptions must be acknowledged, without which a kind of inevitable indoctrination occurs (Van Leeuwen & Selander, 1995:502).

Whatever the case, knowledge production and representation in the form of textbooks should try to avoid substituting one set of simple solutions, one polemic, one propaganda, for another (Gwiazda, in Stern-Strom, 1994:xxv). Pratt (1984:154) argues that this kind of substituting is characteristic of educational research and although gross stereotyping in textbooks is not so much apparent anymore, the problems of balance and fairness have not disappeared; they have merely changed form. Moreover, perceptions of 'the other' and the relationship between 'the other' and 'the self' is at the heart of multi-perspectivity (Stradling, 2001:142), which the South African curriculum aspires to in the teaching of history. Thus textbook research in history should pay attention to this problem by asking what the possibilities are of replacing one set of problems with another by examining how the relationship between 'us' and 'them' is portrayed.

The uneasiness in the relationship between ourselves and others, in as much as it is coloured by prejudice and stereotype, stems from a simple principle and appears to have a simple cure:

> *In proportion as we love truth more and victory less, we shall become anxious to know what it is which leads our opponents to think as they do. We shall begin to suspect that the pertinacity of belief exhibited by them must result from a perception of something which we have not perceived. And we shall aim to supplement the portion of truth we have found with the portion found by them.* (Herbert Spencer, First Principles, 1864, quoted in Dance, 1960:22)

The underlying assumption here is that we in fact want to perceive that which we have not perceived before, concerning the other. In the next section I want to focus on this uneasy transition.

Understanding "the other" as a liability?

Stereotype and classifications based on differences can be understood as a necessary tool for making sense and being in control of the world, but they can also be understood as a rationale for building unjust societies. Most often 'unjust' from a sociological perspective is linked to anything external and collective like capitalism, socialism, Christianity, or colonialism[1], as opposed to something intra-psychological, like individual selves. For example, Godrej (1994) asserts that our societies are built around competition rather than cooperation, which, accordingly, necessitates a continual reinvention of racism. This is an example of how 'injustice' is often linked to a Marxist-type foundational principle that people's material (or external) conditions determine their consciousness, and not, as Eberhardt (2006) found in scientific research, that it is people's thoughts about themselves that determine their behaviour (and thus their reality).

While not denying the power of societal structures, I argue that understanding and identifying the perspective of another can only be achieved by having a critical look at one's own moral conceptions or positioning. Vygotsky (1997:105) noted that "the means of acting on oneself is initially a means of acting on others or a means of action of others on the individual." How we "act on others" is thus a determining feature of how we see and act on ourselves. Therefore, by critically looking at oneself, one can narrow the conceptual gap between 'us' and 'them', but this is uncomfortable since it can show up characteristics in the self that are often rather not noted. Yet it is an essential feature of history's alleged ability to "change the world for the better." (See Department of Education, DoE, 2003:9).

This points to a seemingly obvious fact that the gap between 'us' and 'them' is small since "the capacity for good and evil is distributed across human societies, among all racial and ethnic groups and across gender as well" (Ravitch, 2003:155). Hence any externalisation of negative moral behaviour, such as infringing on human rights or treating people with hatred, to "society" or "the Americans" or "whites", or "the Colonialists" (see Morgan, 2010a:82) and so forth excludes the self from any moral responsibility.

A study of teacher professional development programme by Weldon (2010) confirms that especially in South Africa, understanding the other as based on racial terms precludes any introspective processes that acknowledge personal

1 For a discussion on Zimbabwe's curriculum transition experience, see Jansen (1991:87), who explores Christianity, Marxism and socialism's relevance to racism and other societal divisions.

responsibility for holding onto prejudices. For example, she quotes a (black[2]) teacher saying that "I was not always aware of my own prejudices prior to my participation in this project. I always saw myself as a victim of other people's prejudices and generalisations such as 'whites are racists' never bothered me. But when Denis Goldberg [a white antiracist activist imprisoned with Mandela] told us of his involvement in the struggle against Apartheid I decided to re-look at how I view others" (Quoted in Weldon, 2010:359-360)". Weldon (2010) also notes how a white participant in the programme had to search "[his] own heart" and be "confronted with [his] own inadequacies" in order to move to reconciliation. This points to the need to face the troubling question of "is hate innately a part of human behaviour and experience? If so, how can we change that within ourselves?" (Tibbitt, 2006:11).

Understanding the self must thus be foundational for understanding the other and it need not be a liability, as Sullivan, (2011:7) notes. He argues that there is fine line that can tilt the balance whereby being informed can become a liability rather than an asset. It assumes a kind of responsibility that comes with knowledge and awareness as we are forced to make choices that our state of ignorance did not have to confront. It means that we must face hatred head-on and this can best be done from a psychological perspective. I now turn to exploring this in some detail.

Perpetuating stereotypes: understanding the psychology of hatred

An example of how the "spreading of hatred" from individuals to nations and continents can be understood is offered here through a psychological framework: "hatred begins in the heart and not in the head. In so many instances we do not hate people because of a particular deed, but rather do we find that deed ugly because we hate them" (Historian George Mosse, quoted in Stern-Strom, 1994:112). Such an understanding immediately shifts the focus from the other to the self. For example, on the relationship between hatred and difference, Eve Shalen, a pupil from an American high school, remembers her school days and her need to belong: "Differences between us did not cause hatred; hatred caused differences between us" (in Stern-Strom, 1994:29). This is insightful for a grade 8 pupil, because, in her own words, "usually people are made outcasts because they are in some way different from

2 I use "black" and "white" as racial categories here not because I endorse race-thinking, but because I am a product of a society that knows no other way to categorise its people. In the past this was simply racist legislation (apartheid) and now it is a tool for redressing the injustices caused by that system.

the larger group" (in Stern-Strom, 1994:29). Eve comprehended something that most other pupils did not. To illustrate this in more depth, the resource (text) book of the educational programme, Facing History and Ourselves, *Holocaust and Human Behaviour*, narrates a story of how concentration camp inmates at Majdanek were treated and how the psychology behind it can be understood:

> *Beating and being beaten was taken for granted at Majdanek, and was an integral part of the system. Everyone could beat an inmate and the more experienced inmates never questioned why. They knew that they were beaten merely because they happened to run into someone who wanted to beat them. In most cases, the beating did not even involve personal anger or hatred; the authorities hated their victims as a group because when you wrong people for no reason, sooner or later you must come to hate them. It is difficult for man to endure the idea he is a beast and maltreats another human being, without cause; therefore, he eventually discovers justification for his behavior and imputes the fault to his victim.* (Alexander Donat, a prisoner at Majdanek, quoted in Stern-Strom, 1994:350).

It is through this process of having to find justification for maltreating others, be it psychological or physical, that negative stereotypes are perpetuated. And this also explains why getting to know more about other cultures will not necessarily lead to a lessening of prejudiced thinking. It could also explain why the UNESCO (2003) strategy regarding textbooks and curricula mentioned earlier, that learning to know ourselves and others who are different from us requires that the curriculum and textbooks are free of hate messages, prejudices and distortions, may not fulfill its desired outcome. Most hate messages, distortions and prejudices are not inserted into textbooks consciously or deliberately. They simply reflect the underlying assumptions of a given historical period. The point is not to simply get rid of them, for by doing so, other similar messages are often reproduced, putting different groups in the roles of victims or perpetrators of evil. A more morally sound strategy would be to ask learners to identify the biases and prejudices inherent in any history text, while at the same time becoming aware of one's own 'beast'; the one that will hate others if it wrongs them continually for no reason.

Conclusion

There are history teaching programmes that do focus on individual consciousness and conscience, or "ourselves", as they try to connect political history and historical judgements with the moral choices students confront in their own lives (Schultz, Barr & Selman, 2001:6). For textbook writers,

editors and publishers, it could be beneficial to consider such programmes and texts. This was clearly confirmed by Weldon's (2010) study that examined how South African teachers had to face their own pasts before being competent to teach history that calls on examining prejudices, stereotypes and treatment of 'the other' and how this facing self process really helped them. Moral responsibility thus starts with the self and not with the other.

In discussing stereotypes, prejudices, and underlying assumption leading to the formation of images of 'the other', I showed that the concept of stereotypes must be understood as serving psycho-social functions of simplifying the complex, and that it is an important step in the early stages of understanding. The assumption that getting to know the 'other' better necessarily leads to a reduction in stereotyped thinking is unfounded and the best way to reduce the destructive dynamics of prejudice is to understand the conditions in which they originate. Examining the underlying assumptions when writing historical texts is important for avoiding the replacement of one set of values based on ignorance or insecurity with another. Since stereotypes are simultaneously "indubitably fictitious" and "undeniably real", a way to navigate this complex relationship is to focus on the mechanisms by which they get made and remade (Montgomery, 2005:319). This would necessitate that "the specific types of method historians use for the collection, analysis, interpretation and presentation of their data should be the same (or at least sufficiently similar to be discernible) as those used in the construction of the contents of textbooks themselves" (Morgan, 2010b:759).

Another way to navigate this complex and controversial landscape, and in line with a psycho-social approach, would be to consider whether we treat others badly for no reason, and if so, may this lead us to perpetuate stereotypes because of the hatred it breeds. This question is one that history textbook writers and evaluators should ask constantly when examining underlying assumptions. Since history textbooks are "the only history books that most people will ever read" (Francis, 1997 quoted in Montgomery, 2005:336), it matters deeply what happens to the intellectual project of history education because of the many opportunities it offers, especially those speaking to an adolescent audience. If it fails, the implications are severe. More than stereotypes, prejudices and hatred, what is at stake is indifference or bystander behaviour (see Short, 1999). Elie Wiesel has some words of wisdom regarding this problem:

> *I have devoted much time to exploring indifference. And, again, I came to a conclusion that the peril threatening humankind today is indifference, even more than hatred. There are more people who are indifferent than there are people who hate. Hate is an action. Hate takes time. Hate takes energy and even it demands sacrifices. Indifference is nothing, but indifference to hatred is encouraging hatred and is justifying hatred. So, what we must do-I mean your peers and mine-is fight indifference"* (Wiesel, 1993).

Hence more effort should be expanded to make history textbooks less boring and less predictable than to eradicating bias, stereotype and prejudice from them, which I argue is just about impossible anyway. History textbooks should spend every effort to guard against their readers becoming indifferent to what is contained within them. Such indifference could be encouraged through texts that ignore personal moral responsibility by constantly externalizing hatred in historical events. One way of countering this would be to make concrete the connection between the prejudices of the past and the prejudices of the present (Petersen, 2010), always keeping in mind that a victim can become a perpetrator and vice versa. By "simplifying and essentialising" the all too human behavior of perpetrators (Schweber, 2008:2103), a sense of ignorance of one's own possibility for offending tendencies is ignored in history texts. If through reading history texts it is all too easy to identify and label historical actors as perpetrators, indifference is sown since it does not concern the self, seeing that readers "can point fingers and count themselves fortunate not to be part of such a history (anymore)" (Morgan, 2010a:86). We do not want our children to become bystanders to historical dramas, paradoxes, tragedies and comedies because of quality of the texts they encounter at school.

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The Three Million Gang in Maokeng Township (Kroonstad) and the reaction of the African National Congress's aligned structures

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Abstract

As early as 1989 when it was clear that there was a possibility of unbanning liberation movements in South Africa and securing the release of political prisoners, the African National Congress (ANC)-aligned structures in the different townships began openly and radically mobilising for the organisation. The ANC-aligned demonstrations and protests became everyday scenes around the country and it was evident that the South African Police (SAP) was gradually battling to control the ANC-aligned citizens in most townships. In mid-1989, a gang known as the Three Million emerged in Maokeng Township (Kroonstad) and was accused by the community members to be operating as a vigilante group. Therefore, incidents of vigilantism by the Three Million Gang became a regular scene in this township. Using the Three Million as a case in point, I attempted to show how the ANC-aligned structures reacted to this gang which was viewed as a vigilante group in the Maokeng Township.

Keywords: African National Congress; Three Million Gang; Vigilantism; Township; African National Congress Youth League, Free State Province, Maokeng, Seeisoville.

Introduction

The article traces the formation of a vigilante group known as the Three Million in Maokeng Township during the late 1980s and early 1990s and relates its existence to the overall discourse of vigilantism in South Africa over the same period of time. The article begins with a brief outline and development of the Three Million Gang during the period under discussion. The activities of the Three Million Gang during this period are then contrasted to the ANC-

aligned aboveground structures during significant political changes in South Africa. Although the article focuses on the Maokeng Township; however, it should be noted that the issue of gangsterism and vigilantism was not only particular to this township. In the late 1980s many townships of the Free State experienced the same activities.[1] For example, in Thabong (Welkom) there was The Phakathis and in Parys, the A-Team. Pockets of vigilante groups also existed in the 1990s around the country. One notable group was the *Mapogo a Mathamaga* in the Sekhukhune area.[2] Another one was the People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) in Cape Town.[3] In the former homeland of Qwaqwa, there were *AmaDlamini* and *Ntshumentshu* vigilante groups.

From a scholarly perspective, vigilante activities have received attention from researchers. Written sources were produced in attempts to highlight the impact of the vigilante groups in South African prior to and after the taking over of government by the ANC in 1994.[4] Despite the above, few attempts have been made to document the role played by the Three Million Gang in Maokeng Township and the conflicts that existed between this group and the ANC-aligned structures, such as the Self Defence Units (SDUs) and the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). In most cases, to some of the sources on vigilantism, reference is made in passing about the Three Million Gang in justifying other events which took place somewhere else in the Free State Province. In this article, I opine that there is a lacuna in attempts by historians and political scientists alike to widely document the struggle history of the Maokeng communities in tackling the problem of vigilantism and the existence of the Three Million Gang. Furthermore, the article highlights the strategies used by the ANC-aligned structures in Maokeng Township to curb what was viewed as a challenge to the ANC's mobilisation attempts in the area.

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2 For more information on this group see B Oomen, "Vigilantism or Alternative citizenship? The rise of *Mapogo a Mathamaga*", *African Studies*, 63(2), December 2004, pp. 153-171; B Oomen, "Vigilante justice in perspective: The case of Mapogo a Mathamaga", *Acta Criminologica: South African Journal of Criminology*, 12(3), 1999, pp. 45-53.

3 For more information on PAGAD see CJB le Roux, "People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (Pagad)", *Journal for Contemporary History*, 22(1), June 1997, pp. 51-80; S Bangstad, "Hydra's Heads: PAGAD and Responses to the PAGAD phenomenon in a Cape Muslim Community", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(1), March 2005, pp. 187-208.

4 N Haysom, "Vigilantes: A contemporary form of repression", *Paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation*, Seminar No. 4, 25 May 1989; L Buur & S Jensen, "Introduction: Vigilantism and the policing of everyday life in South Africa", *African Studies*, 63(2), December 2004, pp. 139-152; C Charney, "Vigilantes, Clientism, and the South African State", *Transformation*, 16, 1991, pp. 1-24.

Furthermore, the article shows that newspaper reporting of what was happening in Maokeng Township during the period under discussion was biased and in favour of the then ruling National Party (NP) government in South Africa which was viewed by the ANC-aligned structures as financially supportive of groups such as the Three Million Gang in order to destabilise the organisation's mobilisation attempts in the area. Without doubt, for the Maokeng residents, the vigilante phenomenon became the most terrifying manifestation of a conflict-ridden society.

For lack of academic scrutiny, one of South Africa's vigilante organisations such as the above could well go down in history as a brutal and undisciplined gang. The article seeks to explain how this gang became a potent force in Maokeng Township, the area in which it originated. Such an explanation, I argue, had to be grounded firmly in local political dynamics, which in the case of Maokeng, was not only shaped by attacks from the ANC- aligned structures, but also by a severely discredited police force. The article thus focuses on the Three Million Gang's rise to popularity in only one particular area. I argue that this gang's general rise to power cannot be understood without taking into account the way in which the organisation managed to hook onto local political dynamics and struggles. After providing a brief sociography of this group and its rise to popularity in Maokeng Township, I will demonstrate how it became a powerful bloc, rallying the anti-ANC youth on the basis of a political discourse on difference.

In the course of analysis, the article shows that the challenges posed by the Three Million Gang to the ANC-aligned structures, had an impact on the organisation over the period under investigation. In the process, the analysis for the first time, provides some possible answers to a question that has confronted many political analysts and scholars of history in South Africa; namely, the ambivalent manner in which the ANC and its alliance partners dealt with the Three Million Gang in Maokeng Township. The article concludes by arguing that this ambivalent treatment of the Three Million Gang by the ANC-aligned structures was deeply rooted in its way of dealing with those who were opposed to it.

Furthermore, the article highlights individuals' personal experiences in dealing with vigilantism in Maokeng. Research for this article was carried out in different stages, which included collecting and analysing newspaper clippings on the topic. An analysis of the newspaper clippings helped to understand and interpret how the print media reported on the activities of

the Three Million Gang in Maokeng Township. Additionally, a number of secondary sources were consulted to form the basis of the article. From the secondary sources, no actual study has focused specifically on the vigilante groups in Maokeng Township. The researcher acted as a data collection tool and individual, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) were used. Individual interviews were conducted with the following groups: members of the community who witnessed the impact of vigilantism in the area and organised members of the ANC-aligned structures in Maokeng Township who countered the vigilante activities of the Three Million. For the focus group discussions inclusion criteria comprised the following: families of the victims of vigilantism in Maokeng Township, as well as members of other political organisations in the township which were not aligned to the ANC.

The absence of major sources dealing with the Three Million as a vigilante group reinforced the idea that it was both useful and relevant to deal with in order to reach a better understanding of its impact on the mobilisation strategies that the ANC-aligned structures embarked upon in the area. In order to understand the Three Million as a vigilante group and its impact, the background to the whole question of vigilantism needs scrutiny. Using an analytic and interpretive framework, the article identifies vigilantism as exposed by the Three Million as a threat to the mobilisation attempts by the ANC after its unbanning in February 1990.

A brief description of the vigilante phenomenon in the Free State and elsewhere in South Africa

A theoretical framework for the phenomenon of vigilantism has been identified through the research of contextual, conceptual frameworks on political decay of which vigilantism is a feature. A common denominator that has been identified in all the specific and contextual, conceptual framework supports was that the activities of the Three Million Gang exposed vigilantism acts and that was due to political decay in South Africa. Political decay is described by Andre Duvenhage as negative political change and is associated with an inability of the state to provide law and order, stability, security and good governance to all its citizens.[5] The reason for this deduction was that its occurrence was always explained on the basis of a lack of law and order, a weak government, an inability of the state to provide security and social

5 A Duvenhage, "Politieke verval as 'n patron van politieke verandering: 'n teoreties – verkennende perspektief", *Journal for Contemporary History*, 28(3), December 2003, p. 44.

needs.[6]

It should be noted that the term 'vigilante' or 'mabangalala' has come to have a distinctly menacing meaning in South Africa. It is mainly associated with potentially murderous gangs, intent on intimidating, injuring or killing anti-apartheid activists. In most cases, vigilante groups were widely believed to enjoy police support. In the townships, the vigilantes enjoyed overt state sponsorship. In fact, vigilante violence, once initiated, became a self-generating cycle of attacks and retaliation.[7] Consequently, these groups operated against ANC-aligned organisations in Free State townships. Therefore, the existence of vigilante groups or gangs led to spiralling violence in the province, particularly in places like Maokeng Township.

Without doubt, the release of the ANC and United Democratic Front's (UDF's) leadership from prison at the end of 1989, which was followed rapidly by the unbanning of the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) in February 1990, the return of exiles, and the suspension of the armed struggle by Umkhonto WeSizwe (MK) in terms of the Pretoria Minute of August 1990, brought problems for the above-mentioned organisations as they continued to be infiltrated. Therefore, while the transitional years from 1990 to 1994 continued, there were violent actions around the country.[8] Kroonstad was one such place where violence erupted due to the existence of the Three Million as a vigilante group.

The origins of the Three Million Gang

Tebello Jacob 'Blackie' Tumisi, a political activist in Maokeng Township argues that vigilante groups and gansterism in the area did not start with the

6 MP Swanepoel, et al. "Vigilantism: A theoretical perspective as applied to people's courts in post-1994 South Africa", *Journal for Contemporary History*, 36(1), June 2011, pp. 117-118; MP Swanepoel & A Duvenhage, "Vigilantism as a feature of political decay in the post-1994 South African dispensation", *Acta Academica*, 39(1), April 2007, 145.

7 N Haysom, *Mabangalala: The rise of right-wing vigilantes in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1986), pp. 2; N Haysom, "The Total Strategy: The South African Security Forces and the Suppression of Civil Liberties", in J Dugard, *The Last Years of Apartheid: Civil liberties in South Africa* (New York, 1992), pp. 80-81; C Twala, "The emergence of the student and youth resistance organisations in the Free State townships during the 1980s: A viable attempt to reorganise protest politics?", *Journal for Contemporary History*, 32(2), December 2007, pp. 46-47; L Fourchard, "The politics of mobilisation for security in South African Townships", *Africa Affairs*, 110(441), 2011, pp. 607-627; B Harris, "As for violent crime that's our daily bread: Vigilante violence during South Africa's period of transition", *Violence and Transition Series*, 1, May 2001; A Kempen, "Vigilantism: A question of jungle justice because of a lack of justice?", *Servamus*, 92(10), 1999, p. 8.

8 For more information see S Ellis, "The historical significance of South Africa's Third Force", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24(2), June 1998, pp. 261-299; E Bornman, et al., *Violence in South Africa: A variety of perspectives*, (Pretoria, 1998), pp. 1-13.

existence of the Three Million. He recalls the following about gangsterism in the area:

> *Gangsterism in Kroonstad started a long time ago. In the 1960s we had a gang called the Green-White. It was a group of youngsters who used to play softball but later turned out to be gangsters who fought against the police on the issue of permits. Their leader was the late Bra Tsikoe Sisana. They used to fight the police but were later all arrested. Some were sentenced to three years' imprisonment.*[9]

According to Tshepo Moloi of the History Workshop at the University of the Witwatersrand, the 'original' Three Million was formed by young people living in Seeisoville (one of Maokeng's Townships) in Kroonstad. They liked the song '*I've been robbed*' by a group called Three Million. People in the area started calling them *ama*-Three Million (*The Three Million*). It started as a group of young people who liked wearing fashionable clothes and were known for their dancing antics.[10] During this period there was another group in Seeisoville which was called the Canadians. Therefore, there was fierce contestation for dominance of the area by these two groups. Another group known as the Ditsekelekwas was formed in the area. The latter was a community defence structure comprising young people under the age of 20. Samuel Mpho 'Berbeto' Taka, one of the gang members indicated the following about the emergence of this group and its activities:

> *When the Three Million started, I was still a member of SAYCO in Maokeng. I joined it with a certain guy with the name of Tsietsi Thipe from Zenzele in the 16th Section. In fact, we had two ANC offices in the area, namely, the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee (MDCC) and the Activists Forum (AF). Initially, Diwiti and his sister Mamorena were members of the ANC. Diwiti later was against the members of the ANCYL because of Daniel George who was alleged to have had an affair with Diwiti's wife.*[11]

Of all the groups mentioned above, the Three Million was the most popular one, perhaps due to the fact that its origin could be traced back to the ANCYL. Another reason could have been the resistance which the group experienced from ANC-aligned structures in Maokeng Township. The gang's leader was George 'Diwiti' Ramasimong who, due to his operations within the group, became a fearless and notorious gang leader. Dikeledi Mary-Jane Tlali adds:

> *Diwiti was a comrade. So, he went with other comrades to attend a funeral and they happened to clash during that time. When they came back, they separated and*

9 C Twala (Personal Collection), interview, TJ Tumisi (Member of the ANC in Maokeng, Kroonstad), 22 July 2011.

10 E-mail: T Moloi, 4 February 2011.

11 C Twala (Personal Collection), interview, T Moloi, S Taka (former member of the Three Million Gang, Kroonstad), 13 August 2009.

> *the Three Million Gang was formed and recruited new members. Later, there was a clash between the community and the Three Million Gang ... I joined COSAS when I was at the Reginald Cingo High School in 1990 doing Standard 9. Then the fight with the Three Million Gang started. They were nearer to Reginald Cingo. Then I became disturbed, and would bunk school, and would sometimes not sleep at home because I was running away from the police. On the other side, the Three Million were hunting for me. On realising that I was no longer safe, I ended up dropping out of school when I was doing Standard 9.*[12]

It was argued that the formation of the Three Million was precipitated by the disagreements between Diwiti and one of the ANCYL leaders, Daniel George. When the misunderstanding intensified between these two leaders, their supporters also joined in the fray and the Maokeng Township was divided between the Diwiti group, which later became known as the Three Million, and the George sympathisers. It was reported that differences between these two groups led to physical attacks and killings.[13] Tumisi recounts:

> *In June 1990 one boy known as Five came to me and said Diwiti was busy organising them in order to fight against the comrades in the area. He told me that he had indicated to Diwiti that fighting the comrades was tantamount to fighting the whole community. In fact Diwiti was a thug here in the township who wanted political power; thus, he formed a gang which was against the progressive ANCYL. It was interesting to note that Diwiti was initially a member of the ANCYL. I think he was sent to be within the ANCYL by the police in order to infiltrate the organisation. I remember when a policeman called Ndweni was killed by the ANCYL members, Diwiti was also there. Surprisingly, only Makhanda and Oggies were arrested and charged with the killing of a police official. Diwiti was not arrested. That was when we realised that Diwiti was conniving with the police.*[14]

On the formation of the Three Million Gang, Tumisi further recalls:

> *The existence of the Three Million Gang in Maokeng divided the township into two groups. To be honest, the elderly people in the township welcomed the existence of this gang because it was seen as an alternative to the misuse of power by the ANC-aligned structures in the area. It took some time and with interventions from us to convince some of them about the activities of this group. They were made aware that the group was a vigilante group and that the ANC structures were there to protect them. Therefore, it became our responsibility to protect the communities. In our mission to do so, there were some victims from both sides... In fact, the misunderstanding was caused by Diwiti Ramasimong and Daniel George who clashed over a girlfriend (Alice) and their supporters joined forces against each other. I remember that in September 1990, Diwiti came to my place with a group and demanded to know the whereabouts of George from me. Diwiti said he was*

12 C Twala (Personal Collection), interview, T Moloi, DM Tlali (former COSAS member in Maokeng, Kroonstad), 24 September 2009.

13 E-mail: T Moloi, 4 February 2011.

14 C Twala (Personal Collection), interview, TJ Tumisi, 22 July 2011.

> *told by Simon Mofokeng that the previous day I was driving around with George and his (Diwiti's) wife. This Simon Mofokeng was a policeman. These youngsters who accompanied Diwiti did not question the involvement of a policeman in this matter. It became clear to me that Diwiti was working with the police.*[15]

Like many other gangs or groups operating as vigilante ones in other parts of the country, initially the formation of the Three Million was more of an attempt to dominate Maokeng Township ahead of the ANC-aligned structures. However, this situation created problems in the township. What started as a misunderstanding between Diwiti and George led to the division of the township residents into two faction groups.

The operations of the Three Million Gang

The Three Million Gang had a sophisticated way in which attacks were conducted and this was accompanied by high levels of secrecy. The *New Nation* stated in August 1991 that: "The notorious Three Million Gang, which terrorised residents of Kroonstad townships, was highly organised and operated along military lines".[16] There was a line of command with the echelon manned by policemen, councillors and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) officials who, in turn, liaised with ten commanders occupying the second tier. Those in the highest echelons devised plans to be used during attacks against political activists and some township residents. This information would be passed on to the commanders who, in turn, controlled ten lieutenants, each in charge of a platoon unit. Lieutenants met the units to inform them about attacks to be carried out during missions and about strategies to be used.

The Three Million was also used to gather intelligence and carry out propaganda missions in the township, using these methods to sow confusion among residents. Members of this gang were informed about the activities of the political activists in the township of Maokeng. As a result, it was easy to identify activists and target them for attack. There were allegations that the gang derived most of its financial and strategic support from councillors, white business people and policemen who assisted with transportation, food and weapons. The councillors would help the gang members to identify the homes and provide addresses of potential targets.

There were reports about attacks by the Three Million Gang on the members of the ANC. On 19 April 1991 an ANCYL member, Isaac Masukela, a 16

15 C Twala (Personal Collection), interview, TJ Tumisi, 22 July 2011.
16 *The New Nation*, 9-15 August 1991.

year old was stabbed in his home by a group of men identifying themselves as the Three Million gangsters. His mother, Maria Masukela stated that 7 men entered her home demanding to see her son. After a quarrel with her, they dragged her son out and one gangster stabbed him to death.[17]

In May 1991 there were rumours that the Three Million Gang was collaborating with the IFP. This was revealed by the Kroonstad IFP's organiser, Petrus Lenkwane. On Sunday 12 May 1991 the IFP had planned to hold a rally at the Seeisoville Stadium, but it was cancelled due to violence in the area. Lenkwane said that the rally had been cancelled because some residents had fled the township in fear that the IFP would kill them. He said that those fears were unfounded and explained that members of the Three Million Gang were "not criminals, but just an organisation like the Soweto councillor's party, Sofasonke".[18] There were fears that the rally would see the IFP taking the gangsters under its wing. These fears were fuelled by Diwiti's announcement that "Sunday will be the climax of our war in Maokeng". According to Dennis Bloem of the ANC, the IFP had a tendency to adopt discredited elements, such as criminals and use them to unleash violence in the communities. Maokeng residents said pamphlets purporting to have been issued by the IFP had also been distributed in the township. The pamphlets stated that the rally would address issues such as 'children who kill each other and burn houses; parents' reaction to such acts; and business people who buy guns for comrades to kill other people'.[19] In view of the above conditions, it was clear that the faction groups in Maokeng Township were destined into taking each other head-on. Unfortunately, such a situation contributed to the escalation of violence in the township.

In giving evidence before the Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), MS Taka and FM Taje, the sister of the Three Million Gang leader Diwiti, said that gang members became members of the IFP in the 1990s. This was allegedly encouraged by the prosecutor and a member of the SAP, who told gang members that criminal cases against them would be viewed as political if they were IFP members.[20] Statements such as the above had the potential to worsen the situation and members of the SAP became the targets of the ANC-aligned structures in the area.

17 *The Star*, 26 April 1991.
18 *The New Nation*, 17-23 May 1991.
19 *Sowetan*, 15 May 1991.
20 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of South Africa Report, 3, (Cape Town, 1998), p. 368.

However, it should be noted that during the early 1990s, immediately after the unbanning of the ANC, the IFP was blamed for the violence in the country. Therefore, when it was indicated that the party was to hold a rally in Maokeng Township, there was a mixture of emotions; namely, fear, anxiety, hope, suspicion and downright hatred. In some instances mention of the *Zulus* evoked deep terror.

Residents of Maokeng indicated that although they recognised every political party's right to hold gatherings, they felt uneasy about the IFP's rally because of what had happened in other townships after the organisation's meetings. Ironically, the Maokeng Town Council had approved the holding of the rally there, but had previously refused ANC-aligned organisations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) from holding such rallies. When approached by the ANC for the granting of permission to hold a rally there, the town clerk, PC Slabbert said the council had rejected COSATU's application because it was not a political organisation.[21] The information highlighted above clearly indicated the ANC-aligned structures were destined to target individuals and organisations which were viewed as anti-ANC. Honestly, it was unfair to drag the Maokeng Town Council into the whole factional groups.

The role of the law enforcement agencies

Since the emergence of the Three Million Gang in Maokeng Township, law enforcement agencies did not have the option of ignoring the phenomenon. A series of programmes were initiated to address problems in Maokeng, but none proved successful in bringing about the much needed peace and stability to the area. Police involvement in diffusing the situation of attacks by the squabbling groups was criticised by the ANC-aligned structures in the area. While these agencies were attempting to revive the State's legitimacy in dealing with the problem of vigilantism versus the ANC, the acts of both groups exposed the limits of the State's capacity to secure justice for all, as well as the limited reach of having a non-violent society. The above argument is further endorsed by both Dixon and Johns who state that the State's incapacity to police and secure citizens and their rights worsened the acts of vigilantism.[22]

21 *Sowetan*, 15 May 1991.

22 B Dixon & L Johns, "Gangs, PAGAD and the State: Vigilantism and revenge violence in the Western Cape", *Violence and transition series 2*, 2001.

Relations between the SAP and communities in and around Maokeng also remained a source of concern. Historical animosities and allegations of partisanship and complicity in the violence had left many in the community doubting the *bona fides* of the police. Rebuilding public confidence in the SAP remained a challenge. SAP members were accused by the ANC-aligned structures of fuelling the violence. There were also allegations levelled against the SAP that it was supportive of the Three Million in order to destabilise the activities of the ANC in the township. The above became evident on 3 January 1991 when the members of the SAP and ANC engaged in open confrontation in the township. The Maokeng ANC branch accused the police of not taking proper action against the Three Million which was said to be terrorising township residents and attacking its members in Maokeng. However, the allegation was disputed by the Free State police spokesperson, Col. Jonas Thobi. Thobi blamed the unrest in Maokeng Township on clashes between the Three Million, the Premier and the Canada gangs. He vehemently denied police partiality and stated that the police were maintaining law and order in the township.[23] Local ANCYL education officer, Meshack Moeketsi denied the involvement of the Premier or Canada gangs on the question of violence as indicated by Thobi. Moeketsi argued that township residents, among them a number of workers from the Premier Mills plant, decided to take action against the Three Million Gang after the killing of two residents. He further stated that the Canada gang had disbanded in 1990. According the Moeketsi, the ANC could not have been involved if the matter was between the local gangsters.[24]

Furthermore, on 7 January 1991 the police issued a statement dismissing the allegations by the Maokeng branch of the ANCYL that they were giving assistance which included remuneration to the Three Million Gang. Moeketsi said his organisation had obtained information that the gang was being backed by the police. He alleged that members of the gang were provided with a weekly remuneration of R500 by the police. The above was denied by the police liaison officer Lt. Johlene van der Merwe and indicated that 14 members of the gang had been arrested for being in possession of dangerous weapons.[25] Although the police claimed to have arrested 14 members of the Three Million, to the ANC-aligned structures in the township, that act was

23 *The Citizen*, 4 January 1991. For more information on the role of police and their abuse of power elsewhere in the world, see B Bowling, et al., "Police and Human Rights: Eliminating discrimination, xenophobia, intolerance and the abuse of power from police work", *United Nations Research Institute for Social Development*, 4, May 2004, pp. 1-7.

24 *The Citizen*, 4 January 1991.

25 *Business Day*, 8 January 1991.

just as smokescreen by the police. These structures alleged that in most cases, the arrested Three Million Gang members were usually released without charges pressed against them. Underneath is an example on how the police operated in the area.

Daniel Tsolo, one of the Three Million Gang members, described in *The New Nation* how police watched as members of his gang stabbed and hacked their victims to death. In a sworn affidavit, Tsolo stated that he participated in the killing of a worker from Premier Milling on 31 December 1990, but was not arrested despite police having been on the scene. Sello Motloung, one of the Premier Milling Company workers corroborated Tsolo's claims that police had failed to act against the gangsters after the murder.[26]

On 24 April 1991 the ANC organised a march to the Kroonstad police station to hand in a memorandum on the alleged murderous activities of the Three Million Gang in the area. Hardly 24 hours thereafter, members of the gang terrorised the people at the Kroonstad taxi rank. Members of the Three Million Gang were accused by the ANC of prompting taxi passengers and other members of the public to pay 'protection money' at knifepoint. According to the ANC's leaders, AP Lefafa and Bloem, this happened in full view of the police. The police arrested 9 members of the gang who were later released without any charge.[27] Amongst those released was a gang member whose victim, Isaac Masukela had been buried on 27 April 1991. This happened despite four young boys who came running to the police station to report that more members of the gang were outside, terrorising the public and this was reasoned as support given by the police to the gang members. When the police were accused of collaborating with the Three Million, the Free State Police Commissioner, General Tom Erasmus indicated that allegations that the Kroonstad police had failed to take action against this gang were made out of ignorance.

This incident by the police was described by *The Sunday Star* journalist Jon Qwelane as follows:

> *Kroonstad police actually appear very embarrassed to act against known thugs who openly boast of their criminal connections in the presence of the police, and among whom is an alleged murderer whose schoolboy victim was buried yesterday. Depending on the police for protection in Kroonstad appears a worthless exercise because taximen and their passengers were robbed of money in full view of the police by known gangsters who, since September last year [1990], have terrorised*

26 *The New Nation*, 27 September -3 October 1991.
27 *The Sunday* Star, 5 May 1991.

> *Maokeng Township with impunity and the gang members walked away just like that. Fellow Sunday Star staffer, William Dhlamini and I came within inches of death in a Kroonstad police station, in the presence of armed policemen and the knifemen who chased us in there, walked away free still carrying their weapons. The police made no effort to arrest them after their spree of terror right outside the police station, where they openly robbed taximen and passengers of money at knifepoint, and later chased a man into the yard of the police station and stabbed him in the chest.*[28]

Besides the involvement of the police, there were some rumours that the Three Million was also supported by the councillors who wanted to see the ANC members eliminated. Meshack Ditsietsi Mmei remembers:

> *You know the councillors here had problems with us. The councillors were protected by the Three Million and in return, they were given some resources. I managed to sit down with Oom Caswell Koekoe [the then Mayor of Maokeng Township]. I told him that the Kroonstad people loved him but they were aware he was supporting Diwiti and the Three Million. We were aware that he was supporting them financially and with food. He used to hide them and they sometimes used Koekoe's combis to drive up and down.*[29]

The TRC heard that individual councillors were responsible for setting up some of the vigilante groups because they felt themselves to be under attack from militant township youth. There were allegations from the ANC-aligned structures that in some cases, councillors were actively involved in vigilante actions, supplying arms and participating personally in attacks on township residents and activists thought to be aligned with the UDF. The TRC also heard that some vigilante groups were set up by members of the security forces, under the instruction of senior security police officers. Magistrates and prosecutors were accused of working to undermine criminal prosecution against gang members. Testifying before the Amnesty Committee of the TRC, Machabe Thulo who commanded the ANC Self Defence Units (SDUs) in Kroonstad alleged that a prosecutor in Kroonstad supported the gang and had helped them to evade prosecution. He said that magistrates deciding cases were guided by the views of prosecutors. Thulo named one magistrate in particular who would be called, together with the prosecutor, specifically to deal with cases involving gang members. Their sympathy with the gang frequently ensured that charges against gang members were dropped.[30]

28 *The Sunday Star*, 28 April 1991.

29 C Twala (Personal Collection), interview, T Moloi, MD Mmei (former political activist in Maokeng, Soweto), 18 September 2009.

30 TRC of South Africa Report, 3, ..., pp. 367-368.

Bloem stated the following to the TRC:

> *You see, on various occasions what would happen would be this: for instance, there was one case where the Premier Milling Company's employees, were on their way to go and arrest the Three Million Gang and take them to the charge office. The police, who were already in Troubou where the Three Million Gang members lived, intervened. The police were waiting in their Casspirs on an open piece of land; they were waiting for the Premier Milling employees. I was present. I was sitting in a car with a certain Mr Touw to see what the police would do. The police chased away these workers; they shot teargas, whilst the Three Million Gang was present amongst the members of the police, in between the Casspirs, so these people were overcome by teargas. I clearly saw that the police did not take any action against the Three Million Gang who had weapons while these Premier Milling employees were unarmed.*[31]

The Amnesty Committee of the TRC also heard the application of Roland Petrus, who was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment for shooting Diwiti. Although, during the TRC testimony, Petrus pleaded not guilty to Diwiti's murder, he claimed that he had killed the gang leader in a bid to end the gang's reign of terror in Maokeng Township. He told the committee that it was known that the Three Million were a hit-squad formed by the police. Therefore, as members of the ANC-aligned structures they wanted to eliminate the Three Million Gang. An ANCYL member Stephen Monyake told the Amnesty Committee during his testimony in Kimberley that he killed a Three Million Gang member, Tefo Molele on 2 May 1992 in Kroonstad. He told the committee that Molele's killing was not intentional, although he stabbed him 10 to 15 times.[32]

It is clear from the above section that the attack on the Three Million Gang was also precipitated by the alleged assistance the gang received from the police. Although the police claimed to be impartial in dealing with the problems facing the Maokeng Township, in one way or the other they were to blame for the escalation of violence in the area. The township councillors were also not spared in the criticisms. They were accused of using the gang members to protect them against the 'violent' ANCYL members in the area. Interestingly, from all the groups which were fingered to be instigating violence in Maokeng, no one wanted to be associated with the activities of the Three Million Gang. However, as mentioned before, there were pointers that the police and the coucillors collaborated with the Three Million Gang.

31 TRC of South Africa Report, 3, ..., pp. 368-369.

32 SAPA, "TRC told of killing of Three Million Gang member" (available at: <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/1997/9710/s971030b.htm>), as accessed on 21 March 2012.

The emergence of the Self-Defence Units (SDUs) and the role played by the ANC

Johannes Rantete writes that in 1990 the ANC proposed the creation of SDUs, stating in a document entitled *For the sake of our lives* that "in the wake of the ugly violence unleashed against our people by security forces, vigilante groups and hit squads, it is imperative that our liberation movement takes responsibility for guiding and building people's self-defence units".[33] While this proposal was welcomed by besieged townships and squatter settlements, it was not embraced by the government. The ANC in effect, won the battle over the SDUs, as reflected in the National Peace Accord (NPA) which acknowledged their legitimacy.[34]

The ANC's SDUs evolved out of the demands from communities under siege from violence and the perceived partisanship of the police in maintaining law and order. Therefore, in some areas where the vigilante groups existed, the SDUs were instrumental in the protection of the communities. However, there were some problems accompanying the existence of such a structure, because it was viewed as being in contradiction with the work to be executed by the police; namely, that of offering protection to the communities. The ANC's SDUs first emerged in various townships in the Free State in the early 1990s. While these units were created by higher commands in the ANC and MK at national level, they enjoyed a fair degree of autonomy at local level. The units came to operate like small private armies, controlled by prominent individuals, seeking to further their own political agendas. The great majority of the reported incidents of aggression by SDUs relate to arson attacks on homes. Although established in certain areas, they had some weaknesses. For example, the fact that they were the product of the ANC compromised their mission of protecting the communities and therefore resented by other political organisations. In the main, these units landed up in the hands of undisciplined youth.[35] Furthermore, the ANC was unable to arm the people sufficiently and most SDUs had to fend for themselves in defending townships against the vigilante groups.[36]

33 J Rantete, *The African National Congress and the settlement in South Africa* (Pretoria, 1998), p. 100.
34 J Rantete, *The African National Congress* ..., p. 100.
35 For more information on the Self-Defence Units see T Motumi, "Self-Defence Units: A brief examination of their histories and a look at their future", *African Defence Review*, 15, 1994; PS Rakgoadi, "The role of the Self-Defence Units (SDUs) in a changing political context", *Research Report for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation*, January 1995.
36 J Rantete, *The African National Congress* ..., p. 100.

Residents complained that when night fell in the township, families feared raids by the Three Million Gang and the police. Political activists who were the target of the gang and the police, feared for their lives. Bloem confessed that he had been threatened with death by the gang. Besides Bloem, Teboho Frans Seloko also stated that on 23 February 1991 his family was woken up by the police demanding to search his house. One of the policemen asked him whether he knew Machabe Thulo or not. When he answered that he did not know him, he was assaulted. Seloko's allegations were dismissed and denied by the police. Jacob Tumisi told *City Press* that he had closed his three bottle stores in the township because of harassment by the gang and the refusal of the police to act on his complaints.[37]

In April 1991, about 10 000 residents of Maokeng chose to skip work and school in order to march to the local police station to register a strong protest about the criminal activities in the community, and complain about the allegedly relaxed police attitude towards the Three Million Gang. The residents threatened to revenge against the Three Million activities; hence at the later stage they formed the SDUs. Owing to the criticisms levelled against the police for siding and assisting the Three Million Gang in terrorising the community in Maokeng Township, in June 1991, the police succumbed to the ANC's pressure to make arrests of the gang members. On 14 June 1991, 35 members of the gang were arrested. Those arrested included gangsters such as Diwiti, Patrick 'Pabo' Sithebe and Israel Mangoejane. The gang was linked to 10 cases of murder committed between September 1990 and February 1991. The arrests followed the formation of a police special unit on 6 June 1991 to investigate all gang related crimes in Maokeng and to attempt to bring stability to the area. During the community's meeting which was addressed by the police on 16 June 1991, Maokeng residents and the local branch of the ANC expressed gratitude for the unit's help, offered their support and promised to involve the community in bringing witnesses forward.[38]

Local ANC member, Bloem congratulated *City Press* for publishing the activities of the gang, which had terrorised the township since September 1990. Political activists in the area were targets of the gang whose leader had openly vowed to wipe out all political activists in the area.[39] In order to tackle the problem of vigilantism and terrorism by the Three Million, the Maokeng branch of the ANC insisted on having a judicial commission appointed to

37 *City Press*, 24 February 1991.
38 *Sowetan*, 21 June 1991; *The Sunday Star*, 23 June 1991.
39 *City Press*, 23 June 1991.

investigate this gang and to inquire into all the reported incidents against the gangsters.

In April 1991, residents marched without magisterial permission. Tension ran high when heavily armed police apparently ordered the marchers to disperse. The northern Free State ANC leader Patrick 'Terror' Lekota, however, intervened to negotiate with high-ranking officers who agreed to allow the march to proceed. Lekota led the chanting crowd to hand in a memorandum and made an impassioned plea to the police receiving it, to bring the gang to book. Residents claimed they had reported cases against the gang and that the police had failed to act.[40]

Addressing a group of Maokeng residents who had marched to police headquarters in Kroonstad to protest against violence in the township, Lekota warned them against the use of violence in the township. He also warned the members of the ANC not to take the law into their own hands in the name of the ANC. This warning came after an incident in which a house was set alight by a group of comrades who claimed that sons of that family were involved with the Three Million Gang. Showing his leadership mantle, Lekota slammed ANC members who took revenge on innocent people, especially parents of children involved in gangster activities. The marchers, led by Lekota and Bloem, handed a memorandum to Lieutenant J Coetzee which was directed to Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok and the Kroonstad Commissioner of Police. One of the demands contained in the memorandum to the police was the arrest of the Three Million Gang, which residents claimed had disrupted schooling, transport and made life unbearable in Maokeng. Residents also demanded that all alleged crimes committed by the gang be investigated by a special detective in collaboration with the community.[41] Addressing the marchers, Lekota observed:

> *You are the ones who misled other comrades into taking the law into their own hands. If you want to go about killing and burning people's houses in revenge, do it, but not in the name of the ANC. The ANC does not encourage violence in any form, especially where innocent people are involved. Members of the ANC will not have blood on their hands because we believe that our struggle is a clean one. Our policy is one of non-violence and we have to follow this policy. If any of you feel that you can't do this, go and start your own organisation.*

Although the ANC's position on violence was far from clear-cut, officially it claimed to be committed to non-violence, but as the vigilante acts intensified

40 *The Star*, 26 April 1991; *The Citizen*, 26 April 1991.
41 *City Press*, 28 April 1991.

in Maokeng Township, it became difficult for the ANC leaders to be vocal against popular violence. In most cases, the leaders defended it on the grounds that such violence was itself defensive.

The end of the Three Million Gang

The beginning of 1991 witnessed the escalation of attacks on the Three Million Gang. For example, in 1991 Thulo was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for murdering gang member, Masusu Ntema (Ngema) on 11 February 1991. According to Thulo, Masusu attacked him first, armed with a knife. In self-defence, he shot Masusu twice, killing him instantly. Nthabeleng Bothetsa was jailed for murdering one of Diwiti's lieutenants, Buti Sekotome in Kroonstad. On 24 February 1992, Diwiti who had just left the Kroonstad Circuit Court, where five of his gang members had appeared on a charge of murdering Samuel Nako, was gunned down next to the Kroonstad taxi rank. Roland Petrus was arrested with other four members of the ANC-aligned structures in Maokeng Township.

Four people who were suspected and arrested of having killed Diwiti were later released on bail. These were Isaac Andrew Petrus, Dennis Bloem, Cecile Anthony and Cassius Ntlakosi. News of Diwiti's death spread like wildfire with taxi drivers and motorists blasting their hooters, and women ululating as they flocked to the scene of murder. Tumisi who was held for questioning in connection with Diwiti's death stated that he had known that he (Diwiti) was to be assassinated that day. According to Tumisi, as ANC members, they had tried their utmost to see Diwiti dead.[42] One of the accused, Isaac Andrew Petrus was later gunned down in a street in Brentpark Township in Kroonstad and with his death violence in the area was resuscitated. Petrus with the others arrested with him had been out on R3000 bail and was to appear in the Kroonstad Magistrate's Court on 3 June 1992.[43]

In March 1992, another prominent member of the gang, John 'Bhudda Krag' Dinga, was murdered outside the Checkers Centre in Kroonstad. The same day, Bloem's nephew, Simon Bloem, was brutally stabbed outside the Kroonstad taxi rank. The gangsters dragged him into the toilets where he was allegedly stabbed to death.[44] According to Mpopetsi Dhlamini, the death of Diwiti was a relief to the Maokeng community. He equally blamed the police

42 C Twala (Personal Collection), interview, TJ Tumisi, 22 July 2011.
43 *City Press*, 31 May 1992; *Die Volksblad*, 28 February 1992.
44 *The New Nation*, 6-12 March 1992.

for having supported the Three Million Gang which had consequently led to bloodshed in the area.[45]

The above mentioned incidents are an indication on how the existence of the Three Million Gang came to an end and how its leaders were brought to justice. This started with the elimination of the leaders of the gang, particularly Diwiti who was seen as the one masterminding the existence of this gang. However, it should be noted that despite the death of the Three Million Gang leaders, Maokeng Township was never the same again. The violence that engulfed the township for some time made the residents to leave in fear for a long period. This was eased when the ANC took over power as government of the country after the 1994 general elections.

Conclusion

Many vigilante groups across the entire South Africa are crossing the line by terrorising the community members. This results in the communities taking the law unto themselves in dealing with such groups. In the main, the vigilante groups can be classified as non-state groups undermining the sovereignty of the state. The level of organisation and planning of the groups such as the Three Million indicated that vigilantism in post-1994 South Africa was not sporadic and isolated cases which contributed to mob violence.

As it rose to power in Maokeng Township, the Three Million Gang was thus in essence, a force to be reckoned with, even if it seldom explicitly manifested itself as such; it deliberately operated in the public sphere and sought to change the power relations of the times. It is obvious that to discuss the topic of the Three Million Gang raised fears in some informants. It is interesting to note that those who chose to comment phrased their statements carefully.

Besides seeking to stem the violent acts by the Three Million Gang, the ANC' strategic objectives were to attempt to organise and recruit new members. The ANC aligned structures wanted to demonstrate its political muscle in the township. What started as a gang turned out to be a militant vigilante groups which ended up terrorising the community of Maokeng Township. The article shows the impact that vigilantism could have on the communities. Therefore, it was important for the Maokeng Township community to radically deal with the gang. Although some people lost their lives during the scuffle of

45 C Twala (Personal Collection), interview, M Dhlamini (political activist and resident of Maokeng, Kroonstad), 6 March 2010.

violence in the township, the area became peaceful after the elimination of the gang members.

The analysis above indicated that townships such as Maokeng were in a state of disequilibrium due to the activities of both the Three Million Gang and the ANC-aligned structures. The township also experienced the state of dysfunctionality, mainly due the fear instilled by the gang members to the residents. The elimination of the Three Million Gang could serve as a lesson to other vigilante groups elsewhere in the country that there is no place for such activities.

The potential and possibilities of oral history for skills development at undergraduate level

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Abstract

Since 2003 the History Department of the University of the Free State (UFS) has been offering a third-year module on oral history. From the time of its inception this module has aimed at providing a balance between oral history theory and methodology, thus enabling students to master and apply the oral history technique in practice. Students are taught how to manage an oral history project from start to finish. The teaching approach is resource-based with a stronger emphasis on learning than on teaching, which is in line with a current international trend towards constructivism. During the past nine years it has become clear to the authors that apart from the theoretical knowledge gained by the students, various skills are also taught and developed in the practical session of this module. This is clearly revealed when the questionnaires, interviews and student evaluation forms are assessed and analysed. The main purpose of this article is to identify and interpret certain trends and patterns regarding skills development as both a direct and an indirect outcome of this oral history module by using data obtained from the mentioned questionnaires, interviews and evaluation forms. The article addresses certain questions which are crucial for understanding the potential and many possibilities of oral history as a tool for skills development in a transforming society. It is argued that oral history's potential creates new methodological approaches for developing a diversity of new skills required by a changing social environment. Understanding this potential and its possibilities provides a basis for further developing oral history as a skills development tool, which may also lead to the improvement and expansion of existing oral history courses offered at tertiary level.

Keywords: Oral history; Constructivism; Teaching and learning; Undergraduate module; Third-year university students; Outcomes; Assessment; Evaluation forms; Skills development; Interdisciplinary research.

Introduction

Since 2003 the History Department of the University of the Free State (hereafter UFS) has offered an oral history module as part of the third-year History course. During the past nine years this module has not only grown in numbers, but also in stature, with students from disciplines other than History also showing interest. Since its inception this module has aimed at providing a balance between oral history theory and methodology, thus also enabling students to master and apply in practice the oral history technique and specifically oral history interviewing. Throughout the past nine years it has become clear that apart from the theoretical knowledge gained by the students, a range of skills are transferred and developed in the practical sessions of the module. This is revealed when the students' module evaluation forms, as well as their questionnaires and interviews, which form an integral part of the module, are analysed. The main purpose of this article is to identify and interpret certain trends and patterns regarding skills development as both a direct and indirect outcome of the oral history module (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2010-2011:1).

In this article the following questions will be addressed: How is the oral history module structured and presented? How are the students assessed? Which skills are developed? How is this verified? What trends, patterns and themes have emerged over the past nine years? And finally: What are oral history's possibilities in terms of future skills development for undergraduate students? The key issue is: What skills do students need to function in a diverse and changing society such as South Africa, and do they actually obtain or develop these skills during an oral history course? The answers to these questions are crucial for understanding the potential and the many possibilities of oral history as a tool for skills development in a transforming society. It may be argued that oral history's potential indeed creates new methodological approaches for developing a diversity of new skills required by a changing social environment. Understanding this potential and its possibilities provides a basis for further developing oral history as a skills development tool, which may also lead to the improvement and expansion of existing oral history courses offered at tertiary level.

The need for an oral history module at undergraduate level

Although strong opposition against oral history still exists, the various benefits

of oral history as both a discipline and a methodology have become widely accepted by several historians (Ritchie, 2003:13, 23). One of these benefits deals with oral history as an effective tool for teaching History. Oral history has become closely associated with the modern teaching trend of moving away from the emphasis on purely political history to a stronger focus on social, community and local history (Thompson, 2000:8-9, 17, 23; Sideris, 1986:44). The history of everyday life, the role of ordinary people in shaping events and the importance of social issues such as racism, gender equity, reconciliation and social justice are gaining more prominence in tertiary education in South Africa (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2004:161-164; Ritchie, 2003:201; Ludlow, 2007:207-208). Considered a fringe development during the eighties and nineties, it has now become part of the mainstream programmes. The History Workshop project at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, has led the way in this regard with its pioneering scholarship on the social histories of marginalised communities in South Africa. As a result of this ground-breaking work, History departments at several South African universities offer some or other oral history module (Bonner, *s.a.*; University of the Witwatersrand, *s.a.*; Lekgoathi, 2009:105-107).

During the past decade the general teaching approach at the UFS has also become more resource-based with a stronger emphasis on learning than on teaching. The focus has shifted from the lecturer to the students. This approach is in line with a current international trend towards constructivism whereby students are expected to become more directly and actively involved in creating their own knowledge and their own process of learning (Ludlow, 2007:201). The basic premise is that knowledge is not always textbook bound and waiting to be accessed. Students are encouraged to construct their own understanding of the subject through first-hand experience. From a constructivist perspective, knowledge is not passively received from the lecturer but rather created as students adapt to and make sense of their experiential environment (Wilton, 2011:473-474; Golding, 2011:*passim*; Thirteen online – Concept to classroom, 2004).

In the case of the oral history module offered by the History Department, UFS, students construct their understanding of oral history by being exposed to a real-life interview situation, which makes the learning practice-orientated. Oral history has thus become a valuable tool for teaching students how to become the creators of their own knowledge as they are personally involved in their own learning; how to explore new techniques of acquiring knowledge;

how to ask critical questions; how to formulate questions which interest them; and how to assess what they already know about oral history. Through the interviews, strong emphasis is placed not only on personal development, but also on social interaction. Social interaction occurs in the students' experiential environment and it relates to, in both the group discussion nature of the lectures, as well as the oral interview set-up (Maclellan, 2005:*passim*; Davis & Sumara, 2002:410-411; Gray, *s.a.*). Based on the above it may be argued that the real-life interview facilitates a constructivist approach to teaching and learning.

Teaching and learning oral history at the History Department, UFS

In 2003 oral history teaching at the UFS was formalised when the oral history module, commonly known as GES 361: Oral History was officially launched. Since 2007 the Department of History of the National Museum,[1] Bloemfontein, has become formally involved with the educating and facilitating of the students. Because of its strong focus on oral history, the Museum became specifically involved with the practical aspects of the oral history module. This partnership and collaboration between the University and the Museum (Du Bruyn & Oelofse, 2009:*passim*) has benefits not only for the two institutions, but also for the students because they have the opportunity to tap into the Museum's field work expertise. The collaboration also increases the possibilities of oral history for skills development. This is discussed in more detail later in the article.

The content and structure of the module

The content and structure of the oral history module was designed to enhance not only the transfer of knowledge, but also skills development. The oral history module counts four credits and consists of a total of six lectures, namely three oral history theory lectures, three oral history methodology lectures, as well as a practical assessment session. The module is presented in Afrikaans and English. The theory part focuses on the status and value of oral history as a discipline and its role in reconciliation and nation-building in the South African context. Furthermore, the challenges confronting oral history are examined. Oral historians are concerned with memory because memory forms the core of oral testimonies. What makes oral history so distinct and

sets it apart from other branches of history, is its reliance on memory and not on text. Nevertheless, the dilemma is that memory can never be absolutely certain and therein lies its weakness as a source of historical knowledge.[2] Factors that may negatively affect memory's objectivity are discussed to help the students to implement reliable techniques and methods to minimise problems. Additionally, steps are highlighted to examine oral evidence for factual credibility by implementing historical interpretation and the principles of historical critique in searching for authenticity in sources.

The methodology section of the module focuses on oral history in practice and specifically how to plan and implement an oral history project from start to finish. The specific focus areas include the planning of an oral history project, conducting an interview and transcribing the interview. Students are also made aware of the importance of interview ethics.[3] The issue of copyright and the protection of the interest of both interviewer and interviewee are addressed in an agreement form, namely the 'Gift and Release Agreement'. During the lectures there is a strong emphasis on the uniqueness of oral history in the African context. It is considered essential that students are made aware of the fact that interviewing people from an African background, in many respects, differs from interviewing people from a Western background. The interviewer needs to respect and acknowledge the norms and customs of the person he or she intends to interview (Du Bruyn & Challa, 2004:*passim*). The National Museum's Batho Community History Project, which focuses on the history of Bloemfontein's oldest township, namely Batho, is used as a practical example of an African oral history project (Du Bruyn, 2008:*passim*; Du Bruyn, 2010:6-16). With the Batho Project in mind, students are encouraged to apply the oral history technique to their families and/or communities and start their own projects (Ludlow, 2007:207-208).

One of the strengths of the oral history module is that the theory and methodology sections of the module are interlinked and the lectures gradually build up to the practical session, namely the real-life interview. Therefore, the students realise the importance of attending lectures. Missing out on a lecture will negatively affect their performance in the practical session, which counts for 50% of their semester mark. Especially challenging for the students is the transcribing of their interviews as it is a first-time experience for most of them. This emphasises the importance of class attendance and the technical information shared during lectures. Because the classes are small, the lectures are interactive and adequate opportunities for class discussions are provided.

Students are also encouraged to share their personal experiences of any previous interviews they have conducted. From the start we have realised that most students have limited knowledge and no prior experience of even the most basic oral history techniques and concepts. Therefore, this module is not only an intensive, but also a challenging teaching and learning experience for the students. At the same time, however, a variety of skills are developed and enhanced to the benefit of the students.

During the past nine years we have frequently adapted the module content, as well as our teaching approach in order to stay in touch with the students' expectations, as well as a changing social and technological environment. This environment not only includes emerging social trends that influence the way people communicate, but also constantly changing technology. Fast changing technology has its own challenges regarding financial expenses for both partnering institutions. The recording equipment needs to be upgraded continuously in order to stay abreast of technological advances. Being able to handle sophisticated recording equipment correctly is also one of the skills that are developed in the oral history module.

The UFS is becoming increasingly multi-cultural and the changing demographics, which are also reflected in the composition of the classes, are challenging. At the same time, it is also a learning curve for the lecturers, because it allows us to experiment. During the past nine years we have accommodated students from vastly different ethnic, nationality, language, age, gender and social and economic backgrounds. We have also accommodated students with physical disabilities and we had to liaise with the University's Unit for Students with Disabilities (USD); see Image 1. This affects the planning of the module, because we have to accommodate these students on different levels including the accessibility of the lecture venue, module material which must be made available in Braille, specialised technical equipment and also the final assessment. Given South Africa's changing socio-cultural environment, the lecturers of the module consider it crucial to expose the students to people from culturally diverse backgrounds and different age groups in an interview situation. In order to make the interviews more relevant in a historical context, students are encouraged to ask questions that deal not only with campus-related issues such as integration and diversity, but also national issues such as racism and reconciliation (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2010-2011:2).

The outcomes and assessment of the module

In line with the 'Higher Education Qualifications Framework' and the 'South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Level Descriptors for the South African National Qualifications Framework' the expected outcomes of the oral history module are divided into critical and specific outcomes. The critical outcomes include the ability to gain knowledge of a certain historical theme and to understand how that knowledge may be relevant to other academic fields; the development of the ability to independently evaluate different sources, to select information relevant to a task, and to utilise the process of analysis to evaluate information; the development of the ability to present information; and to effectively communicate it in the relevant academic format. More critical outcomes include the development of the ability to solve problems and make decisions with an awareness of the impact thereof on the wider context and the ethical implications of decision-making and actions; an appreciation for the value and methods of effective independent study; and the ability to function productively in a group; and to demonstrate appreciation regarding the acceptance of responsibility for one's own decisions and the way these decisions impact on the group as a whole (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2010-2011:2). The achievement of the stated outcomes is evaluated by the students at the end of the module.

The specific outcomes are unique to the module. In terms of these outcomes the students must be able to:

- Recognise and explain oral history as a discipline within history as a science;
- Discuss the advantages and challenges of oral history;
- Debate the influence of memory in the obtaining of information;
- Effectively use methods to test the truth and objectivity of oral sources; and
- Plan a practical oral history project which includes compiling a suitable questionnaire, conducting an interview and transcribing the interview (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2010-2011:2).

The students are assessed according to the continuous assessment process. They are required to write one formal test on the theory part and also complete three practical assignments that focus on each of the three key aspects of the methodology part. These aspects include compiling a questionnaire for a life history-type interview, conducting the interview, as well as transcribing the complete interview (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2010-2011:3-4). For the purpose

of the interview the students are expected to compile a questionnaire of at least 15 questions for an interview with a person for whom we provide only the basic personal details, namely his/her name, race, gender and approximate age. For the rest, it is up to the student to find out more about the interviewee's life history. As already mentioned, some students are expected to interview people who are not only older than they are, but who are also from a different cultural and racial group. Interviewees include lecturers and academic assistants from the UFS History Department, as well as staff members from the Museum's History Department. As can be seen in Images 2-4, we aim to create interviewer/interviewee combinations that defy stereotypes.[4] Although it is possible to make use of the conventional same- sex interviewer/interviewee combination, the lecturers specifically wish to expose the students to a multi-cultural interview environment.

All the students are expected to complete their interviews within 30 minutes. Apart from asking questions from their self-prepared questionnaires, the students are also expected to ask probing or follow-up questions. These types of questions usually indicate that the student has reached a certain level of interviewing skill. All interviews are assessed by the lecturers who observe and consider all aspects of the interview process, including the informal pre-interview conversation, interview style, use of gestures, handling of equipment and post-interview conversation; see Image 5. It is expected of students to consider the ethical issues of interviewing by completing a 'Gift and Release Agreement', contextualise the interview by completing a 'Field Work Report', and also consider the do's and don'ts of interviewing in the African context. During the final contact session with the students, feedback on the questionnaire, the real-life interview and the transcription is provided.

The successful achievement of these specific and unique outcomes demonstrates that the students have acquired a variety of skills. The acquisition of these skills and how they indicate the development of the students will now be discussed.

Oral history and skills development

Combining oral history theory with exposure to practical hands-on oral history methodology has numerous advantages for third-year History students of which the development of skills is according to the authors of the utmost importance. Apart from the generic skills which History students are expected

to develop, including research, writing, critical thinking and problem-solving skills, other subject specific skills are also developed. This became apparent after we had analysed the students' module evaluation forms, questionnaires and interviews of the past nine years. Apart from the generic oral history skills, such as oral communication and interviewing, creative thinking, social and interpersonal skills, the handling of equipment and the transcription of the spoken language, other less obvious skills also seem to develop (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2004:164-166; Steffe & Gale, 1995:4-6).

Some of the comments made in the module evaluation forms completed by the students provide an indication of the skills they have learnt:

- "I have learnt how important it is to prepare myself for an interview."
- "During an interview one must be prepared for anything."
- "The module taught me how to 'understand' the interviewee."
- "I have learnt the importance of 'reading' people."
- "During the module I have learnt more about interpersonal relations."
- "The module taught me the importance of patience."
- "The oral history module taught me how to handle stress, tension and nervousness."
- "Now I know what it means to be under pressure."
- "The module helped to build my confidence."
- "Now I know what it means to be taken out of one's comfort zone."
- "I have learnt to respect the interviewee and his/her cultural background."
- "The module taught me how to respect the personal information an interviewee shares with you."
- "The skills I have learnt in this module will help me in my future career, even if I do not continue with History" (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2011).

These and other comments are particularly insightful, because they not only indicate how the students perceive the module, but also the type of skills they have learned according to themselves. The students' comments indicate that other less obvious skills, e.g. how to approach the interviewer/interviewee relationship, how to 'read' an interviewee, how to handle stress and pressure, time management, how to deal with people from different cultural backgrounds, and how to treat personal and confidential information, are

also developed. These are the type of skills that need to be developed further, because they are not only important in themselves, but also enhance and complement basic oral history skills, such as interviewing techniques and non-verbal behaviour.

Apart from the student evaluation forms, the students' questionnaires and interviews also give an indication of the type of skills that are developed by the module. Most students responded to the challenge of asking questions that deal with the issues on campus, as well as national issues. Noteworthy are, for example, the similarities and differences between the African[5] and white students' questionnaires. Almost all the students ask questions about their interviewees' experiences of apartheid and apartheid-related events, e.g. the political unrest of the 1980s, the post-1994 changes and how these events had affected and changed their lives. Other questions asked by most students include questions about the importance of role models and/or mentors, who the role models and/or mentors are, as well as the issue of religion and the role it plays in their lives (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2011).

Notable differences in the types of questions asked by the African and white students are also evident. Popular topics for the African students include the importance of African culture and traditional African names, the interviewees' political awareness and involvement in politics, and the interviewees' experience of racism on the UFS campus. Almost all the African students asked their interviewees for their personal views of the widely publicised Reitz incident of February 2008 (Volksblad, 2008; Rapport, 2008; Beeld, 2011).[1] Social issues such as HIV/Aids and the status of women in society and on campus also feature prominently, especially in African female students' questionnaires. On the other hand, the white students, especially the Afrikaans-speaking students, favour questions on the importance of family traditions, the issue of Afrikaner identity in a multi-racial society, the interviewees' experience of the political uncertainties of the post-1994 South Africa, and also the issue of affirmative action and the interviewees' views on this issue. Most white male students also include questions about apartheid-era military service and conscription and how the male interviewees experienced it. It is interesting to note that while almost all the white students asked interviewees to share their views

1 The University of the Free State encountered controversy in late February 2008 following a video made by four white male students of the Reitz residence in protest against racial integration at the university. The video showed five black workers of the university being subjected to various activities, including being forced to eat food which appeared to have been urinated on. Both the South African and international media covered this incident. The video was widely condemned and led to unrest and racial discord among the students. The Reitz hostel was closed by the council of the university as a result of this incident.

and experiences of South Africa's crime problem, almost no African student touched on the issue. Also noteworthy is the fact that no white student asked any questions about the Reitz incident. The students' probing questions also followed these general patterns.

What do the students' questionnaires and interviews reveal about the type of skills developed and the potential of oral history as a skills development tool? Apart from evidence that the students learn to form opinions to become critical thinkers, their questionnaires and interviews also indicate the value of the life history interview for skills development. Particularly important is the opportunity provided for students to apply the principles of basic historical enquiry and analysis to their interviewees' life histories. By interviewing people that are older, diverse and more experienced than they are, the students are exposed to new historical insights and perspectives that enrich and sharpen their historical knowledge and awareness. In the process the students as interviewers take ownership of their interviews and the information they have gained from the interviewees. The interviewees' use of terms and acronyms from previous eras that are mostly unknown to them, e.g. 'impimpi' (apartheid-era police informant) and UDF (United Democratic Front), prompt them to do research. As part of the partial editing of their transcriptions, the students are expected to clarify such terms and acronyms and explain e.g. the meaning of 'impimpi' and UDF in the text. In the process, the students are not only encouraged to conduct further research, but they also create new knowledge. All of this adds to the ongoing process of skills development which has become such a crucial part of the students' learning experience (Kros & Ulrich, 2008:91-92; University of Winnipeg, *s.a.*; Ocampo, 2007-2008:42).

Another aspect of skills development that should be mentioned is that the students also discover and understand how similar historical events affect people in different ways. This process expands their historical consciousness of not only what happened, but also of how it happened and of the meaning of what happened. For example, one such event is South Africa's first democratic election of 1994. Most students do have a basic historical knowledge of this significant event, but they were too young to experience it themselves. By interviewing older people who experienced it, they obtain political and historical insight into how it was experienced on a personal level. This issue features prominently in most students' questionnaires, which is an indication that they are curious to know more than just the basic written

facts. Our experience is that even third-year History students possess very limited knowledge of recent South African history and by interviewing more experienced people they significantly broaden their historical knowledge base.

During the past nine years it has become obvious that oral history as a skills development tool for undergraduate students is unlimited in scope and possibility. It is also evident that oral history is an effective tool for developing the type of skills that students need to function effectively in a diverse, complex and changing society. Students are exposed to different viewpoints; they learn how to interview members of other cultural groups and are exposed to the potential of oral history for interdisciplinary research. Furthermore, the students also become aware of the myriad of possible applications of the oral history technique. The oral history skills' usefulness is not limited to History, but extends to other disciplines including Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology and Media Studies, to name a few. Based on these observations, it appears that an oral history module such as the one offered by the History Department at the Free State University has become essential for students who want to develop various skills. By empowering the students with the above-mentioned skills, which are increasingly demanded by a knowledge-driven economy, it also increases their employability.

Looking forward

The growing popularity of the oral history module, which the students describe as 'fun', 'challenging', 'expectations have been surpassed', 'gives a new perspective on history', 'history came to life', 'learnt something that can be used later in life' (Oelofse & Du Bruyn, 2011), as well as the fact that the benefits of the oral history method and the skills developed by it are increasingly in demand by interdisciplinary research projects, have made the authors rethink the existing module. From 2012 the oral history module will be expanded: it will count 16 credits and approximately 12 lectures will be presented. Even more emphasis will be placed on the practical part of the module in order to strengthen the developing of skills. With increasing student numbers the new module will also include group work, focusing on themes such as social justice, reconciliation, global diversity and community history. Group work is considered essential because research has shown that most students learn more easily when they work in collaboration with others (Maclellan, 2005:138; Reach and Teach, *s.a.*).

It is the lecturers' aim with this module to focus increasingly on key issues of constructivism, including problem-solving, creating knowledge and the handling of challenging situations. It is important that students learn how to cope with situations they encounter when dealing with the real physical and social world. Students learn effectively by being involved and active in the learning process; therefore, we want to establish an experiential environment where opportunities for deep learning are created.

Finally, it is important for us that the oral history module also benefits the University and society as a whole. On 27 January 2011 the UFS launched The International Institute for Studies in Race, Reconciliation and Social Justice with the purpose of "linking the manifestations of race in higher education, to the related matters of reconciliation and social justice in the South African context against the backdrop of racial and ethnic conflicts in the world" (Bloemnews, 2011). We foresee our participation in this Institute's training, development and dialogue platform as oral history lends itself to addressing these issues. Future students may successfully utilise the Institute as a possible research and resource centre, as well as a place of internship. With our oral history module we see ourselves supporting the UFS Rector, Prof Jonathan Jansen's vision of the University as a "living laboratory" (University of the Free State, 2011a; University of the Free State, 2011b).

Notes

1. Previously (2003-2006) the Free State Provincial Archives was a training partner when Mr. Du Bruyn was an employee at this Archive before he moved to the National Museum.
2. For more detail on memory and the challenges it poses for the oral historian as an historical source of information, see Ritchie, 2003:20; H Slim, P Thomson, O Bennett, N Cross (eds) 1995, *Listening for a change. Oral testimony and community development*, 140-141; PH Hutton 1993, *History as an art of memory*, 7; J Fentress & C Wickham 1992, *Social Memory*, 7; S Caunce 1994, *Oral history and the local historian*, 214-219.
3. For more detail on ethical issues while doing oral history, see VR Yow 1994, *Recording oral history. A practical guide for social scientists*, 89-98.
4. The traditional approach is to create interviewer/interviewee combinations consisting of people of the same race and gender, as well as similar cultural backgrounds.

5. For the purpose of this article the term 'Africans' includes black people, Coloureds and Indians. By using the term 'Africans', no negative connotation or prejudice is implied towards the people grouped in this way.

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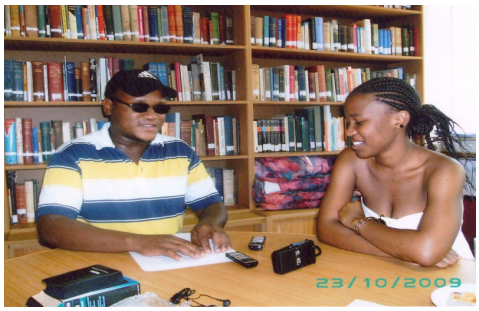
Image 1: Interviewer: Visually impaired student



Source: D du Bruyn & M Oelofse, 2009-2011, *Private oral history photo collection*. Bloemfontein.

Image 2: Interviewee: Lecturer

Source: D du Bruyn & M Oelofse, 2009-2011. *Private oral history photo collection*. Bloemfontein.

Image 3: Interviewee: Researcher

Source: D du Bruyn & M Oelofse, 2009-2011. *Private oral history photo collection*. Bloemfontein.

Image 4: Interviewee: Academic assistant

Source: D du Bruyn & M Oelofse, 2009-2011. *Private oral history photo collection*. Bloemfontein.

Image 5: Interview & assessment set-up. Interviewer & interviewee on the right and one of the lecturers on the left.

Source: D du Bruyn & M Oelofse, 2009-2011. *Private oral history photo collection*. Bloemfontein.

FROM A CONCENTRATION CAMP TO A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOL: A HISTORICAL-ENVIRONMENTAL PERSPECTIVE IN DEVELOPING A NEW IDENTITY

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Abstract

The overall goal of the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development 2005-2014, as proclaimed by the United Nations, is to integrate the principles, values and practices of sustainable development into all aspects of education and learning. This integrated and multi-dimensional approach is supported in South Africa by the White Paper for Education and Training and the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) for History as part of the Social Science learning area. The aim of this article is to report on how a historical-environmental approach to education had been realised in the context of Eenheid primary school in Nylstroom (Modimolle) located on grounds used for a concentration camp during the South African War (October 1899 to May 1902).[1] In particular, the researchers wanted to establish how a diverse group of learners experienced and internalised their historical-environmental events in creating their present identity. The findings of the school's learners (n=51) who participated in a case study suggest that the historical memory which developed from the unique location of the school not only expanded the learners perspectives on intercultural understanding, but also contributed to a better appreciation and responsibility of environmental and socio-cultural issues in a post-apartheid South Africa. In the process an ethic of sustainable living and the creation of a "new" South African identity developed.

Keywords: Education for Sustainable Development; Historical-environmental learning; Concentration camps; South African War; Socio-cultural understanding; Integrated approach to learning; Nylstroom (Modimolle); Eenheid primary school.

1 Also referred to as the Anglo-Boer War to denote the official warring parties. Some scholars prefer to call it the South African War, thereby acknowledging that all South Africans, white and black, were affected by the war and that many were participants.

Introduction

Education for sustainable development as described in the United Nation's Decade of Education for Sustainable Development 2005-2014 should not only focus on the biophysical environment but also on complex social issues, such as the links between environmental quality, human equality, human rights, peace and their underlying politics.[2] According to Wals[3] sustainability education should bring about a closer link between educational processes and real life using an interdisciplinary comprehensive approach. This requires learners to have skills in critical enquiry to explore the complexity and implications of sustainability. In the end education for sustainable development requires a pedagogy which sees learners develop skills and competencies for partnerships, participation and action.[4]

In South Africa the White Paper on Education and Training promotes this idea of a multi-dimensional approach to teaching and learning when it unequivocally stated:

> *Environmental education, involving an interdisciplinary, integrated and active approach to learning, must be a vital element of all levels and programmes of the education and training system, in order to create environmentally literate and active citizens and ensure that all South Africans, present and future, enjoy a decent quality of life through the sustainable use of resources.*[5]

This integrated approach to teaching and learning is also restated in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) for History which, inter alia, seeks to promote:

> *...(L)ocal studies which integrate history, geography, environmental education and democracy education; and the inclusion of lost voices and processes in history.*[6]

The aim of this article is to examine how this holistic approach to education had been realised in the context of Eenheid (Unity) primary school. This school is located in Nylstroom (Modimolle)[7] north of Pretoria on the terrain formerly

2 UNESCO,"Framework for the UN DESD international implementation scheme", *2006* (available at: www.unesco.org/education/desd), as accessed on 10 November 2011.

3 AEJ Wals, Learning in a changing world and changing in a learning world: Reflexively fumbling towards sustainability, *Southern African Journal of Environmental Education,* 24, 2007, p. 36.

4 K Henderson & D Tilbury, "Whole-school approaches to sustainability: An international review of sustainable school programs" (Report prepared by the Australian Research Institute in Education for Sustainability (ARIES), Sydney, 2004), p. 7.

5 South Africa, *White Paper on Education and Training* (Pretoria, Government Press, 1995), p. 18.

6 Department of Education, *Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 (Schools) Policy, Social Sciences* (Pretoria, Department of Education, 2002), p. 5.

7 The name of the town Nylstroom officially changed in 2002 to Modimolle (available at: http://www.leeulekker.com/articles/view/south-africa/limpopo/modimolle/towns-cities/modimolle_nylstroom), as accessed on 10 November 2011.

used as a concentration camp during the South African War (October 1899 to May 1902). To commemorate this event the school erected a monument at the main entrance of the school in 2010. Within the unique context that this school offers, the researchers wanted to establish how a culturally diverse group of learners experienced and internalised their historical-environmental events in creating their present day identity.

At first a broad overview will be given on the role of concentration camps during the South African War, after which the events in the Nylstroom camp will be highlighted in particular. This will be followed by a conceptual framework, the empirical investigation, discussion and conclusion.

Concentration camps and the South African War

On 12 October 1899 the first shots of the South African War were fired, which was the beginning of the most destructive armed conflict South Africa has experienced.[8] This war, which was the result of over a century of conflict between the main role players, namely the Dutch-speaking Boer colonists of the Transvaal and Free State republics and the British Empire, continued for 32 months. On 31 May 1902 the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging was signed in Pretoria between the delegates of the two Boer Republics, Transvaal and the Orange Free State and representatives of the British government. For the Boers this Peace Treaty signalled the total loss of their independence.[9]

The erection of concentration camps formed an important part of the British forces' tactics in an effort to outmanoeuvre the Boer forces' war effort. Originally these camps had been established as "refugee camps" by Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of British forces. These "refugee camps" bid those Boers who had voluntarily surrendered to the British Crown (called the "hands-uppers") a safe place to stay where they were protected from being re-commandeered by their fellow burgers.[10]

During September 1900 when the first two camps were set up, it happened that the Boers changed their tactics from a more conventional way of warfare to that of guerrilla fighting. This new way of warfare proved successful, which made the British realise that a different approach was necessary to counteract

8 H Giliomee & B Mbenga, *New history of South Africa* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 2007), p. 206.
9 F Pretorius, "The Anglo-Boer War: An overview", F Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched Earth* (Cape Town, Human and Rousseau, 2001), pp. 33-35.
10 SV Kessler,"The Black and Coloured concentration camps", F Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched Earth* (Cape Town, Human and Rousseau, 2001), pp. 33-35.

the Boers' guerrilla campaign. One of the strategies which was decided on by Lord Roberts and his successor Lord Kitchener, was to introduce a policy of destroying the farms of Boer men who were on commando. This approach, which was known as the 'scorched-earth policy', was characterised by the burning down of Boer homes and their crops and the driving away or slaughtering of their livestock. By turning vast stretches of countryside into wasteland, the British authorities hoped to deny the commandos any sheltering, source of intelligence and food supplies which in the end would make the continuation of the guerrilla war impossible, thus forcing the Boers to surrender.

The homeless Boer women and their children, together with aged men who were unfit to fight, were transported to these "refugee camps" where they soon by far outnumbered the "refugees". These people (the so-called "undesirables") were not seeking British protection and had therefore been placed in these camps against their will. For this reason it is more appropriate to refer to these camps as concentration camps rather than "refugee camps".[11] Separate concentration camps were established for the black people who were also homeless after their property was destroyed by the ruthlessly application of the scorched earth policy.[12] From the outset the British military authority was unprepared to accommodate the thousands of people in these camps which accordingly resulted in their ill-planning and poor administration.[13] In September 1901 the Nylstroom Camp was one of the 34 concentration camps for whites. In all of these camps there were approximately 110 000 inmates housed.[14]

The concentration camp at Nylstroom

Establishment

The Nylstroom camp had been under construction since 30 May 1901, and officially came into operation on 1 June 1901 as a fairly small camp with 743

11 F Pretorius, "The Anglo-Boer War: An overview", F Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched Earth* (Cape Town, Human and Rousseau, 2001), pp. 23-29; T Pakenham, *The Boer War* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), pp. 514-516; E Lee, *To the bitter end: A photographic history of the Boer War* (England, Viking, 1985), pp. 162-169; National Archives Repository of South Africa (TAB) Pretoria, Tkp 135: General reports on the burgher camps of the Transvaal and Natal, 10 March 1903.

12 JS Mohlamme, "African refugee camps in the Boer republics", F Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched Earth* (Cape Town, Human and Rousseau, 2001), pp. 110-131.

13 B Nasson, *The war for South Africa* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 2010), p. 247.

14 F Pretorius, "The fate of Boer women and children", F Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched Earth* (Cape Town, Human and Rousseau, 2001), p. 44.

inmates (87 men, 270 women and 386 children). At the time Nylstroom was a small village with "widely- scattered houses" in the valley of the Little Nyl (Nile) River which was located in the Waterberg district of the Transvaal.[15]

After ten months, on 25 March 1902, the camp officially broke up after the 1 474 inmates had been transported by train from between 20th and 24th March to the Irene camp, near Pretoria.[16] The plan of relocating the camp was first put forward by the six-member Ladies' Commission which was appointed by the British Minister of War to carry out an official investigation of the conditions in the various camps. In November this commission reported that the high malarial prevalence in the Waterberg district was enough reason to remove the camp from its present site.[17] It appeared that the British authorities decided to speed up the implementation of the commission's recommendation after General Beyers had freed 150 internees at the Pietersburg camp in January 1902, which was about 87 miles (139 kilometres) from Nylstroom.[18] During the same time there were rumours of an intended attack by the Beyers Commando on the Nylstroom camp. Contrary to the general custom, this camp was not fenced off by barbed-wire. Under cover of the surrounded thick bush it was possible for the Boer forces to come quite close to the camp.[19] To make things even worse, the eight-man police force had not always proved very vigilant in their efforts to properly guard the camp.[20]

When the camp came into operation, the inmates were at first accommodated in the houses of the village, the Gereformeerde church and even in the local jail. As their number increased they were also housed in tents that were spread out between the houses which gave the camp "a very untidy appearance".[21] It was only when Superintendent Cooke, as the first British official in charge of

15 TAB, Cd 819: Report on the refugee camp at Nylstroom by dr Kendal Franks, 8 Augustus 1901; Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps in South Africa by the Committee of Ladies, Report on the burgher camp Nylstroom, 19 November 1901.

16 TAB, Dbc 12: Burgher camps department, Pretoria. Report on the Nylstroom refugee camp by Major Anstruther Thomson, travelling inspector, 12 January 1902; TAB, Dbc 12: Monthly reports of the Nylstroom burgher camp, 25 January 1902 (transferred to Irene), 1 April 1902.

17 Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps...; E Wessels, "A cage without bars", F Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched Earth* (Cape Town, Human and Rousseau, 2001), p. 82.

18 JA van Rooy, *Naamlijs van die gestorwene in die konsentrasie kamp van Nijlstroom, Waterberg* (Pretoria, Noordelike Drukpers, 1917), p. 4; R Odendaal, *Waterberg op kommando*, *1899-1902* (Nylstroom, Published by the author), pp. 79-80.

19 TAB, Dbc 12: Burgher camps department...; Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps....

20 TAB, Dbc 5: Papers received: Nylstroom burgher camp, June 1901 - March 1902; TAB, Dbc 14: Burgher camps department, Pretoria. Burgher camp Nylstroom, general reports, 25 June 1901; TAB, Dbc 14: Statistical return for burgher camp Nylstroom month ending June 1901, circular no. 76, 6 September 1901; TAB, Pmo 33: Statement of evidence by major EF Brereton, 13 November 1901.

21 Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps...; TAB, Dbc 14: Burgher camps department (statistical return), 30 June 1901.

this camp,[22] was succeeded by Duncan on 3 September that all the tents were removed to the terrain of the now primary school of Eenheid (Unity). With the tents now situated at one place, the camp was set out in a more structured and organized way. The appearance of the camp took the form of a square block with each tent exactly 16 yards from one another. In November 1901 the camp intake reached its peak with 1 852 inmates. Of this total 1 275 lived in the camp, while the rest stayed in the adjoining village part of the camp.[23]

Image 1: The location of the town of Nylstroom

Source: Available at: http://www.ditholosafaris.com/safari_locations.php

Tension in the camp

The camp at Nylstroom represented a mosaic of different socio-cultural and political classes of people which was often characterised by strained relations amongst them. For obvious reasons, feelings of enmity existed between the women whose husbands were on commando and the British camp officials. These Boer women held the camp Superintendent and his officials responsible for the poor living conditions they and their children had to come to grips with.[24] Up to a total of 62 Boer families, for example, were boxed in to the 13 "small, airless and dark" cells of the jail, while others had to stay in overcrowded houses and "old and patched" tents which could not always

22 TAB, Dbc 14: Burgher camps department Pretoria. Burgher camp Nylstroom..., 25 June 1901.
23 Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps....
24 AWG Raath, *Die Boervrou, 1899-1902 (Deel 2: Kampsmarte)* (Orkney, EFJS Drukkers), p. 258.

render sufficient protection against the soaring temperatures of the summer and damp winters.[25] One of the Boer women in the camp, Helena Elizabeth de Beer, testified that the tent she and her children received was in such a poor state that when they overturn their bedding in the morning it was wetter from the bottom than it was the case with the upper part.[26]

Apart from the poor accommodation arrangements, there were also other circumstances in the camp that ignited further feelings of bitterness between the Boer women and the British officials. The Boer women showed, for instance, little confidence in the work of the camp medical staff who they held responsible for the many deaths that took place in the camp. At one stage the Nylstroom Camp represented the highest average death rate among children if compared to all the other camps in Transvaal.[27] From September to the end of December 1901 alone an average of 49 children died each month. The most common causes of these deaths were measles, diarrhoea, pneumonia, enteric fever and dysentery.[28]

In an effort to assist the sick people, a hospital which could accommodate twelve patients opened in the same month that the camp had been established. A house in the adjoining village part of the camp served this purpose.[29] In the course of time the hospital was enlarged and by the end of January 1902 it was equipped with sixty beds.[30]

Despite the existence of hospital facilities with qualified medical staff, the culture of hospitalisation was a completely unknown custom to the Boer women. In this regard the medical officer of the camp, Dr Percy Green, reported in September that:

> *... there are still a great prejudice against, and great difficulty in, getting patients to come into hospital under compulsion.*[31]

25 TAB, Cd 819: Report on the refugee camp at Nylstroom...; JA van Rooy, *Naamlijs van die gestorwene*…, p. 4; R Odendaal, *Waterberg op kommando...*, p. 79.

26 AWG Raath, *Die Boervrou*…, p. 258.

27 JC Otto, "Die smart van vrou en kind", JH Breytenbach (ed.), *Gedenkalbum van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog* (Kaapstad, Nasionale Pers, 1949), p. 464.

28 TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating to the working of the refugee camps in the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Cape Colony, and Natal. Total list of inmates, sick, and deaths in burgher camps, Transvaal, for month ending 30 September and December. 1901; TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating…, Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, September 1901, 2 October 1901, 31 October 1901; TAB, Cd 902: Further papers relating to the working of the refugee camps in South Africa. Statistical return of inmates, sick, and deaths in burgher camps, Transvaal, for month ending 31 October and December 1901.

29 TAB, Dbc 14: Burgher camps department, Pretoria. Burgher camp Nylstroom..., 25 June 1901.

30 TAB, Dbc 12: Burgher camps department, Pretoria. Monthly reports…, 25 January 1902 (transferred to Irene) 1 April 1902.

31 TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating..., Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, 2 October 1901.

The Boer mothers strongly believed that when a child was hospitalised, it did not take long before death would occur. They blamed the medical staff and experienced it as another manner of British punishment. To avoid hospitalisation, many of the Boer mothers disguised the illness of their children, or hid them and preferred to rely rather on their old Boer remedies.[32]

For the doctor and nurses of the camp this obstinate attitude of the Boer women who deliberately rejected proper medical care for their children, was difficult to understand. They considered hospitalisation a high priority, following Dr Green's remarks that:

> *... the camp ... will always be unhealthy, as the inhabitants are saturated with malaria poison, and the condition of life at present, and surrounding circumstances, are just the conditions to bring out the poison.*[33]

On his part Green's successor, Dr Sturdee accused the Boer women's unhygienic life style as the reason for the high mortality rate of the children. He explained that some of the mothers:

> *…are so filthy, dirty and careless in their habits … that they are not really fit to be entrusted with the care of even their own children leave alone orphans.*

In an effort to take the children out of the care of these "improvident and irresponsible mothers" and to make hospitalisation for sick children more accessible, Sturdee wanted to start a children's home.[34] His dream never materialised, but one can imagine that when rumours of his intentions became known, it would have contributed to more intense feelings of bitterness on the side of the distressed Boer women towards the British name.

Apart from accusing some of the mothers for their insanitary life style, Sturdee also realised that especially the houses in the village part of the camp were too overcrowded (in one instance 49 people) to be in any way successful in combating the spreading of diseases.[35] For this reason he requested the British authorities in October to make more tents available in an effort to remove some of the inmates from the houses.[36] It is not clear how the Boer women and their families responded to Duncan's plan to be relocated to the

32 B Nasson, *The war for South Africa*..., p. 247; E van Heyningen, "A tool for modernisation? The Boer concentration camps of the South African War", *South African Journal of Science,* 106(5/6), May/June 2010, p. 5; T Jackson, *The Boer War* (London, Macmillan, 1999), pp. 153-155; JC Otto, *Die konsentrasiekampe* (Kaapstad, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1954), p. 130.

33 TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating..., Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, 2 October 1901.

34 TAB, Dbc 14: Burgher camps department Pretoria. Burgher camp Nylstroom..., 21 October 1901, 1 December 1901.

35 TAB, Cd 819: Report on the refugee camp at Nylstroom....

36 TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating…, Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, 31 October 1901.

tent section of the camp. One can, however, assume that not all of them would have taken a keen interest in this venture, for the simple reason that the tents could not have given the same amount of protection against inclement weather.

The provision of poor food rations, lacking in nutritional value, further aided the conditions for diseases and also added to the antagonistic attitude of the Boer women towards the British officials. Food in the Transvaal camps was allocated according to prescribed ration scales. In 1901 the full ration scale per person per week was: 7 pounds (about 3 kg) of meal or flour, 4 ounces (about 113 g) salt, 6 ounces (about 170 g) coffee, 12 ounces (about 340 g) sugar and 3 pounds (1.36 kg) of meat and 1 pound (0.453 kg) of rice. Children younger than 12 years old received half of this supply. Instead of meat, babies under the age of three received a bottle of milk which was diluted with tinned "Ideal" milk.[37] These scales proof to be inadequate as calculations during this time showed that adult women were about 700 calories below their supposed minimum daily intake.[38]

Duncan was the first to admit at the end of November that the general health of the inmates was poor as the result of the non-availability of meat and vegetables.[39] Despite this admittance, he was convinced that some of the Boer women and their families "seemed happy and contented" because they were:

> *…bywoners (a poor tenant farmer) who lived in much worse conditions in their own homes and lived mostly on fruit and vegetables, so that the fare they received in the camp was to them novel and luxurious. Some of the people in the camp had never seen white bread until they were brought into Nijlstroom.*[40]

The provision of food supplies were dependent on the single railway line which was situated about a mile away from the camp and ran northwards from Pretoria to Nylstroom from where it headed to the final stop at Pietersburg.[41] The delivery of food supplies to the remote Nylstroom and Pietersburg camps had always been a source of difficulty. Apart from the great distance to these camps, the traffic on the line was often of an irregular nature due to the raids

37 Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps....

38 E van Heyningen, "A tool for modernisation?...", *South African Journal of Science,* 106(5/6), May/June 2010, p. 8.

39 TAB, Dbc 14: Burgher camps department Pretoria. Burgher camp Nylstroom...,1 December 1901; TAB, Dbc 12: Burgher camps department..., 12 January 1902.

40 TAB, Cd 819: Report on the refugee camp....

41 TAB, Cd 819: Report on the refugee camp...; Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps....

of the Boer guerrillas.[42] To compensate for the lack of fresh meat, tinned corned beef was issued which the Boer women, whom preferred fresh meat more than anything, found unfamiliar.[43]

As a substance for vegetables, lime juice was introduced as a vitamin booster to fight diseases. This juice was often regarded by the Boer families as too sour and they were only willing to drink it if sugar was added.[44]

The provision of fresh water in the camp also led to differences and tension. As a result of the influence of the war, the water supply was scarce and in many instances polluted with disease. Despite the camp authorities' efforts to supply the Boer women and their families with fresh water, this seemed not appreciated by everyone. As a precaution measure for a possible shortage of drinking water, wells were sunk. Furthermore all drinking water was boiled and distributed on a daily basis.[45] However, for many of the Boer families the boiled water had no taste and they preferred to obtain their drinking water from the Nyl river which ran past the camp at a distance of about 150 yards (137.16 meters).[46] Many of the camp inmates were from the district which meant they had drunk the river water all their lives. Therefore they could not understand why the British officials suddenly objected and wanted to withhold them from doing so.[47]

The inability of the camp administrators not to execute their water policy in a scrupulous way might have been the reason for the negative inspection report Duncan received in January 1902. In this report it was mentioned that "the arrangements for the supply of drinking water are not quite satisfactory..." It is unclear in how far the drinking of the river water added to the spreading of diseases in the camp.[48]

42 TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating..., Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, 31 October 1901; TAB, Tkp 135: General reports....

43 TAB, Cd 853. Further papers relating..., Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, 31 October 1901; TAB, Tkp 135: General reports...; E van Heyningen, *"A tool for modernisation?...", South African Journal of Science,* 106(5/6), May/June 2010, p. 8.

44 TAB, Dbc 14: Burgher camps department Pretoria. Sanitary inspector's report, burgher camp Nylstroom, 28 December 1901; E Van Heyningen, *"A tool for modernisation?...", South African Journal of Science,* 106(5/6), May/June 2010, p. 9.

45 TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating..., Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, 31 October 1901.

46 TAB, Cd 14: Burgher camps department Pretoria. Burgher camp Nylstroom..., 1 December 1901; TAB, Dbc 12: Burgher camps department, Pretoria. Monthly reports…, 25 January 1902 (transferred to Irene), 1 April 1902.

47 Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps….

48 TAB, Dbc 12: Burgher camps department, Pretoria. Monthly reports…, 25 January 1902 (transferred to Irene), 1 April 1902.

There is ample proof that the Superintendent and his officials were tireless in their efforts to constantly improve and uphold the sanitary arrangements of the camp in order to curb the spreading of diseases.[49] Where these arrangements brought discomfort in some measure, it appears that the Boer women simply ignored it. Some of the inmates, for example, did not take the trouble to clean their tents and houses properly. Others, again, did not make use of the latrines at night because they felt that it was erected too far from their tents. To prevent any excuse for further abusing the sanitary regulations, the camp officials decided in January 1902 to place night latrines in an open space in the centre of the camp. These latrines opened at 20:00 and were locked at sunrise.[50]

All these actions on the side of the Boer women showed an attitude of non-corporation and hostility towards the British camp officials who they held responsible for their suffering. In August, Dr Kendal Franks, Consulting Surgeon to His Majesty's Forces became cognisant of this wilful attitude after he had visited the camp. He asked for more stringent measures to be imposed:

> *...more might be done in this camp by a judicious exercise of authority, because it is evident that the Boers are totally ignorant of the elements of sanitation, and will not, unless compelled thereto, take the simple precautions for the preservation of health.*[51]

Apart from their tense relationship with the British camp officials, several of the Boer women whose husbands were still on commando also sometimes felt particularly bitter towards their fellow Boer families who voluntarily surrendered to the British forces.[52] Where these "hands-uppers" or non-combatants were given the chance to perform work in the camp at the cost of the "undesirables", one can imagine that it would contributed to an even further deterioration of relations. For all work done everyone was paid two shillings a day and they also received extra meat. While some of the men were involved in woodcutting outside the camp to provide in the supply of firewood, a number of the women helped the camp matron to inspect

49 TAB, Cd 819: Report on the refugee camp at Nylstroom...; TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating..., Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, 31 October 1901; Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps....

50 TAB, Dbc 12: Burgher camps department, Pretoria. Monthly reports…, 25 January 1902 (transferred to Irene), 1 April 1902.

51 TAB, Cd 819: Report on the refugee camp at Nylstroom....

52 TAB, Dbc 12: Burgher camps department, Pretoria. Monthly reports…, 25 January 1902 (transferred to Irene) 1 April 1902; F Pretorius, "The Anglo-Boer War…", F Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched Earth,* p. 44; TAB, Tkp 135: General reports....

the tents and aided with the nursing of patients.[53] With these cash earnings, it was possible to buy extra food and other luxuries from the camp store.[54]

A number of black internees formed another group of people in the camp. Unfortunately the details of their role and interaction with the white internees and British camp officials are infrequent. Much of the archival information went missing when pages were, for no clear reason, removed from the Nylstroom camp register in 1911.[55] To gain some sort of insight in the role they played, we had to rely on passing remarks that were mentioned in some of the reports on the camp. From these we have learned that the black population was divided into two categories. There were those who were employed by the British to help with the general camp administration. They were for instance involved in tasks such as emptying, cleaning and disinfecting the eight latrines in the camp as well as the small private latrines throughout the village.[56] For the reason that there was no barbed wire around the camp, six blacks were also appointed by the camp authorities as guards to ensure that nobody entered or left the camp at night.[57] The employment of Black guards might have been a strange and in a certain sense a humiliating experience for the white internees. Suddenly they found themselves under the authority of blacks while they had treated them as their subjects for centuries.

There were also those loyal servants who accompanied the Boer women to the concentration camp, and between whom there obviously existed good relationships.[58] They were not rationed and were dependant on sharing the already scanty portions which were allocated to their mistresses. In some cases these servants slept in a small separate encampment, in wagons or even in some of the outbuildings of the town.[59]

Inclusion of local history in the school curriculum

This conflict between the British Empire and the Boer Republics of South Africa had a huge impact on the social, economic and biophysical

53 TAB, Cd 853: Further papers relating… Total list of inmates, sick and deaths in burgher camps, Transvaal for the month ending 30 September and December 1901. Medical report, burgher refugee camp, Nylstroom, September 1901, 2 October 1901, 31 October 1901; Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps….

54 TAB, Dbc 14: Burgher camps department Pretoria. Burgher camp Nylstroom..., 25 June 1901.

55 E van Heyningen, "British concentration camps of the South African War (Nylstroom), 1900-1902" (available at: http://www.lib.uct.ac.za/mss/bccd/Histories/Nylstroom/), as accessed on 28 August 2011.

56 Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps....

57 TAB, Cd 819: Report on the refugee camp at Nylstroom....

58 SV Kessler, "The Black and Coloured...", F Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched Earth,* p. 133.

59 Anglo-Boer War Museum Bloemfontein, Cd 893: Report on the concentration camps....

environment. In remembrance of this war the school principal decided to use the school's unique historical location to include the local history in its approach to environmental education. The local history was highlighted by a ceremony at which a monument was unveiled in 2010 which commemorates the people that were held in the camp and the political development which followed leading up to the present day free and democratic society. The symbolic value of this monument produced the historical memory which was further activated and extended by the history teacher's lessons of the South African War and in particular the events at the Nylstroom concentration camp. Hereby opportunity was given to the learners to articulate how these experiences had shaped their perspectives of their present day identity in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Image 2: The monument in front of the Primary School of Eenheid (Unity)

Source: Photo, S Raath

As part of their 50 years celebrations (1960-2010), this monument was erected at the entrance gate of the primary school of Eenheid (Unity) in Nylstroom. The child on the left is chained to the wall and symbolises the detention of the children during their time in the concentration camp in 1902. On the right, in 2010, the children enjoy complete freedom with no chains around their wrists. They were no more suppressed by a foreign power and could experience the comfort of freedom of speech and movement. In the middle the granite "tent" symbolized everything that was in the past

and will be in future with the message to "stand together, (and to) stand strong". The point of the triangle points to the cross that combines the past events of 1902 and the present expectations of 2010 and beyond. The cross symbolises the belief, in a Christian context, that the Almighty, as in the past, will also guide the school into the future. As part of the celebrations, and to uphold the biophysical environment, 14 indigenous cycads were also planted, representing the 14 different classes of the school.[60]

Conceptual framework

Memory, history and national identity

According to Nora[61] the concepts of memory and history are not entirely synonymous. He believes that memory is in a constant process of evolution because it is open to remembering and forgetting and, to a certain degree, exposed to manipulation. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction of the past of what is no longer, and therefore asks for analysis and criticism. Memory also takes root in the concrete, in gestures, images and objects, while history is bound to temporal continuities and to relations of people and societies. However, Nora holds the opinion that what we call memory today is no longer memory anymore, but already history. The threatened loss of memory has led to the growing desire for its preservation which paved the way for history to seize memory by penetrating and transforming it. An "acceleration of history" thus occurred to nurture and preserve the continuation of individual, group or national identity.[62]

History and memory are critical co-agents for national bonding and the creation of a shared national identity. "[O]ne might almost say: no (historical) memory, no identity; no identity, no nation."[63] Such as with memory and history, national identity is a socially constructed phenomenon. It emphasises a relationship between people and place (the environment) which is defined by social structures and social norms. History texts, monuments and museums and other forms of public history are of particular importance to communicate a message of national cohesion and identity in a multi-cultural country.[64]

60 The drivers for the design and erection of the monument were Mr JS van der Merwe, the headmaster of the school, a teacher Mr Fredrich Nezer and his farther Mr Willem Nezer.

61 P Nora, "Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire ", *Representations*, 26 (Special issue), 1989, p. 8.

62 P Nora, "Between memory and history: …", *Representations*, 26, (Special issue), 1989, pp. 8, 12-33.

63 A Smith, "Memory and modernity: Reflections on Ernst Gellner's theory of nationalism", *Nations and Nationalisms*, 2, 1996, p. 383.

64 AD Smith, "National identity and the idea of European Unity", *International Affairs,* 68, 1992, p. 63.

Schools are a powerful link between historical memory and national identity. In many countries history in schools is closely linked to the development of a sense of common identity. History teachers, in particular are the people who are in the position to transmit national narratives about the past, thereby using historical memory as a way of defining and debating who "we" are.[65] However, Barton and McCully[66] warned that this kind of emphasis can also lead to the disavowal of any common notion of belonging when questions of who we are turned into questions on who we are *not*.

The utilisation of war as a political instrument has often proved in the past to be a vital event in the process of the development of social cohesion and national identity.[67] This research revolves around the Nylstroom concentration camp during the South African War, exploring how historical memory had manifested itself in the formation of primary school learner's evolving national identity.

Empirical investigation

Research method

At first an extensive literature study was undertaken based on secondary and primary archival sources to serve as an orientation for the historical-environmental context of the study. The literature study was followed by a case study in which the research method chosen was a mixed approach that involves quantitative and qualitative analysis. This method is similar to what Creswell & Plano-Clark (2011)[68] proposes as mixed-method strategy. A questionnaire consisting of sections A (qualitative) and B (quantitative) was used as the data – collection method.

Research design

A case study was used to explain and investigate how a diverse group of

65 E Podeh, "History and memory in the Israeli educational system: The portrayal of the Arab-Israeli conflict in history textbooks (1948-2000)", *History and memory,* 12, 2000, p. 65; KC Barton & A McCully, "History teaching and the perpetuation of memories: The Northern Ireland experience", ED Cairns & MD Roe (eds.), *The role of memory in ethnic conflict* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrace Macmillan, 2003), p. 122.

66 KC Barton & A McCully, "History teaching and the perpetuation of memories…", ED Cairns, MD Roe (eds.), *The role of memory...*, p. 122.

67 P Melling, "War and memory in the new world order", M Evans & K Lunn (eds.), *War and memory in the twentieth century* (Oxford, Berg,1997), p. 225.

68 JW Creswell & VL Plano-Clark, *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (London, Routledge Falmer, 2011), p. 53.

learners in a real-life context at the Primary School of Eenheid (Unity) experienced and internalised their historical-environmental events in creating their present day identity.

A typology-based convergent parallel design procedure[69] was chosen to guide the implementation of the research. The convergent parallel design procedure was chosen because the researchers deemed that the use of in-tandem procedures would improve the overall strength of the study and complement and clarify results.

In the design of this research the researchers planned to implement the quantitative and qualitative data collection process during the same phase. The qualitative strand would be followed by the quantitative strand. At first the quantitative and qualitative strands of the research are to be kept independent. The two sets of research results will only be merged into an overall interpretation when drawing conclusions at the end of the study. The philosophical assumption behind this convergent parallel design is the umbrella paradigm of pragmatism, which is well suited for guiding the work of merging the two approaches into a larger understanding. Creswell and Plano-Clark[70] describe pragmatism as a worldview that use diverse approaches and that value both objective and subjective knowledge.

Research methodology

A purposive sampling strategy was used to select the participants (learners) who are central to the study and the setting (school) where the unique historical event took place.[71] The qualitative strand of the study was first implemented. It was requested from the respondents to answer the following open-ended question (Section A) in a short essay format: "What did you learn from the history of the concentration camp, and what is its meaning for you today?" When this phase of the research was completed, the essay was taken in.

Section B of the questionnaire was then used for the next quantitative research phase.[72] Closed-ended items were used to determine the respondent's historical knowledge on the South African War and the Nylstroom concentration camp, as well as the perceptions that exist in terms of the way in which the

69 JW Creswell & VL Plano-Clark, *Designing and conducting* …, p. 77.
70 JW Creswell & VL Plano-Clark, *Designing and conducting*…, p. 43.
71 JW Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry and research design* (University of Nebraska, Lincoln, SAGE Publications, 2007), p. 125.
72 JW Creswell & VL Plano-Clark, *Designing and conducting*…, p. 77.

war influenced the social events and biophysical environment at their school (See Tables 3-13). A five-point Likert-type scale was used on a continuum of 0 (no response), 4 (agree), 3 (partly agree), 2 (do not agree), and 1 (strongly disagree)[73] to collect the data.

All the Grade 7 learners (12-13 years old) (n=51) of the school, representing eight different language groups (See Table 2), were asked to participate in the two independent research surveys. The convergent parallel research procedure was completed during school time under the supervision of two teachers and one of the researchers. By completing the quantitative section of the research after the qualitative section, it excluded the possibility for the respondents to be influenced by the information embedded in the closed items of the quantitative section.

The analysis procedure of the qualitative data gathered during the first phase of the research was analysed by dividing the text data received from the respondents in small units (phrases, sentences, or paragraphs). Units were identifying that were relevant to the first part of the question: "What did you learn from the history of the concentration camp." Labels were then assigned to each unit after which grouping of the codes into themes took place. The second part of the question, "What does it mean for you today?" was analysed in the same way.[74]

Reliability was determined by inter-coder agreement between the two researchers. The transcripts were coded independently by the two researchers and then compared to determine whether they arrived at the same codes. To analyse the quantitative data they were calculated in percentages and presented in frequency tables.

By making use of qualitative and quantitative data the researchers adhered to the advice of Ivankova et al.[75] who postulate that the type of phenomenon under investigation is best explained and understood when a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data are gathered and analysed. It furthermore allows for triangulation of data to control for validity and reliability.[76]

The interpretation of the research data was done by drawing inferences and meta-inferences. Inferences are conclusions drawn from the separate quantitative and qualitative strands and meta-inferences are conclusions drawn

73 I Cohen, I Manion & K Morrison, *Research methods in education* (London, Routledge Falmer, 2000), p. 253.
74 JW Creswell & VL Plano-Clark, *Designing and conducting*…, p. 208.
75 NV Ivankova, JW Creswell & VLP Clark, "Foundations and approaches to mixed methods research", K Maree (ed.), *First steps in research* (Pretoria, Van Schaik, 2007), p. 266.
76 PD Leedy & JE Ormrod, *Practical research: Planning and design* (New Jersey, Pearson, 1989), pp. 99-100.

across the quantitative and qualitative strands. A side-by-side comparison of the data was done by presenting the quantitative and qualitative results together so that they can easily be compared.[77] The researchers then looked for congruent and discrepant evidence between the databases.

Ethical aspects

For ethical purposes the questionnaire was anonymously completed. Before the implementation of the research, the respondents were requested by one of the researchers to answer the questions in an honest way. The respondents were also informed that their anonymity would be protected at all times.[78] Furthermore the respondents were individually involved and there was no opportunity given beforehand to discuss the content of the questionnaire with their peers. The appropriate permission to conduct the research was obtained from the Department of Education as well as from the school principal, who in turn, obtained the consent from the learners and parents concerned.

Results

To follow are the results gathered from the quantitative and qualitative strands of the questionnaire. The quantitative data was gathered using closed-ended questions while the qualitative data was gathered by means of an answer in a short essay format to the following open-ended question: "What did you learn from the history of the concentration camp, and what is its meaning for you today?"

Questions regarding biographical information (gender and home language) of the respondents were posed to establish the heterogeneous composition of the respondents in this case study.

Table 1: Biographical data of the respondents

Gender	Respondents	Percentage
Male	27	53
Female	24	47
Total	51	100

77 JW Creswell & VL Plano-Clark, *Designing and conducting…*, pp. 213, 223.
78 JW Creswell, Qualitative inquiry..., p. 141.

Table 2: Additional biographical data of the respondents

Home language	Respondents	Percentage
Afrikaans	16	31.3
Sepedi	12	23.5
Sesotho	10	19.6
siSwati	2	3.9
isiZulu	1	2.0
Setswana	3	5.9
Xitsonga	1	2.0
isiXhosa	1	2.0
No indication	5	9.8
Total	**51**	**100**

From the biographical data in Tables 1 and 2 it is in the first place clear that gender is well presented with the 53% male and 47% female respondents. Furthermore the data shows that the respondents were a diverse group of learners, representing eight different home languages. Afrikaans (31.4%), Sepedi (23.5%) and Sesotho (19.6%) are the three home languages most spoken by the respondents.

Table 3: Subjects which the respondents indicated helped them to learn about their school's unique historical-environmental location

Response	Total	Percentage
Natural Science	36	71%
Geography / History (Social Sciences)	36	71%
Life Orientation	33	65%
Economic and Management Sciences	33	65%
Arts and Culture	27	53%
Technology	20	39%
Languages	15	29%
Mathematics	11	22%

Table 3 indicates that a great majority of the respondents (71%) believed that Natural Sciences and Geography/History (Social Sciences) were the subjects that taught them the most about their environment and their schools' history. On the other hand Mathematics (22%) and the Languages (29%) were indicated as the subjects that taught them the least about their environment and their local history. Life Orientation, Economic and Management

Sciences and Arts and Culture all showed percentages of more than 50% in their contribution to the respondent's knowledge on environmental and local history issues. From this it can be deduced that aspects of the environment as well as the school's history is taught by most of the teachers in most of the subjects. In this regard Haigh[79] claimed that the challenge for environmental sustainability education is to reach beyond the subject-bound confines of formal academic education.

Table 4: Reasons for the occurrence of the South African War

Response	Number of "Yes" responses	Percentage
Britain wanted control of the gold	48	94%
Expansion of Britain's territory	21	41%
The Boers were angry with Britain	29	57%
Zulus wanted more land	7	14%

Table 4 shows that the vast majority of the respondent's (94%) were of the opinion that Britain's desire to control the gold industry was the most important cause for the South African War.

From the qualitative data this economic motive was also identified by various respondents as the primary cause of the war:

> *'The English wanted our land because the gold mines were here.' '[The] English people came to South Africa because they heard that South Africa had found diamonds and gold.' 'The England people heard that there were diamonds in South Africa, they came like they were harmless but as soon as they heard again that there was gold in South Africa they started to think South Africa is rich, and we must take it all.' 'When the British saw that South Africa had gold and silver they wanted to be the owners....' 'All the British people wanted was to take all the gold.'*

Table 5: What was the influence of this war on the environment (biophysical, social and economic environment)?

Response	Number of "Yes" responses	Percentage
Farms did not produce food anymore	29	57%
Farm buildings were burnt down	36	71%
Families became fragmented	31	61%
Natural vegetation was destroyed	31	61%

79 M Haigh, "Promoting environmental education for sustainable development: The value of links between higher education and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's)", *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 30(2), July 2006, p. 176.

Table 5 indicates that most of the respondents (71%) believed that the most devastating effect of the war on the environment was the burning of the farms, thereby destroying not only the natural vegetation (biophysical environment), but also denying the famers the opportunity to produce food (economic environment). Most of the respondents (61%) thought that the war's influence on the social environment was nearly as serious because it fragmented family ties.

The qualitative data also showed that the suffering of the women and children was regularly mentioned as a social concern. In many instances references were made to the inmates who had to "live in tents" and had to drink "water that was unclean." "They died from hunger" because they "didn't eat proper food."

Table 6: What does the monument on the school ground symbolise?

Response	Number of "Yes" responses	Percentage
War	16	31%
Illness	8	16%
Freedom	42	82%
Peace	38	75%
Division	14	27%
Suffering	22	43%

From Table 6 it is clear that the vast majority of the respondents (82%) indicated that the monument symbolises freedom, while 75% believed it symbolises peace.

These convictions are strongly supported by the qualitative data. The respondents believed that "...the South African people are free" and "...because we are free; we can do what we want." Some felt that the South Africans "are free, because they fought together as one. They are "...pleased that the war is something of the past, because now our school is known and the South African people are free." For others "it meant my country has fought for itself so that it could defeat those people and get our country so that we could have peace." Several of the respondents were appreciative of the historical process that created the present situation: "My country has got it rights back..." "What it means for me is that they (the children) weren't as free as we are, they didn't get the education and care we are getting, which we take for granted. I think we should appreciate everything we have and be thankful for what we have."

Table 7: Why is the monument surrounded by indigenous plants?

Response		**1 (Strongly disagree)**	**2 (Do not agree)**	**3 (Partly agree)**	**4 (Agree)**	**0 (No response)**
Item	Frequency (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)
7a	Indigenous plants are part of the local environment	10 (19.60%)	5 (9.80%)	5 (9.80%)	29 (56.86%)	2 (3.92%)
7b	The plants are part of our heritage	4 (7.84%)	4 (7.84%)	5 (9.80%)	36 (70.58%)	2 (3.92%)
7c	Alien plants overcrowd our own indigenous plants	19 (37.25%)	2 (7.84%)	5 (9.80%)	22 (43.13%)	2 (3.92%)
7d	Indigenous plants use less water	7 (13.72%)	4 (7.84%)	11 (21.56%)	27 (52.94%)	2 (3.92%)

Table 7 shows that more than half of the total of the respondents (56.86%) agreed that indigenous plants should be planted to surround the monument, because they believed it represents the original local vegetation which must be conserved. Furthermore the majority of the respondents (70.58%) were convinced that indigenous plants should deserve a place around the monument for the reason that they are part of the South African heritage, while more than half of the respondents (52.94%) correctly stated that indigenous plants use less water than alien invasive species.

Table 8: The way the school operates now is an example of…

Response		**1 (Strongly disagree)**	**2 (Do not agree)**	**3 (Partly agree)**	**4 (Agree)**	**0 (No response)**
Item	Frequency (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)
8a	Conflict	9 (17.64%)	22 (43.13%)	10 (19.60%)	7 (13.72%)	3 (5.88%)
8b	Things that went wrong	22 (43.13%)	12 (23.52%)	7 (13.72%)	8 (15.68%)	2 (3.92%)
8c	Tolerance between culture groups	13 (25.49%)	6 (11.76%)	11 (21.56%)	18 (35.29%)	3 (5.88%)
8d	Unity between the different race groups of our country	6 (11.76%)	3 (5.88%)	12 (23.52%)	28 (54.90%)	2 (3.92%)

Table 8 indicates that respectively 60.77% and 66.65% of the respondents disagree to strongly disagree that their school is an example of conflict and a place where things are going wrong. More than half of the respondents (56.85%) agree to partly agree that there is tolerance between the different culture groups while the vast majority (78.42%) agree to partly agree that unity between the different languages groups does exist in their school.

These convictions were supported in the qualitative data. In this regard a Setswana respondent answered that she is "proud of the white people who fought for our country," while a Sepedi respondent was grateful that "… we are free and the people that helped us are now heroes." Another Sepedi respondent felt that "…my country has fought for itself so that it could defeat those people (the British) and get our country so that we could have peace." A Xitsonga respondent claimed that the "Boers were fighting for the whole South Africa…"

Table 9: The history of our school grounds helps us…

Response		**1 (Strongly disagree)**	**2 (Do not agree)**	**3 (Partly agree)**	**4 (Agree)**	**0 (No response)**
Item	Frequency (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)
9a	to better understand everyday life	12 (23.52%)	2 (3.92%)	7 (13.72%)	28 (54.90%)	2 (3.92%)
9b	to understand the importance of peace	6 (11.76%)	2 (3.92%)	5 (9.80%)	35 (68.62%)	3 (5.88%)
9c	in no way to understand today's situation	18 (35.29%)	13 (25.49%)	5 (9.80%)	10 (19.60%)	5 (9.80%)
9d	to understand what happens when one group suppresses another group with force	12 (23.52%)	5 (9.80%)	16 (31.37%)	16 (31.37%)	2 (3.92%)

Table 9 shows that a majority of the respondents (68.62%) agree to partly agree that the history of their school contributed to a better understanding of everyday life, while a vast majority of respondents (78.42%) agree to partly agree that the history of their school terrain helped them to understand the importance of peace. The majority of the respondents (60.78%) do not agree to strongly disagree with the statement that the history of their school

was unable to contribute to a better understanding of today's situation in South Africa. As a matter of fact, the majority of the respondents (62.74%) suggested that they understand what the implications will be when one group suppresses another group with force.

From the qualitative data an isiXhosa respondent commented as follows:

> *What it means for me is that they (the inmates) weren't as free as we are, they didn't get the education and care we are getting, which we take for granted. I think we should appreciate everything we have and be thankful for what we have.*

For an Afrikaans respondent, the history of their school grounds which was typified by suppression and bondage:

> *…means a lot to me, because it tells me of what happened to my family and how grateful I should be not to be there.*

Table 10: Environ mental projects are…

Response		**1 (Strongly disagree)**	**2 (Do not agree)**	**3 (Partly agree)**	**4 (Agree)**	**0 (No response)**
Item	Frequency (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)
10a	supported by many learners	11 (21.5%)	5 (9.80%)	10 (19.60%)	23 (45.09%)	2 (3.92%)
10b	supported by a few learners	11 (21.56%)	11 (21.56%)	10 (19.60%)	17 (33.33%)	2 (3.92%)
10c	are a waste of time	30 (58.82%)	11 (21.58%)	2 (3.92%)	6 (11.76%)	2 (3.92%)
10d	made me love the environment	10 (19.60%)	3 (5.88%)	3 (5.88%)	33 (64.70%)	2 (3.92%)

From Table 10 it is clear that although more than the half of the respondents (52.93%) agree to partly agree that environmental projects in their school were only supported by a few learners, the majority of the respondents (64.69%) differed from their conviction. In fact, the vast majority of the respondents (80.40%) do not agree to strongly disagree with the assumption that environmental projects at their school were a waste of time. Their scepticism is supported by the majority of the respondents (70.58%) who indicated that they showed an appreciation and love for the environment.

Table 11: The teachers at our school…

Response		1 (Strongly disagree)	2 (Do not agree)	3 (Partly agree)	4 (Agree)	0 (No response)
Item	Frequency (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)
11a	are proud of the school	7 (13.72%)	0 (00.0%)	6 (11.76%)	36 (70.58%)	2 (3.92%)
11b	emphasize the importance of a beautiful environment	5 (9.80%)	5 (9.80%)	12 (23.52%)	26 (50.98%)	3 (5.88%)
11c	do not care for the environment of our school	35 (68.62%)	4 (7.84%)	4 (7.84%)	6 (11.76%)	2 (3.92%)
11d	teach us to save water and energy	6 (11.76%)	3 (5.88%)	6 (11.76%)	34 (66.6%)	2 (3.92%)

Table 11 shows that the vast majority of the respondents (82.3%) agree to partly agree that their teachers were proud of their school, while 76.46% of the respondents do not agree to strongly disagree that their teachers were not prepared to take care of their school environment. The majority of the respondents (74.50%) and (78.36%) respectively agree to partly agree that their teachers emphasise the importance of a sustainable environment and urged them to take proper care of it by saving water and energy.

Table 12: The teachers taught the South African War…

Response		1 (Strongly disagree)	2 (Do not agree)	3 (Partly agree)	4 (Agree)	0 (No response)
Item	Frequency (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)
12a	not very clearly	26 (50.98%)	10 (19.60%)	5 (9.80%)	8 (15.68%)	1 (1.96%)
12b	only from one side	16 (31.37%)	16 (31.37%)	8 (15.68%)	9 (17.64%)	2 (3.92%)
12c	as an necessity	11 (21.56%)	5 (9.80%)	15 (29.41%)	19 (37.25%)	1 (1.96%)
12d	by referring to all the bad influences it had	9 (17.64%)	6 (11.76%)	11 (21.56%)	24 (47.05%)	1 (1.96%)

Table 12 reveals that the majority of the respondents (70.58%) denied that the South African War was not properly instructed by their teachers. In fact, the majority of the respondents (66.66%) agree to partly agree that the South African War was viewed by their teachers as a necessary element of their school history. Furthermore, 70.5% of the respondents were of the opinion that their teachers taught the South African War in a balanced way by also referring to all the bad influences it had on the socio-cultural relations.

Table 13: The learners have different view points on the concentration camp monument

Response		**1 (Strongly disagree)**	**2 (Do not agree)**	**3 (Partly agree)**	**4 (Agree)**	**0 (No response)**
Item	Frequency (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)	F (%)
13a	I like hearing the view points of my friends	12 (23.52%)	1 (1.96%)	8 (15.68%)	28 (54.90%)	2 (3.92%)
13b	Children should not share their view points with others	22 (43.13%)	11 (21.56%)	5 (9.80%)	12 (23.52%)	1 (1.96%)
13c	Different viewpoints result in arguments	8 (15.68%)	11 (21.56%)	10 (19.60%)	21 (41.17%)	1 (1.96%)
13d	We must all think the same over the concentration camp	24 (47.05%)	8 (15.68%)	1 (1.96%)	17 (33.3%)	1 (1.96%)

Table 13 indicates that the majority of the respondents (70.58%) agree to partly agree that they are interested in hearing the view points of their friends on the monument at their school while 62.73% of the respondents disagreed with the assumption that everyone should have the same view point on the monument. A significant group of respondents (41.17%) indicated that different viewpoints result in arguments. This can lead to the assumption that Grade 7 learners (12-13 year old) do not want to engage in arguments over differing viewpoints.

Discussion

South Africa has a history of division between different cultural, political and racial groups. As explained, these strong divisional lines were also present in the Nylstroom concentration camp during the time of the South African War. Since the post-apartheid era of the 1990s, South Africa is still struggling

with the demands of difference, unity and identity. The primary school of Eenheid (Unity) used the school's unique environment and history to implant knowledge and to instill values in the learners in an effort to help them to develop and construct an intercultural understanding, thereby becoming responsible and positive citizens.

The research results showed that the school in some way started to develop an historical memory in a diverse group of learners by using the historical-environmental causes and results of the South African War. The majority of the learners believed that the symbolic value of their monument, together with their knowledge on the South African War, activated and developed their historical memory to such a degree that it contributed to an understanding and conscience for equality and social justice in contemporary South Africa. Hence, not all the learners supported this viewpoint which indicates that the process of historical memory development is not a given and must therefore be handled in a sensitive way, as Barton and McCully have warned.[80] The vast majority of the learners indicated economic circumstances - the British desire to control the gold fields - as the primary cause of the war. They became aware of how this British ideal was responsible for the implementation of the scorched-earth policy which impacted negatively on the natural vegetation, the social and economic fabric of the environment. From this episode the majority of learners indicated that they have learned why it is important to work towards a sustainable environment which is also the reason why they showed keen interest in supporting environmental projects.

The impact of the war on the social environment was also highlighted by the majority of the learners. The suffering of the women and children and the many deaths in the camp that fractured families was disturbing information which the learners had to come to grips with. They also realised that the insufficient food supplies, the shortage of clean drinking water and the improper tent accommodation were circumstances that negatively impacted on the social relations between the different groups of people in the Nylstroom camp.

The vast majority of the learners came to understand that the end of the war, and the message symbolised by the monument, represents to large extent peace and freedom. Most of the learners became aware of the importance of peace and freedom and are conscious of the negative implications these have on socio-cultural and political relations when one group unfairly suppresses

80 KC Barton & A McCully, "History teaching and the perpetuation of memories…", ED Cairns, MD Roe (eds.), *The role of memory...*, p. 122.

another group by force. It was this realisation that made most of the learners believed that peace and freedom should be appreciated and cherished. However, the majority judged that this mindset has indeed developed at their school which is why the learners show tolerance towards one another. This attitude of acceptance promoted a feeling of social cohesion, mutual understanding and a sense of communal identity between the different groups in the school. By being knowledgeable about the happenings and by accepting the trauma of the past it contributed to a process of intercultural understanding and the recognition of an identity.

Furthermore most of the learners held the view that the balanced way in which their teachers were teaching the interaction of the different socio-cultural relations in the Nylstroom camp equipped them with the necessary knowledge to show a better understanding of present-day life issues. According to the results the learners indicated that they were allowed by the teachers to voice their opinions and to form independent viewpoints on the meaning of the historical events. However, a fairly significant group of learners (41.17%) indicated that they are not interested in engaging in debates regarding environmental-historical matters for the reason that it can lead to arguments. This might be an indication that Grade 7 learners are not yet ready to engage in critical thinking and the formulation of an independent viewpoint with regard to environmental-historical issues.

Conclusion

Through this research it is evident that the school in this case study adheres to the overall goal of the United Nations Decade for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), supported by the White Paper for Education and Training in South Africa and the NCS for History. In this school an integrated, multi-dimensional approach to teaching and learning was followed during which the principles, values and practices of sustainable development were taught by not only focusing on the biophysical environment but also on complex social and economic issues.

The symbolic message manifested by the monument as well as the instruction received from the teachers on the events in the Nylstroom camp during the South African War provided the unique context for an historical-environmental approach to education. The teachers used the relationship between people and place (the environment), which is defined by the

monument, in their endeavour to develop an historical memory. This holistic approach to teaching and learning expanded the learner's understanding of the importance of a balanced biophysical, social and economic environment. They showed some appreciation and conscience for equality and social justice, not only in their own school but also in wider society. By being knowledgeable on the happenings and by accepting the trauma of the past, it helped some of the learners to remove negative stereotypes and repositioned them in time. In the process the development of an historical memory contributed to the development of an ethic of sustainable living and the creation of a new South African identity based on values very different from those that underpinned the government before 1994.

The initiative of the school principal and his colleagues to present the school's history in such an innovative way should be applauded. By investigating the role that their school grounds played during the event of the South African War, it not only linked the learners to the historical reality of the world around them, but they also came to the realisation of the influence that the past can have on the present.

Hands-on articles

Analysing the construction of South African youth in historical-related images and texts around the time of 16 June 2011

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By idolizing those whom we honour, we do a disservice to them and to ourselves… We fail to recognize that we could go and do likewise. (Charles V Willie)[1]

Abstract

This paper aims to investigate how young people in post-apartheid South Africa are being constructed in negative waysin the light of how we commemorate and teach the Anti-apartheidstruggle. Is it possible to teach the stories of the past without burdening this generation with guilt and paralysing the youth in terms of their own struggles? It specifically focus on how the media are currently reconstructing the struggle icons as superhuman, and in so doing, implying that the youth can never live up to the achievements of these heroes. I am interested in how history, as it is taught in our schools can play a role in restoring agency and a healthy respect for the past.

Keywords: Media; Construction of youth; Commemoration; Icons; June 16 2011; History lessons; Youth agency.

Introduction

Since 1994, June 16 has been a public holiday known as YouthDay. This day, like Women's Day (9 August), has become distanced from its original meaning in that both these days are seen by many as celebrating the present

1 JW Loewen, *Lies my teacher told me* (The New Press: New York, 1995) p. 9.

with many South Africans not really knowing much about the events that made these days significant. In the post-1994 spirit of reconciliation, public holidays with political connections were reconstructed to try and create a new South African identity that all could relate to and that the days were about moving forward as one nation, not just about bitter memories from a divided past.

Young South Africans had played a significant role in helping to bring about democracy especially in the traumatic events of the June 16 Soweto Uprising.[2] Thabo Leshilo describes how his life was profoundly affected by the day:[3]

> *June 16 1976 marked the turning point in my young life I would not be exaggerating to say the day marked the beginning of the end of my childhood ignorance of the world I was among the children who had come to know too much too soon, as the Black Consciousness exponent Muntu Myeza was later to say… I was shocked to read that the dead boy (Hector) was about my age. It could easily have been me, I thought. I was only five months shy of my thirteenth birthday.*

History records that many young people left school and took up the cause of *Liberation before Education*. Karis and Gerhart's research showed that, "In late 1977 it was estimated that almost a quarter of a million pupils were boycotting schools nationwide…"[4] It is understandable that after the achievement of democracy in 1994 it was hoped that young people could be truly "young" again and focus on the business of getting through school and enjoy activities that one normally associates with their age group. Politics should become once more the domain of adults.

Bray and Moses explain how the desire for a sense of "normalcy" after the elections in 1994 meant that, generations and gender were called upon to resume their "so-called proper places".[5] It was seen as time for young people to move away from politics and protest and take advantage of the opportunities a democratic South Africa would bring them.

The involvement of young people in the anti-apartheid struggle had resulted in two dominant perceptions about the youth: one as 'hero' and the other as 'villain'.

2 T Karis and G Gerhart, *From protest to challenge, Vol. 5*: *Nadir and Ressurgence, 1964-1979* (Unisa Press, 1997) provides excellent historical details about the role youth played in the Soweto Uprising.

3 T Leshilo, "A Day of Profound Historic Significance"; K Hlongwane, S Ndlovu and M Mutloatse, *Soweto '76. Reflections on the liberation struggles. Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of June 16 1976* (Pan Macmillan, Johannesburg, 2006) pp. 121-122.

4 T Karis and G Gerhart, From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 5. Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979 (Unisa Press, 1997) p. 325.

5 Bray and Moses quoted by Pendlebury, Hendersen and E Kay, M Tisdall, "Theorizing children's' participation: Trans-disciplinary perspectives from South Africa", *Perspectives in Education*, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2011, Special Issue.

Bray and Moses describe an incident in 2007 when learners at a secondary school in Cape Town protested against a decision made by their deputy principal.[6]

> *Dominant adult discourse suggested that the learners had behaved inappropriately, and that children's participation would be legitimate only in alignment with adult agendas. Refusing to go to school is seen as failing to live up to the tenets of responsible citizenship within South Africa's new democracy. Thus to be viewed in the (adult) public domain as protesting 'heroes' no longer appears possible for the current generation of children. Yet the grievances around schooling, unemployment and basic service delivery remain.*

Afua Twum-Danso describes how youth are manipulated throughout Africa to participate in politics in times of violent conflict but appear to be marginalized when the nation is at peace. He writes that:[7]

> *South African children and young people were a key to the ending of apartheid, but they are now invisible in the so-called 'peace', where their marginalization has arguably contributed to their political apathy.*

The research done by Bray and Moses in the Rhini (Grahamstown) study in 2008 has revealed some important insights into young people's reasons for not wanting to get involved in politics post-1994. A matric student explains how disillusioned he is with the way that his uncle has been treated after all that he did to fight for freedom:[8]

> *My uncle was a local freedom fighter, and he was also a local hero. He was fighting for the rights of the poor people. But now that we have acquired freedom and democracy he does not benefit from anything, and nobody cares about him, even the people that he used to fight with… So I would rather focus on my education, and secure the place in the next generation.*

The *Mail and Guardian* interviewed young South Africans around Youth Day 2011 and it appeared that many of them felt as if their opinions did not matter and that their voices are not heard.

For example, Thandi Mokaba commented:[9]

> *There's so much potential to use in this country if I could take over… So many people have energy and good ideas and we don't use them. Not just us young people in high school, but those of all ages. I think government's problem is they don't listen... They should listen to us, since one day we'll be in places of power.*

6 R Bray and S Moses, "Children and participation in South Africa. Exploring the Landscape." *Perspectives in Education*, Vol. 29, No.1, March 2011, Special Issue.

7 A Twum-Danso, "The political child"; A McIntyre, ed., Invisible stakeholders- children and war in Africa, *Institute for Security Studies*, Pretoria, 2005.

8 R Bray and S Moses, "Children and participation in South Africa…", *Perspectives in Education*, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 2011.

9 "If we ruled the world…", Voices; *Mail &Guardian,* 17-23 June 2011, p. 4.

Perhaps the subject of History could be a space for these young people to learn about inspirational leaders from our past who chose to stand up for what they believed in. The important task in front of us as history teachers is to let our young people see that these individuals were human beings and not some kind of rare super heroes that don't really exist in real life.

Constructions of Youth June 16 2011

Thirty five years after the original events of 16 June 1976 our media was full of criticism of a generation of young people who see Youth Day as one of entitlement and literally as a day for youth to celebrate with wild parties and lots of drinking. The dominant perception is not of youth as "heroes" but rather as "villains".

The cartoonist Dov Fedler, depicts this in a cartoon he drew re-creating the iconic image of Hector Pieterson to make a shocking statement about the Youth of 2011. The young boy being carried is drawn clutching empty beer bottles and the caption asks: "Is he dead? No just dead drunk…"[10]

A moving letter written by a young person called Thabiso Kgabung sums up this perception:[11]

> *Youth Day is just another date on the calendar to be enjoyed as a holiday. Most of us indulge in alcohol, sexual intercourse and substance abuse... Perhaps the shift has moved to the celebration and not the acknowledgement of the events of June 16, but funnily enough, we are quick to appear in the media regarding high failure rates, drug intake and sexual activities behind school gates. I can only wonder how the youth define priorities.*

When speaking to my students about this perception I was amazed at how many had taken the opportunity to take this cartoon image which had also been circulated as a photograph and set up their *Facebook* pagesto challenge the stereotypes.[12]

10 D Fedler (Available at: fedler@africa.com), as accessed on 16 June 2011.
11 Letters in Brief, *The Times*, 23 June 2011, p. 16.
12 Photograph sent to me by Njabulo Mkhize a student teacher at Wits School of Education June 2011. He wanted me to see that not all young people were accepting this construction of their attitude towards June 16.

Image 1: Facebook page sent to the author by Njabulo Mkhize

Source: Njabulo Mkhize a student teacher at Wits School of Education sent photo to the author.

What is important to note is that Njabulo found an original close-up of Sam Nzima's iconic photograph and then juxtaposed the two photographs to confront his friends with the two representations and asked the difficult question: "Is this commemoration?"

After this conversation with Njabulo Mkhize and other students, I decided to in explore some of the issues in this paper to try and understand why there were so many negative perceptions about the youth of 2011 not living up to the youth of 1976.[13]

People like Jonathan Jansen and Mamphela Ramphele[14] are possible role models for the older generation in terms of understanding and valuing our young people.

Jansen writes:[15]

> *Whenever I witness the idealism of young people, I remember why I became a teacher. It is not simply what we might offer young people in the form of knowledge and skills; it is what they teach us in return about humanity, healing and hope… Our future lies with this post-apartheid generation of younger people. Our first duty*

13 General discussions on talk radio shows. Such as one led by Eusebius McKaiser on Radio 702 on 16 June 2011.

14 Jonathan Jansen is the Vice Chancellor of the University of the Free State who writes for *The Times* newspaper every Thursday. His particular passion is trying to understand how young South Africans have been affected by the past. His best known book is "Knowledge in the Blood." Mamphela Ramphele is also well known for her outspoken commentary on post-apartheid South Africa and as a member of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s she is particularly concerned with opportunities for young people.

15 J Jansen, *The Times,* 7 April 2011, p. 9.

> *is not to embitter them with our memories. Our second task is not to dampen their idealism. We should rather encourage uncommon valour in the next generation of South African leaders.*

I wonder if we have spent so much energy trying to not "embitter" the youth with our memories that we now leave them without a sense of where they come from and that it is more than possible that South Africa has many more Nelson Mandelas, Albertina Sisulus, Helen Josephs, Beyers Naudes.[16] In our attempts to respect the heroes of the struggle have we turned them into *supermen and women* and somehow implied that there could only be *one struggle*?

Mamphela Ramphele wrote in 2002:[17]

> *What is remarkable is that these young people have not yet given up on adults. Adults have failed them at many levels in recent history. During the apartheid era parents could not protect their own children against police harassment and the ravages of poverty. In the post-apartheid society poor parents still seem marginal to decision making affecting bread- and- butter issues in society.*

It seems as if in 2011 we as the "parents" continue to let them down and perhaps they are giving up on expecting adults to provide a better world for them.

In my last year of teaching in a Johannesburg high school, I was fortunate enough to teach a granddaughter of Chief Albert Luthuli. She became our Head Girl and certainly would have made her grandfather proud. One day after a lesson on June 16 1976, she came up to me and said: "I wish I lived back then, they had so much to fight for…"

This shocked me into realizing that perhaps I had idealised the Youth of 1976 and that she and others could not see that every generation has its own struggles. I needed to realize that my own experiences at Wits University in the 1980s would affect how I felt about people like Mandela and Helen Joseph as they were heroes to us.

16 Nelson Mandela became the first President of a democratic South Africa in 1994 after fighting for freedom and enduring imprisonment for 27 years as a leader of the ANC. Albertina Sisulu was married to struggle leader Walter Sisulu but became a leader in her own capacity as co-president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983. She passed away on 2 June 2011. Helen Joseph was a white woman who publically supported the ANC she marched to Pretoria in 1956 and was imprisoned and on death row in the late 70s. Beyers Naude was a white Afrikaner preacher in the NG Kerk who became a member of the ANC (Available at: *South African History Online,* http:www.sahistory.org.za)

17 M Ramphele, *Steering By the* Stars (Tafelberg, Cape Town, 2002), p. 13.

Reconstructions of Struggle Icons as *Supermen* and *Superwomen:* *The Mandela Effect*

Image 2: Giant Shoes to Fill Photograph taken by Halden Krog. The caption reads: "Young Loyalist: Subomi Andekola, 2, takes a little breather at the foot of Nelson Mandela's statue in Sandton Square on Freedom Day in Johannesburg yesterday."

Source: Photograph taken by Halden Krog, *The Times*, 28 April 2011, p. 5.

This image at first glance is delightful but if you read the caption and think a little more about the message it needs to be challenged:

First the caption "Giant Shoes to Fill" implies that this could be an impossible task for this little girl, Subomi Andekola. One almost feels sorry for her as we realize the enormity of this task. Subomi Andekola is also constructed by the caption underneath the photograph that suggests that she is a "young loyalist"; it is assumed that she is already an ANC supporter celebrating Freedom Day in Sandton Square. What choices will she have to make up her own mind and to find the strength to fight her own causes?

The legacies of Albertina Sisulu and Kader Asmal: How do young South Africans compare?

Just before June 16 2011, the nation lost one of the country's most beloved women, Albertina Sisulu[18]. Zapiro's cartoon in the *Sunday Times* on June 5th 2011 treated her passing with great dignity and respect.

18 B Nzimande, *The Times*, 9 June 2011, p. 17; A Motshekga, Obituary written in the *Mail&Guardian*, 10-16 June 2011, p. 22.

She is reconstructed as a "Great Tree" looking kindly down at two little children. Not to take anything away from MaSisulu's legacy but again the idea of a "Great Tree" implies that women like her are very rare and not possible for this generation who can only admire what she achieved and try to look after the little trees in the background that represent the "millions who benefited from the seeds of her struggle".[19]

A similar response was noted with the death of Kader Asmal on June 22 2011. The editorial of *The Times*[20] stated that:

> *Asmal's moral compass helped steer us to freedom. South Africa yesterday lost one of its great citizens. Kader Asmal, a leading light of the anti-apartheid struggle, has died. Asmal, who served under two successive presidents as cabinet minister, deserves to be honoured as a true South African whose dedication to the country's liberation struggle will forever be beyond dispute…*

The reconstruction of Kader Asmal as our nation's "moral compass" is also depicted in Zapiro's cartoon published in the *Mail&Guardian* on the 23rd June 2011.

Here again children are drawn in a position which suggests that they have choices to make about which direction they want to follow. Do they choose Asmal's way which is about "Ethics; Humanism; Accountability; Non-racialism and Constitutionality" or do they go with "tenderpreneurship; Cadre deployment; racial populism; Corruption and the Secrecy Bill?"

Zapiro suggests that if they ignore Asmal's moral leadership they will be heading in the direction of a furtive Julius Malema (controversial leader of the ANC Youth League suspended and expelled from the ANC in 2012) depicted hiding in the dark forest. [21]

Perhaps all these aforementioned heroes of the Struggle for Freedom deserve accolades, but what concerns me is the way that the youth are told again and again that they are nothing compared to these individuals and the best they can hope for is to follow in their footsteps.[22]

When adjudicating the Chief Albert Luthuli Oral History competition in the Thembisa district (East Rand), I was saddened to hear this sentiment being expressed by young people themselves. One of the topics was the "unsung heroes of the struggle" and many of them spoke about how special

19 Zapiro, *Sunday Times,* 5 June 2011.
20 *The Times,* 23 June 2011, p. 16.
21 Zapiro, *Mail & Guardian,* 23 June 2011, p. 39.
22 For example, Blade Nzimande's article on Albertina Sisulu with the sub-heading: *Mama Sisulu leaves a legacy from which our youth can learn*, *The Times,* 9 June 2011, p. 17.

these people were and that their generation was basically wasting all that they had sacrificed.[23] Many expressed the opinion that the only option that this generation had was to try and emulate these great men and women in some way.

Not just a South African issue

An attitude of veneration towards great leaders of the past is not unique to South Africa. The American historian James W Loewen writes:

> *This chapter is about heroification, a degenerative process (much like calcification) that makes people over into heroes. Through this process our educational media turn flesh-and-blood individuals into pious, perfect creatures without conflicts, pain, credibility or human interest.*

Loewen explores the representations of Helen Keller and Woodrow Wilson in American History textbooks and he concludes that the way that they have been represented is problematic:[24]

> *For when textbook authors leave out the warts, the problems, the unfortunate character traits, and the mistaken ideas, they reduce heroes from dramatic men and women to melodramatic stick figures. Their inner struggles disappear and they become goody-goody, not merely good.*

Loewen explains that if young Americans could know the whole story they might find inspiration in the life of Helen Keller rather than seeing her as a caricature of a human being. He believes that: "Denying students the humanness of Keller, Wilson and others keeps students in intellectual immaturity… Our children end up without realistic role models to inspire them".[25]

Mandela is always saying that the struggle for freedom was not just about him[26] and yet in the junior years (Grades 4-9) we teach as if the road to democracy was walked by him alone. It is understandable and important that we do know about this wonderful man but we do not do justice to the story by just focusing on Mandela or by building him up to be more than human.

23 Adjudication of Young Historians competition, Thembisa District, Johannesburg. 2010 as witnessed by the author, S Glanvill.

24 JW Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me,* 1995, p. 9.

25 JW Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, 1995, p. 25.

26 For example in his farewell speech before handing over to Thabo Mbeki he states; "… As we hand over the baton it is appropriate that I should thank the ANC for shaping me as such a symbol of what it stands for… We take leave so that the competent generation of lawyers, computer experts, economists, financiers, doctors, industrialists, engineers and above all ordinary workers and peasants can take the ANC into the new millennium." Quoted in A Sampson, Mandela (HarperCollins, London, 2000), p. 544.

Kenosi Mosalakae seems to agree with James Loewen as he wrote in a letter to the *Sunday Times* that Mamphela Ramphele's claim that "Mandela belongs to us all"is more myth than reality because:[27]

> *It is the belief in this myth that continues to stagnate the people's intellectual development… Mandela is judged not on what he says or did but on what people imagine he is or has done…We would be in a better position in terms of "national" unity if Mandela had unequivocally acknowledged the Robert Sobukwes, Steve Bikos and Tsietsi Mashininis of this world for what they did and sacrificed for the emancipation of the people rather than ignore them for not being in the ANC. Oneness of a people in a country is only possible when there is mutual respect for each other.*

We would do better as a nation to encourage our young people to question and challenge the leadership rather than accept the *status quo*. Too many of them feel obligated to the ANC without realizing that there are options. They need to know that Hector Pieterson, as tragic as his story was, was not the only hero on June 16 1976.[28]

When discussing this with my Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) group they expressed concern for the way that the death of Hector Pieterson has been "commodified". The iconic photograph has come to represent the day and that this has led to the stories of other individuals like Tsietsi Mashinini[29] literally disappearing from the picture. This really does no justice to Hector Pieterson or the many other youth involved in the day and perhaps has resulted in the 2011 photograph that caused such uproar. (The one that Njabulo has challenged on his *Facebook* page.)

When I spoke to my son (22 years old) about the photograph he saw something different to me. I was horrified by what I perceived to be a lack of respect and understanding of the original event. He interpreted the image as a powerful statement from an apparently angry youth. Also that not much appears to have actually changed if comparing the backgrounds (township buildings or lack of buildings in both photographs) which may be expressions of a lack of opportunities.

27 Letter, K Mosalakae, *Sunday Times*, 5 June 2011.

28 K Hlonwane, S Ndlovu and M Mutloatse (Eds.), See the "Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from the 16th of June to the 28th February 1977"; Soweto '76: Reflections on the Liberation Struggles (Pan MacMillan, Johannesburg, 2006), pp. 188-225.

29 Tsietsi Mashinini was the leader of the South African Student Movement in Soweto elected in 1973 strongly influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement led by Steve Biko. For more details see T Karis and G Gerhart *From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 5, Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979* (Unisa Press, Pretoria, 1997).

Another perspective given to me by a history student[30] is that perhaps the photograph means that "the youth are okay", that they now can appreciate the day rather than fighting the political battles of the late 70s and 80s. This seems to fit with the idea of a return to some kind of 'normality' post-1994, where young people have space and time to be *young*.

Loewen observed that the "heroification" of Helen Keller actually turned her into the subject of many inappropriate jokes:[31]

> *In so doing, school children are not poking cruel fun at a disabled person; they are deflating a pretentious symbol that is too good to be real.*

Have we in South Africa done the same to our iconic images and heroes?

Baby Tywa, an activist involved in the events of 1976, believes that the youth of today would benefit from the kind of mentorship that her generation received from their leaders.[32]

> *My reflections on the day are anchored on the people who built our characters, made us who we are today, leaders who ensured that we imbued the virtues and discipline that underpinned the underground leadership of those days… Drawing from their teachings, we tirelessly sustained our hope, had our rough edges trimmed and contained our eagerness to topple the government of the day.*

What is refreshing about Tywa's article is that she acknowledges that it is time for her generation to take on the same mentoring roles with today's youth rather than just complaining about their lack of respect for the sacrifices of the older generation.[33]

> *Is it not time for this generation to stop watching from the sidelines with trepidation? Should they not emulate the Comrade Joe Qgabis of yesteryear; or should we resign ourselves, throw our hands in the air and act as if history teaches us nothing?*

If one reads and listens to comments about the youth made by the generation that represents their parents, it is frightening how few actually feel accountable for the world these young people have inherited. These very same individuals are quick to compare young people with the icons of the struggle but conveniently ignore their own role as mentors. There is plenty of advice about what young people should be grateful for but not enough about how they too can be heroes of their own struggles.

30 A Visser, June 2011.
31 JW Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me,* 1995, p.26.
32 B Tywa, "Today's youth need mentors", *The Star*, 16 June 2011, p. 10.
33 B Tywa, "Today's youth need mentors", *The Star*, 16 June 2011, p. 10.

It is worth noting the words of Michelle Obama (wife of US President Barack Obama):[34]

> *Now, I know as your generation looks back on that struggle and on the many liberation movements of the past century, you may think that all of the great moral struggles have already been won. As you hear the stories of lions like Madiba and Sisulu and Luthuli, you may think you can never measure up to such greatness. But while today's challenges might not always inspire the lofty rhetoric or the high drama of struggles past, the injustices at hand are no less glaring, the human suffering no less acute. So make no mistake about it: there are still so many causes worth sacrificing for. There is still so much history yet to be made. You can be the generation…*

What role can the history classroom play in enabling and empowering young people to meet the challenges of participating in a democracy?

In many ways this is about how History teachers view their subject and relates to how they feel about handling emotive and controversial topics. Kitson and McCully's research into history teaching in Northern Ireland defines teachers as being "avoiders, containers and risk-takers."[35] These broad categories are useful in that they outline how teacher's perceptions of the subject of history affect decisions about discussions on topics that could be emotive and controversial.

The "avoider" will not see that history lessons could be about current and future issues relevant to the students' lives. They see their task as being focused on good exam results and being able to write solid essays. The lessons are always teacher-centered with no room for listening to young voices.

The "container" could allow some discussion about current issues but it would be limited and very much controlled by the teacher.

The "risk-taker" is someone who believes that teaching history is about changing the world. Their lessons are always about linking the past to what is happening today. To this teacher, their most important achievement is to help young people find their own voice and to challenge and question everything.

These categories are presented as a continuum and realistically most history teachers would probably see themselves as moving between the categories as the complexities of meeting external exam requirements do not always allow

34 Michelle Obama's speech made at the African Women Leaders Forum Conference at Regina Mundi Church Soweto, quoted in the *Sowetan*, 23 June 2011, p. 13.

35 A Kitson and A McCully, "You hear about it for real at school: Avoiding, containing and risk-taking in the history classroom", *Teaching History,* 2005, p. 35.

for debating every issue. It is just useful to see how history teachers in other parts of the world do grapple with similar issues.

Curriculum and Policy Statements (CAPS)

The latest Curriculum and Policy Documents suggest that the Social Sciences (Grades 4-9) should "provide opportunities for learners to look at their own worlds with fresh, critical eyes." It implicitly states that the study of History is supposed to support citizenship within a democracy by:[36]

- Explaining and encouraging the values of the South African Constitution;
- Encouraging civic responsibility and responsible leadership, including raising current social and environmental concerns;
- Promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia; and
- Preparing young people for local, regional, national, continental and global responsibility.

The table of skills[37] suggests that already in Grade 4 learners should be critically analysing and evaluating a variety of information about the past. They should be encouraged to debate and to challenge sources that only present one perspective. They are already starting to understand that "history is a process of historical enquiry" and that "there are many ways of looking at the same thing in the past." This same table is used again for the Grades 10-12 (FET Phase) but more complexity is introduced. For example the word 'sources' is only used from Grade 7 onwards as Grades 4-6 are told about 'how we find information about the past.' The big difference is in the concepts that Grade 10s to 12s are expected to work with.

From these few extracts it is possible that History is expected to be the place that young people engage with the past and challenge pre-conceived ideas, which suggests that they should apply these same skills to make sense of their own worlds and definitely should challenge media stereotypes about themselves.

This same document seems to entrench some of my concerns about too much emphasis on iconic leaders such as Nelson Mandela. The Grade 9 topic

36 Republic Of South Africa, *Curriculum and Policy Statement*, January 2011. Social Sciences Senior Phase, pp. 9-11.

37 Republic of South Africa, *Curriculum and Policy Statement*, January 2011. Social Sciences Senior Phase, pp. 11-12.

entitled, "Turning Points in South African History 1960, 1976 and 1990," states that three key turning points were selected to "allow the learners to appreciate the significance of these events in more depth."[38] What is interesting to me is that the brief contextual notes or guidelines in the document only mention Nelson Mandela by name and yet they focus on the formation of the PAC and events that led to the 1976 Soweto Uprising. The third event is entitled, "1990: Release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of liberation movements." It seems a pity that they did not specifically mention Robert Sobukwe or Steve Biko[39] in the other significant turning points.

We as History educators need to be vigilant and ensure that our learners gain access to a more inclusive past and a deeper understanding of the context of the day-so we see the complexities and ambiguities that help learners to understand that our issues are not that different.

The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for Grades 10-12 (FET) is guided by the overall key question of "How do we understand our world today?"[40] Unfortunately the new curriculum does not have the same emphasis on key questions that the outcomes based curriculum had, they have been simplified and generalised. This might however provide an opportunity for the learners to come up with their own key questions.

The enquiry approach

The idea of learners thinking up questions and moving away from looking for answers to predetermined questions relates to a pedagogy used very successfully by the Philosophy for Children approach first outlined by Matthew Lipman.[41] This pedagogy is challenging for educators who like to know exactly what direction their lesson will be moving in but it really does allow learners opportunities to listen to each other and to look for questions rather than answers.

Educators in the U.S., Britain and Australia are achieving great success with this methodology as they find that the learners are engaged in the lesson right from the start as the educator provides an initial stimulus which could be a concept like 'war' or a photograph or an extract from a source. The class is

38 CAPS, Social Sciences Senior Phase, 2011, p. 48.
39 Robert Sobukwe was the leader of the Pan African Congress that broke away from the ANC in 1959 and Steve Biko was the charismatic leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s.
40 CAPS, History Further Education and Training, 2011, p. 8.
41 M Lipman, *Thinking In Education* (Cambridge University Press,1991).

given 'thinking time' and each learner is encouraged to write down a question. The learners then choose one question through a democratic process where each learner presents their question and then the class votes. This one question is often an amalgamation of two or three questions that through negotiation are seen as fitting together.

The class then begins the discussion around the chosen question and very clear rules are established about respecting each other and listening. The educator plays a very important role as facilitator but is also part of the community of enquiry and is seen to be learning from the learners as well as making sure that all are comfortable with the way the discussion is going.

Learners are encouraged to respectfullydisagree with each other's statements if they think that their reasons are not good enough. There is an emphasis on not just making statements but on always looking for 'good' reasons, which of course is exactly the kind of approach history requires. These communities of enquiry often end with more questions than answers but this can be very valuable as a way of introducing a new topic or concept in history as the learners will be challenging and thinking critically as they explore the evidence in the textbooks and elsewhere.

The journal for history teachers produced by the Historical Association in Britain advocates that key issues in history classrooms should be approached through an enquiry process. For example, "Why have interpretations of the Battle of Rorke's Drift changed over time?"[42] This activity introduces learners to a variety of source material; from maps and paintings to the film *Zulu.* Learners are encouraged to think about the way that the events of the battle have been constructed and reconstructed from 1879 to the 21st Century. The authors comment that, "We encouraged students to emphasise the reasons why the interpretation changed over time."[43] This approach is definitely encouraging independent and critical analysis.

What can we do in the history classroom?

Ultimately it is desirable that by the time a student reaches Grade 12 they should have a clear understanding of how history is constructed by historians and they should be able to think critically and evaluate a variety of sources

42 G Fullard and T Wheeley, "Why do historical interpretations change over time?", *Teaching History*, 142, March 2011, p. 48.

43 G Fullard and T Wheeley, "Why do historical interpretations change over time?" *Teaching History,* 142, March 2011, p. 49.

and select evidence to create their own interpretations of the past. In contrast to the way my generation experienced History at school (rote learning from one Afrikaner Nationalist textbook) this should mean that this generation is better equipped to lead our democracy but we need to provide the spaces and opportunities this kind of teaching requires.

We, as History teachers, need to ensure that we provide a variety of sources and that we don't just rely on one "approved" textbook. Most importantly we need to allow discussion and debate so that our young people become used to hearing different voices and opinions and don't see this as a problem but rather as a sign of a healthy democracy that they can and should contribute to. In the light of possible censorship laws (the Protection of Information Bill) being introduced in our country it is so important that we encourage our learners to think and question everything that they read, hear or see.

Conclusion

The history classroom provides many opportunities for using the past to make sense of the present but we as history teachers need to take heed of the words of the American historian James Loewen and not "reduce our heroes from dramatic men and women to melodramatic stick figures."[44] We need to encourage our learners to see how human these individuals were and yet they were capable of achieving the most extraordinary things. We hopefully wish to inspire our young people to believe that they too have the same capacity to change their worlds.

44 J Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (New York, The New Press, 1995).

Book reviews

In Search of Mapwork: A worthwhile book for the geography classroom

(Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 2008, ISBN: 978 0 19 598455 2, pp. 104)

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The authors of this publication anticipated to address the demands of the National Curriculum Statements for Geography (in grades 10 to 12). The style is appropriate for these grades, although there are some errors in grammar and style which will be referred to later. I was quite impressed with the publication, which I felt was learner-friendly, as well as highly attractive. Even with the criticism I have about the language style and grammar, I would recommend the book as a useful resource for FET teachers.

Regarding the format of the *In Search of Mapwork: A worthwhile book for the geography classroom*, the contents page (p. 3) is accurate, as is the glossed index on p. 104. The book is divided into four major parts, namely mapwork skills, mapwork interpretation, working with aerial photographs and orthophoto maps, and working with topographical maps and photographs. The introduction "About this book" is commendable and very explanatory. A section on "Assessment of mapwork" is given on p. 5 and another on geographical information systems on pp. 6 and 7. A page on learning outcomes and assessment standards for the relevant grades is given on p. 8.

In Search of Mapwork... is also intended for inclusive education purposes, and no bias in terms of culture, etc has been detected. The exercises are of the highest quality and will achieve their stated purpose.

The focus area of the book is the mapwork curriculum of grades 10 to 12 as set out in the South African National Curriculum Statement of 2003. As such the aim of the book is to elucidate mapwork and geographically literacy concepts.

In Search of Mapwork... is laid out in a systematic manner as it progresses through all the mapwork skills stated in the curriculum, with applicable exercises and maps, plus photographs and diagrams. Model answers have been included at the end of the book.

Regarding the accuracy and thoroughness of the book, I have quite a number of recommendations. In terms of the National Curriculum Statement (2003), the following has not been covered in *In Search of Mapwork...*: atlas work (for grades 10-12) and map projections (for grades 10-12). It would have been a major benefit if these two major themes in the curriculum could have been incorporated.

Examples of grammar improvements are the following:

- "industrial" should read "industry" on p. 3 (the contents page). Here the other words are nouns, so the adjective "industrial" is misplaced.
- "gradient" on p. 26, a good idea would have been to include the difference between suitable gradients for a road and a railway.
- On p. 35 "TBVC" is mentioned - I recommend that this is written out in full, because the current generations will not likely know what the letters (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei) stand for, nor is it mentioned in the glossary or glossed index.
- Regarding Chapter 4 ("Working with topographical maps and photographs"), I would advise writing "topographical map" in full instead of just "map" (pp. 46, 50, 52, 56, 58, 62, 64, 68, 74, 76, 80). "Topographical map" is written in full on p. 70, however. This will avoid confusion with the orthophoto map.
- Question 2.3 on p. 62 is rather tenuous - it should focus more on the specified pump storage scheme instead of coal-burning stations. The issue of tenuousness can also be leveled against question 5.2 on p. 80. There is no evidence on the map to support the answer given on p. 98. The question is too speculative at present.
- On p. 64 "trigonometrical" should be written instead of "trig", which is too informal for a textbook.
- On the same page, "the process" should be added after "during and afterwards" (see question 3.1.1), which is somewhat an incomplete sentence.

- Regarding question 4.5.2 on p. 64, "map" should be included after "orthophoto".

  For question 4.5.3, the sentence should read "Use the orthophoto map to compare the settlements 'Far East Bank' and 'Modderfontein Agricultural Holdings'. List the differences" instead of how it is written on the specified page.
- For question 2.1 on p. 68, better grammatical style would be achieved by writing "Give two climatic reasons…a different climate to those living in Cape Town" instead of how it is presently written.
- For question 5.4 on the same page, it is best to use "Give" instead of "Discuss" to elicit the desired answers. It is also preferable to write foreign words in italics, for example, "rioolwerke" on p. 70. For the sakes or continuity of tenses, "do" should be written as "did", as after "took" on p. 74.
- For the English translation of 'Aukoerebis', it should be written as "Place of Great Noise" (p. 74, top).
- For question 1.3 on p. 76, I would include "showing that mining occurs" instead of the way it is presently written.
- Question 4 on p. 83, under "GIS revision" is not a question- it should correctly end with a full stop instead of a question mark, as it calls upon learners to "list" only.
- For question 3 (at bottom) on the same page, the sentence should correctly read "a block on it at roughly an A4 size" instead of the informal way it is presently written.

However, positive aspects are that a good range of map examples from both rural and urban / developed and developing contexts have been used. The examples used are very applicable in terms of teaching for equity.

The authors have vast experience in the authoring of writing educational resources, and all have good backgrounds in the stated school grades.

In Search of Mapwork... is copiously laid out with descriptions, definitions and concept outlines. The topographical and orthophoto maps selected are of the highest applicability. The diagrams and satellite photographs are also very commendable.

Regarding the formatting aspects of the book; the glossed index, as mentioned already, on p. 104 is accurate. There is no bibliography. All photographs have been correctly referenced (on p. 2).

In conclusion: *In Search of Mapwork...* content is satisfactory, and as such, it will be a worthwhile resource for secondary school teachers of Geography. The authors approach the topics in an interesting and innovative way, and there are plenty of highly enjoyable mapwork exercises for learners to complete. With some improved editing and careful proof-reading, plus the incorporation of sections on atlas work and projections, the book's content would have been more highly praised and adjudged by me.

Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education. Part 1.

(Wochen Schau Wissenschaft, ISBN: 978-3-89974731-7, pp. 401)

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Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity is a compilation of articles from 35 different authors, all of which share the theme of didactics of history as a scientific discipline. The main purpose of the book is to set out the discourse on history education in various European countries and lay the basis for a European discourse on the topic.

Each of the 24 articles explores history education in countries such as Austria, Cyprus, Estonia and Hungary, among others. A notable exclusion from the book is Switzerland, as it is not part of the European Union. The motivation for the book is derived from the belief, according to Erdmann and Hasberg, that none of the previous investigations into History education in Europe included the didactics of history. The editors postulate that the teaching of history in Europe follow three distinct routes, firstly that of the German model which focuses on historical consciousness in society, secondly, the idea in other European countries where History Didactics are part of the educational sciences, and lastly the French model that looks at History education as part of social studies and where the focus is on the transmission

of historical knowledge. By presenting the findings of 35 authors in this publication, the editors envisage to demonstrate the similarities concerning History didactics between the different European Union member states and to create a starting point for closer cooperation between the countries.

The aspirations of the authors as set out above, therefore define the audience at which the publication is aimed. Those in tertiary education institutions where History education forms part of an education degree may benefit from reading these case studies, especially if issues such as diversity and unity are to be addressed through the use of a multi-perspective approach to history education. In this sense, history educators in South Africa may also find some articles useful as the new Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) emphasises the concept of multi-perspective approach to the interpretation and analysis of historical events.[1] The only chapter that deals specifically with unity and diversity is Karl Filser's *"Unity and Diversity of our European identity" Recommendations of the European Council on History Learning and Teaching,* which is enlightening regarding the European context and the emphasis on the use of the multi-perspective method, a method which also significantly influenced CAPS. The remainder of the book is a collection of case studies on History education from various Europe countries. While these articles are interesting and informative, the relevance for South African educators is doubtful, as each chapter will have to be scrutinised in order to assess the extent to which European case studies may apply to the South African context. While the European Union countries and South Africa have a lot in common regarding unity and diversity, there are also unique aspects to the different countries. It is unlikely that many school educators will want to wade through an academic text such as this unless they are sure that it may offer information that will useful in their classrooms.

The technical aspects of the publication require improvement. The book contains no index, which hampers its usefulness to researchers. It is also evident that the chapters have been translated into English by a non-native English translator. The impact of this is that the meaning of many sentences is obscured by academic language. In short, the publication may contribute towards an expansion of the pedagogical horizons of those involved in curriculum planning and design as well as the theoretical foundations of History education; however, for the school educators the book may be of limited value.

1 Department: Basic Education, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement; p. 12. (Available at: http://www.education.gov.za), as accessed on 19 January 2012.

Our world, our society – Social Sciences grade 8

(Vivlia, South Africa, 2006, ISBN: 978-1-77006-444-7)

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Introduction

Textbooks are frequently considered to be important informers of content knowledge to be explored in lessons. Textbooks provide a certain structure which often forms the basis of teachers' pedagogical practices and learners' academic development in particular Learning Areas or school subjects. *Our World, Our Society* would be no exception. This Social Sciences (SS)[2] textbook for grade 8 learners contains the necessary information from which content knowledge of Social Sciences can be derived and explored. However, as most textbooks have their fair bit of inaccuracies, so too does *Our World, Our Society*. For the purpose of a structured critique, three main categories have been devised: the scope (which considers content, reliability and accuracy); readability (including style); and activities included in the textbook.

Scope

This textbook religiously follows topics mentioned in the *National Curriculum Statement for Social Sciences* (DoE, 2002). The content topics in the textbook are structured according to the NCS Grade 8 framework (DoE, 2002, pp.91-92). This may be useful to teachers as it provides a point of departure for their Social Sciences lessons which are in keeping with the SS policy document they use when planning lessons and assessments.

In terms of content accuracy, several flaws can be identified. The authors have included two meanings of "Revolution". Although it is necessary for learners to understand that often there are no definite meanings to words, it may

2 Presently Social Sciences has become separate Learning Areas within the Continuous Assessment and Policy Statement implemented in South African schools by the Department of Basic Education in January 2012.

at the same time result in a sense of conceptual confusion. *Our World, Our Society* introduces the idea of race by identifying the "white" race; however the authors refer to the native people of Africa as Zulus. This is politically incorrect as African native people consisted of several other tribal ethnicities besides the Zulus. The authors go on to state: "African people living in South Africa", which – to learners – may not make sense because South Africans are inevitably Africans (people native to the African continent).

Additionally not all indentured labour entailed 5 year long contracts. Instead this could be replaced with "for a specific period of time". The title of the map on page 60 of the textbook reads: "Map shows *modern day* South Africa in the *1860s*" (own italics). This title is highly ambiguous and could foster a sense of confusion in learners understanding. Therefore it is suggested that the map reads: "Map showing independent kingdoms of South Africa in 1860 before it was colonised". Furthermore, lobola as mentioned in the section on Industrialisation in South Africa is not explained well enough and may appear to be unclear to learners as it does not make mention of the fact that lobola was a practice among native people and not among all inhabitants of South Africa. In essence it should be made clear to learners that Mahatma Gandhi fought for the rights of racially-marginalised people in South Africa, and not for Indian people only as stated in the textbook.

Despite the excellent coverage of topics in this textbook, *Our World, Our Society* lacks in the reliability of the information it provides to learners and teachers. Ambiguity and inaccuracy of information have to be addressed for the textbook to achieve the success in learners' conceptual and pedagogical growth.

Readability

Our World, Our Society has a substantial amount of written information as compared to other textbooks. Additionally, the written text is accompanied by the considerable use and variety of visual aids such as graphs, maps, tables and pictorial sources. This has a two-fold advantage. Firstly, it captures learners' interest as learners are presently more visually receptive than they were in the past. Secondly, it helps learners become accustomed to data-handling skills which are greatly needed in our globalised world where problem-solving is a necessity.

Units within each module are inter-linked to each other through the introductory topic sentences at the beginning of the unit. These are beneficial to learners as it helps them reflect on the content they have covered in previous lessons and make correlations with the current topic under discussion.

There are several guidelines which serve as cognitive support to learners. Firstly, textboxes can be found on several pages throughout the textbook which provide a simplistic explanation of what is considered of importance for learners to know. Uniform Resource Locators (URLs)[3] and summaries have also been included at the end of each unit. Learners are also urged to seek information concerning topics in the Grade 8 textbook from the library, the internet or by speaking to elders. Additionally assessment rubrics for activities engaged with during the unit are incorporated for learners to assess themselves.

Despite the above positive remarks on the textbook, in some instances images used in the textbook appeared unclear and blurred due to the green fill. I would assume that if learners had difficulty in identifying particulars in the images, then they are certain to find it difficult to interpret and subsequently complete the activity which required use of the sources.

The style of the textbook was generally suited to the academic level of grade 8 classes. The additional assistance provided in the book catered for learners who had enquiring minds and who were more academically-inclined than others.

Activities

Unlike other textbooks, *Our World, Our Society* does not place more emphasis on activities and resources used to engage in Social Sciences topics. Yet the activities which are included, catered for the different cognitive levels of learners. Several activities which appear in the textbook allow for integration, not only of History and Geography, but also of the languages, Life Orientation and Mathematics. Hence resulting in a holistic interdisciplinary approach to knowledge and assessment.

Moreover, additional assistance to teachers is provided in the form of a Teachers' Guide. This contains possible answers and marking rubrics to activities in the learners' book, an introduction of the Social Sciences Learning

3 Internet addresses which identify and locate files in the World Wide Web.

Area as well as work schedules and assessment rubrics which Social Sciences teachers could derive their lessons from and plan their lessons around.

Recommendations

Despite the generous use of pictorial sources, it is recommended that reference to places where an event/s occurred, be accompanied with a map. This could physically contextualise the event being discussed. Also, authors should include the sources from which images have been extracted so that should learners or teachers wish to conduct further research on that particular image, they will find it easy to locate.

Conclusion

Our World, Our Society exhibits an unbiased approach in the composition of the contents. The layout of textbook allows for ease of reading and a flow of information. The pictorial images which accompany the typed text add variation in reading and create a meaningful yet comprehensive guide for learners and teachers. There are, however, areas which need rethinking and revising. Overall, this textbook offers a reasonable point of departure in terms of the content knowledge and skills which serve as the basis for Social Sciences.

In search of history: Grade 10 learner's book

(Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 2011, ISBN: 978 0 19 905725 2, pp. 223)

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In response to the recent changes in South African Education the Oxford publishers have unveiled their latest *In search of History* Grade 10 learners' book which tout as "the best source-based approach to studying History."

On the front cover is another seal of confidence declaring "National CAPS made easy." Written by the same authors as its predecessors, this textbook retains old characteristics and matches them with new curriculum changes. The intended audience of the textbook are the school History learners. It therefore fits well in the field of History teaching and research as it is meant to be used in the classroom. Those who intend to read deeply on the topics covered in the textbook can use the textbook for background reading because moving on to other reference books.

With glossy colour covers that are the hallmark of textbook marketing, the textbook also has longer surface sheets, thus making it thinner and less intimidating. There is also use of blue highlighting colour inside the textbook to guide learners to important aspects of the issues under coverage. The presentation and format is to a larger extent appealing. In keeping with style in previous editions there is a balance between text and illustrations. There is enough text for the textbook user to follow a particular narrative and all illustrations have explanatory captions. Therefore the sources are not just there for cosmetic purposes. Although all the illustrations are in black and white, they are not all the same overused and reproduced images that textbook users tend to come across often. The illustrations include pictures, drawings, maps, tables, and statistical data. All these aspects are presented in a clear and logical manner not as jumbled up snippets of bit and pieces as was becoming a feature of South African History textbooks during the Outcomes Based Education period. The sources are acknowledged and there are suggested further reference books at the end. The index also makes the textbook user friendly.

Most of the content is as suggested in the CAPS document with the major themes being: The world around 1600; European expansion and conquest in the 15th to 18th centuries; the French revolution; Transformations in Southern Africa after 1750; Colonial expansion after 1750; and The South African war and Union. However, one Grade 10 theme as per the CAPS History document is missing – on Industrial Revolution and modern world economic system. The themes in the textbook are chronologically sequenced and create a narrative that learners can follow. There are a few cases of linking chapters such that the book follows an unbroken prose. The content in the textbook shows evidence of research by the authors to match the issues to contemporary research. There is reference to all types of historical research including archaeology and oral history especially regarding early South African History.

It is also contextualised, an example being the way slavery is presented within a context of Spanish conquest of America and Portugal and the destruction of the Indian Ocean trade. For controversial issues, such as the representation of Shaka, multi-perspectives are provided as recommended by the CAPS. There is an attempt to represent the ordinary people and women in key events such as the French revolution or the South African War. The themes are introduced through a key question, which is taken from the CAPS. The textbook also provides definitions of the major first order concepts such as revolution, propaganda and dictator. Conceptual understanding is essential and cases where slavery and slave trade are used almost interchangeably will confuse learners. The second order concepts are more implied than always obvious with the exception of empathy.

Another positive aspect of this textbook is the assessment activities. To start with, the presentation is not confusing, as the publishers do not throw activities in every little space available on the page. Instead the assessment is logically presented, coming after a sizeable amount of narrative and its supporting sources, meaning that learners can at least learn something before they are assessed. Different types of assessment activities are provided, such as, source based questions, matching, explanations, games, class discussions and newspaper articles. For most of these activities the textbook clearly explains if they are supposed t be individual work, pair work or group work. No time is provided though to guide the learners on how to answer the questions. Mark allocation is provided only for the major assessments at the end of each chapter. For the extended writing tasks, a generic rubric is provided at the end of the textbook. The questions come at various levels enabling all learners to think at a lower and higher order level. The textbook users are encouraged not to rely only on the textbook to answer some of the questions as they are asked to use their own knowledge. Unlike in the text, the second order concepts such as empathy and causation come up more explicitly in the assessment. An example is the empathy exercise on Shaka who in the text is presented as a contentious historical figure. More comprehensive assessment is provided towards the end of the textbook where the authors provide a sample end-of-year paper covering all the aspects the earners have to be aware of. In general the assessment is challenging but achievable.

Finally, the language is by and large appropriate for the grade. A glossary of new words and key words is presented, not at the back of the book, but exactly where they are used so that learners can make easy and quick reference.

Another feature that is useful for the textbook users is the skills support. Throughout the textbook, there are sections where the authors explain skills such as the use and study of sources and referencing. These are important skills which bridge the gap between school history and academic history. It would have been better though, if the skills support where put together in one section and learners would be referred to them throughput the textbook. The point is that referencing, for instance, is a vital aspect of studying and it should be referred to as early as possible and not only towards the end of the textbook. The way study skills and meanings of instruction words are explained together at the end of the textbook is a good example of how the skills support could also appear in the textbook.

Therefore the production of this new textbook is a welcome development. The textbook will be of great use to both learners and teacher as they apply the new CAPS system. It fulfils most of the roles a textbook should, such as providing appropriate and up-to-date information, develop historical skills and conceptual understanding. The book will be a valuable asset for South African schools.

The Yesterday & Today (Y&T) Journal for History Teaching in South Africa and abroad

Editorial policy

1. Y&T is a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal (accredited since the beginning of 2012).

2. The Y&T journal is a journal for research in especially the fields of history teaching and history discipline research to improve not only the teaching, but also the knowledge dissemination of H(h)istory. The Journal is currently editorially managed and published under the auspices of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT).

3. Contributions may be either in the humanities (theoretical discourses), or from education (best practice workshops, or focused content research with a fundamental theoretical basis). Articles, in which interdisciplinary collaborations between the humanities and education are explored, are also welcome.

4. Regional editorial content may be based on empirical research in Southern Africa; but international contributions, that may apply to History teaching and research in general, are equally welcome.

5. Authors may submit individual contributions or contributions created in teams.

6. Since 2009, contributions had been subjected to peer reviewing by two or more expert reviewers in the disciplines used in the research and writing of the research report – the article.

7. The language of the journal is English. However, abstracts may be in any of the 11 official languages of South Africa.

8. Contributions must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 250 words.

9. The titles of articles should preferably not exceed 20 words.

10. The names of authors and their institutional affiliations must accompany

all contributions. Authors also have to enclose their telephone and fax numbers and E-mail and postal addresses.

11. The Harvard or the Footnote methods of reference may be used (see the last pages of these Reference guidelines for more detail on the Harvard and Footnote reference methods). The authors' choice of reference method will be respected by the editorial management. References must be clear, lucid and comprehensible for a general academic audience of readers. Once an author has made a choice of reference method, the Y&T guidelines for either the Harvard reference method or the Footnote reference method must be scrupulously followed. The guidelines for referencing are provided on the last pages of the journal. The most recent *Yesterday&Today* articles could also serve as guideline.

12. Editorial material with images (illustrations, photographs, tables and graphs) is permissible. The images should, however, be of a high-density quality (high resolution, minimum of 200dpi). The source references should also be included. Large files should be posted in separate E-mail attachments, and appropriately numbered in sequence.

13. Articles should be submitted to the editor electronically – at elize.vaneeden@nwu.ac.za. Notification of the receipt of the documents will be done within 48 hours.

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

15. The length of articles should preferably not exceed 8 000 to 10 000 words, or 15 to 20 journal pages.

16. Articles which have been published previously, or which are under consideration for publication elsewhere, may not be submitted to the *Yesterday&Today* journal. The Journal is also electronically available on the SASHT website at www.sashtw.org.za.

Yesterday & Today

Template guidelines for writing an article

1. **Font type:** Adobe Garamond Pro (throughout document)/Arial (if the first font type is unavailable).

2. **Font size in body text:** 12pt.

3. **Author's details: ONLY provide the following**: Title, Campus & University and E-mail address

   Title: 10pt, regular font; Campus & University: 10pt, italics; and E-mail address: 10pt, regular font. (Consult previous articles published in the Y&T journal as an example or as a practical guideline). Example: Dr Pieter van Rensburg, Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University, p.vanrensburg@gmail.com.

4. **Abstract:** The abstract should be placed on the first page (where the title heading and author's particulars appear). The prescribed length is between a half and three quarters of a page.

   The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.

   The heading of the **Abstract**: Bold, italics, 12pt.

5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract.

   The word '**Keywords**:' 10pt, bold, underline.

   Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;). Example: Meters; People; etc. (A minimum of six key words is required).

6. **Heading of article**: 14pt, bold.

7. **Main headings in article**: '**Introduction**' – 12pt, bold.

8. ***Sub-headings* in article**: '***History*** …' – 12pt, bold, italics.

9. **Third level sub-headings**: '**History** …' – 11pt, bold, underline.

10. ***Fourth level sub-headings***: '***History*** …' – 11pt, bold, italics, underline.

11. **Footnotes**: 8pt, regular font; **BUT** note that the footnote numbers in the article text should be 12pt.

    The initials in a person's name (in footnote text) should be without any full stops. Example: LC du Plessis and **NOT** L.C. du Plessis.

12. **Body text**: Names without punctuation in the text. Example: "HL le Roux said" and **NOT** "H.L. le Roux said".

13. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote text should be indicated as follows:

    Example: p.space23 – p. 23. / pp. 23-29.

14. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.

15. **Quotes from sources in the body tex**t must be used sparingly. If used, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and **NOT** in italics. Example: An owner close to the town stated that: "the pollution history of the river is a muddy business".

16. **Indents (in body text)** must be in double inverted commas: "…and she" and **NOT** '…and she'.

17. **Images: illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures**: Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript's body text.
    Example: **Image 1: 'Image title'** (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.

    Sources of all images should also be included.
    Example: **Source: 'The source'** (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.

    Important note: All the images should be of good quality (a minimum resolution of 200dpi is required; if the image is not scanned).

18. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text. Example: the end.[1] **NOT** …the end[1].

19. **Single spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.

20. **Dates**: All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: **23 December 2010**; **NOT** 23/12/2010. **[For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines.]**

21. Language setting in Microsoft Word as **English (South Africa); do this before starting with the word processing of the article**. Go to 'Review', 'Set Language' and select 'English (South Africa)'.

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*.

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 (its shortened version) on the rest of a page(s) in the footnote section.

The first letter of most words in the titles of books, articles, chapters, theses, dissertations and papers/manuscripts should be capitalised. Only the first letter of the surname of authors should be capitalized, not the complete surname. No names of authors, in full, is allowed. The following practical examples serve as guideline:

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]

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 Pepler (Bigenafrica, Pretoria/E van Eeden (Researcher), 22 October 2006.

• **National archives** (or any other archive)

National archiving (NA), Pretoria, Department of Education (DE), 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-Afrika discourse" (Paper, Public Seminar: China in Africa: Race, relations and reflections, Centre for Sociological Research, University of Johannesburg, 28 July 2007), p. 7.

Shortened version:

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

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

GENERAL:

Illustrations

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

Authors, PLEASE obtain copyright and reproduction rights on photographs and other illustrations.

The Harvard reference method

References in the text

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

List of references

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order, under References.

Bibliographic information should be in the language of the source document, not in the language of the article.

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

• Journal articles

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

• Books

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

• Chapters in books

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

• Unpublished theses or dissertations

Fardon, JVV 2007. Gender in history teaching resources in South African public school. Unpublished DEd thesis. Pretoria: Unisa.

• Anonymous newspaper references

Daily Mail 2006. World Teachers' Day, 24 April.

• Electronic references

Published under author's name:

Marshall, J 2003. Why Johnny can't teach. *Reason*, December. Available at http://www.reason.com/news/show/29399.html. Accessed on 10 August 2010.

Website references: No author:

These references are not archival, and subject to change in any way and at any time If it is essential to present them, they should be included in a numbered endnote and not in the reference list.

• Personal communications

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

Personal interview, K Kombuis (Journalist-singer)/S van der Merwe (Researcher), 2 October 2010.

The Faculty of Education, University of Stellenbosch is hosting the

26TH SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING

2012 ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT

Erinvale Estate Hotel & Spa, Somerset West on

4-5 October 2012

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Dr Dan Sleigh

Title: The founding of the Dutch colony at the Cape and its relevance for history teaching in schools today.

Biographical info

Daniel (Dan) Sleigh was born on the farm Geelbeksfontein on the West Coast on November 3, 1938. He matriculated at Vredenburg High School and then joined the South African Navy. Until 1962, he studied at the Paarl Training College to become a Physical Education teacher, after which he taught in Namibia and Cape Town.

In 1996 he completed his BA Degree in History and English Literature at UNISA. He then completed a MA degree cum laude, followed by a Doctorate in History in 1987 at the University of Stellenbosch.

Dan Sleigh was Head of the Education Museum and then Provincial Co-ordinator of Conservation Education, Western Cape Education Department, from which he retired in 1996. A former editor in the transcription department of the Cape Archives he specialised in the first Dutch colonial period. As editor of the **TANAP project** he transcribed the VOC archives into a data base. (TANAP: Towards a New Age of Partnership; a Dutch/Asian/South-African programme of cooperation). His magisterial PhD publication, *VOC-buiteposte onder Kaapse beheer 1652-1795*, HAUM, Pretoria, 1993, are being consulted by researchers as far as Australia, the Netherlands, Russia, the USA and Norway.

Apart from academic and public lectures, Dan Sleigh took part in radio talks and TV programmes. Field of study: The Dutch Seaborne Empire (1602-1795)

Dan Sleigh was editor and translator for Van Riebeeck Society series in 2003 and is editor of the Castle Military Museum series Cape Military history.

He made his literary debut in 1974 with the volume of poetry entitled *Duif oor water*. This was followed by historical works for young people, like *Die buiteposte* and *Tussen twee vlae*.

In 2001 he won the Sanlam/Insig/Tafelberg Competition for his novel *Eilande*. This novel was later also awarded the WA Hofmeyr, RAU, M-Net and Helgaard Steyn Prizes.

Islands, André P. Brink's English translation of *Eilande*, was listed by The Seattle Times as one of the ten best books.

CONFERENCE THEME: Back to the Future? The Value of History Teaching for Tomorrow

This conference is a must for those academics, historians and educators concerned about sustaining the relevance of History teaching for today. Can History and an understanding of the past, still contribute towards making better decisions and creating a better future for our children? We often tend to be so future-oriented, that the impact of the past is ignored. Come and share your insights and innovative interpretations of how this can be done.

SUB-THEMES:

- Voices of the past: Historical research, new trends and findings and their value for teaching
- The current school curriculum and History (GET, FET levels)
- The current state of History as a school subject (attitudes; textbooks; teaching methods; examining; DoE and DBE involvement; assessing the 'value' of higher education research and quality control input).
- Learners' and teachers' attitudes, experiences and perceptions on the value of the past for the future
- Teacher education and relevant teacher training models for History teaching
- Effective teaching methods to enhance the value of History knowledge for today and tomorrow

- Ways of building hope by linking the past, the present and the future
- Any other relevant theme on historical research and history teaching that may fit into the main theme.

CALL FOR PAPERS

We are calling upon both academic historians doing research on topics relating to the conference theme and history educators involved in the practical teaching of History in the modern classroom, to submit proposals for papers (20 minutes each) and workshops (45-60 minutes each) to be presented at the upcoming SASHT Conference.

Download the **Abstract Submission Form**. Fax through to **Karen Horn at (021) 808 2020** or e-mail to karenhorn@sun.ac.za for a copy.

An abstract of approximately 150 words (preferably in English) should be submitted as an e-mail attachment to Karen Horn at karenhorn@sun.ac.za . Abstracts can also be faxed to the following fax number: (021) 808 2020.

Abstracts for papers, workshops or/and posters must reach us no later than **17 June 2012 (deadline)**. The SASHT conference organisers will let prospective presenters know by 29 June whether or not their proposals were accepted. A preliminary conference programme will be posted on the SASHT website by 6 July.

CALL FOR ABSTRACTS:

Paper, Workshop & Poster Abstract Guidelines:

- All authors interested in presenting a paper or poster are invited to submit an abstract on the provided form.
- Use MS-Word, Arial 11, 1.5 spacing.
- The maximum length is 300 words including keywords or phrases.
- Full contact details and institutional affiliation of authors must be given.

Paper Presentations:

- Presentations will be confined to 20 minutes plus a 10-minute question/discussion session.

Workshop Presentations:

- Presentations sessions will be confined to 45 minutes inclusive of question/discussion time.

Poster Presentations:

- 5 Minute per poster plus a 5 minute question time (You are welcome to request more time for a presentation when submitting your abstract).

RE ABSTRACTS – PLEASE NOTE:

Even if accepted, no abstract will be included in the Final Programme and Book of Abstracts if full payment for registration has not been received by **20 July 2012**.

Handouts and articles for possible publication

Presenters of papers or workshops will be required to distribute a short version handout of 1-5 pages in English at the conference. Papers (maximum 20 pages, double spacing in 11 pt Arial font) must also be electronically available at the conference to download for the purpose of peer reviewing and possible publication in the November 2012 edition of the SASHT accredited Journal ***Yesterday&Today***. **When presenting an article, please study the reference guidelines in the most recent edition of the journal** which currently is either the *Yesterday&Today* 6, October 2011 edition or the July, 7 2012 edition upcoming. All *Yesterday&Today* editions up to October 2010 are available on the SASHT website at www.sashtw.org.za. Members normally receive the newest editions copies as they become available.

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

Educators, researchers and any other academics from the GET, FET and HET levels are invited to register for the conference.

SASHT MEMBERS Registration fee		**Non-Members Registration fee**	
Early Bird (March to 20 July)	R960	Early Bird (March to 20 July)	R1100
From 20 July to 7 September	R1300	From 20 July to 7 September	R1500
Day tariff (either 4 or 5 October)	R700	**Day tariff (either 4 or 5 October)**	R750

Registration fee INCLUDES:

- Use of conference facilities
- Conference folder, writing paper, pen, etc.
- Lunch on 4 and/or 5 October
- Morning and afternoon tea/coffee & refreshments
- Thursday Evening Dinner (cash bar available)
- Transport and visit to SOLMS-DELTA near Franschhoek on Friday, 5 October after lunch. Refreshments will be provided.

Solms-Delta History, Archaeology and Wine tour

Delegates will enjoy a guided tour through the museum that tells the story of Delta farm starting from the very beginnings of human settlement, through pre-colonial pastoral usage of the land, the establishment of private ownership through colonial viticulture, the scars left by slavery and apartheid, and beyond, to the establishment of a democratic South Africa and our hopes for the future. The tour includes a look at the fascinating archaeological sites as well as some of the beautiful Cape buildings that are a lasting testament to the colonists and slaves who built them.

Please visit their website at www.solms-delta.co.za.

Registration fee EXCLUDES:

- Travelling fees
- Accommodation
- Arrangements and payment for accommodation must be done by yourself
- The number of nights you want to reserve is your choice
- Erinvale will reserve a number of single and double rooms for SASHT delegates until **15 August**, so book early to avoid disappointment.
- Airport transfers to and from Cape Town International Airport must be arranged with your venue of accommodation. Please arrange in advance when you make your booking for accommodation.

Payment of Registration:

Registration payments must be done as soon as possible in order to make use of the Early Bird Offer. All payments must be made into the SASHT's savings account.

Payment options:

Direct bank payment or electronic transfer:

A direct payment or an electronic transfer of money into the SASHT savings account is possible. Banking details are as follows:

Account Holder: SASHT

Bank: ABSA Bank (Potchefstroom Branch)

Type of Account: Savings Account

Account Number: 678209406

Please note:

- CLEARLY indicate your payment as **REGISTRATION SASHT OCT2012**. If you also pay a SASHT membership fee of R150 for individuals or R200 for institutions, clearly indicate whose membership it is.
- Please fax proof of payment together with your registration form to Sally Le Roux, fax number (021) 808 2020 or e-mail to mlr1@sun.ac.za .

Payment by cheque:

Send your registration form and cheque (made out to SASHT) to:

The SASHT, Prof. Elize S. van Eeden, School of Basic Sciences, Vaal Triangle Campus, PO Box 1174, North West University Vanderbijlpark 1900.

General queries (registration and SASHT membership):

Any inquiries with regard to SASHT membership can be sent to the SASHT secretariat Dr Susan Bester at sjbdok@telkomsa.net or 10618635@nwu.ac.za. If you experience any difficulties, please phone her on her cell: 082 293 8709. If you would like to become a SASHT member, please click here for the Membership form.

Any inquiries with regard to the conference can be sent to Sally Le Roux at mlr1@sun.ac.za.

ACCOMMODATION

NB: Conference attendants must make their own reservations.

Erinvale Estate Hotel and Spa is situated at the foot of the Hottentots Holland mountains in Somerset West and have 57 rooms. They will reserve their rooms for SASHT conference delegates until 15 August 2012. The onus is on delegates to book in time.

Accommodation tariffs at Erinvale:

R680 per person per night sharing (breakfast included)

R960 per person per night single (breakfast included)

Tel: (021) 847 1160

Web: www.erinvale.co.za

When making your booking at Erinvale Hotel & Spa, please mention that it is for the SASHT Conference on 4-5 October.

Please follow link below for other accommodation in Somerset West.

Click here for **accommodation in Somerset West**.

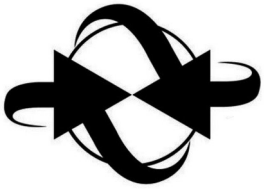
Click here for **map and directions** to Erinvale Estate Hotel & Spa, and then click on **Contact Us**.

Click here to **register for the conference**.

SASHT Accommodation

Guest House	Prize Range	Contact details
Willowbrook Lodge 4* Lourensford Road, Land-En-Zeezicht, Somerset West Gps co-ordinates 34° 4' 48.71" S 8° 52' 42.49" E	**Single Occupancy:** R700 – R1380 **Double Occupancy:** R950 – R2000 (breakfast included)	Contact: Marié Tel: 021 851-3759 Fax: 021 851-4152 Email: info@willowbrook.co.za Website: www.willowbrook.co.za
Albourne Guest House 4* 61 Lourensford Road, Somerset West Gps co-ordinates 34° 4' 36.444" S 18° 51' 31.11 12" E	**Double Occupancy**: R330 – R630 (breakfast included)	Contact: Joop & Trudy Tel: 021 852-2184 Fax: 021 852-7050 Email: info@albourne.co.za Website: www.albourneguest-house.co.za
Woodlands Guest House 3* 16 Woodlands Road, Somerset West Gps co-ordinates 34° 4' 25.47" S 18° 50'36.74" E	**Double Occupancy:** R330 **Single Occupancy:** R475 (breakfast included)	Contact: Hilde Tel: 021 851-2625 Fax: 021 851-2625 Mobile: 082 279-4601 / 084 351 1900 Email: info@woodlandsguest-house.co.za Website: www.woodlandsguest-house.co.za
African Dreams Guest House 4* 13 Fraser Road, Fairview Heights, Somerset West Gps co-ordinates 33° 57' 36.25 2" S 18° 23' 12.44 4" E	**Per selfcatering unit:** R995 **Single rate (breakfast incl):** R1090	Contact: Vanessa Reinmuth Tel: 021 855-5977 Fax: 021 855-5987 Mobile: 082 413-3443 Website: www.africandreamguest-house.co.za

Roosboom Guest Apartments 1 Mayfair Avenue, Helena Heights, Somerset West Gps co-ordinates 34° 3' 45.288" S 18° 50' 5.2152" E	**Self catering per person sharing:** R545 **Single:** R700 (Breakfast optional extra)	Contact: Mabel Schietekat Tel/Fax: 021 855-4269 Mobile: 084 781-2689 Email: info@roosboom.co.za Website: www.roosboom.co.za
Golden Hill Guest House 10 Upper Mountain Road, Somerset West Gps co-ordinates: 34° 4' 9.7608" S 18° 51' 54.9576" E	**Double occupancy:** R440 **Single occupation in double room**: R570 **Single room**: R320	Contact: Dr Wilfried Franke Tel: 021 851-7371 Fax: 021 851-3366 Mobile: 021 854-4211 Email: goldenhl@iafrica.com Website: www.goldenhillguest-house .co.za



The South African Society For History Teaching (SASHT)

(An Association of History Educators, Organisations, Publishers and People interested in History Teaching)

1. CONSTITUTION

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

1.2 the precise terms of any proposed alteration shall be set out in the notice convening the meeting;

1.3 the purpose and objects of the Society shall not be altered without the consent of 66% of all the members.

2. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Society (since date of founding in 1986) shall be to assist its members in every possible way and in particular:

2.1 To improve the contact between educators of History training at tertiary level and teachers in the broad educational field.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. MEMBERSHIP

3.1 Membership shall consist of three types:

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

3.1.2 Group membership (private organisations & publishers) that will pay an annual membership fee determined by the Executive Committee on a yearly basis which will include a membership provision of more than one individual. These members will be eligible to vote but not eligible to serve on the committees and only receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT Journal *Yesterday&Today*.

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

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

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

3.2.2 is approved by the Executive Committee as a member.

3.3 Any member may resign by notice to the chairperson or secretary/treasurer. Such member remains liable for membership dues up to the date of receipt by the chairperson of the letter of resignation.

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

4. MANAGEMENT

4.1 The interests of the Society shall be managed by at least a *ten*-member committee consisting of a chairperson, a vice-chairperson (when required), a secretariat and a treasurer (this position can also be combined into a secretary-treasurer position) and *six* to *seven* additional members. These members in the leading position of the SASHT shall hold the respective positions for a maximum of three years, after which they may be re-elected at an annual general meeting (usually to be held in September-October). Two additional members (the guest hosting a conference during the following year and a history educator abroad) may be nominated. The temporary Executive member hosting the next conference may be nominated fully on the Executive as well, but if not he/she only has a temporary executive position to smooth the conference organization process with efficient communication. As far as the educator abroad is concerned, this position can be reconsidered on an annual basis. The intention is to have an informed educator on the board to assist the Executive with any valuable input regarding History educational developments abroad.

4.2 An election of new Executive Committee members for the SASHT Executive during an Annual General SASHT meeting should be conducted by one of the SASHT members or an executive member who has been nominated to undertake the task (and not the current chairperson or vice chairperson). From the ten nominees fully accepted, the positions of chairperson and vice chairperson should be voted for by the elected SASHT Executive Committee that represents the vote of all the members.

4.3 A process of nomination and election becomes necessary if Executive Committee members have served a three-year term. Both new nominees and retiring committee members are eligible for re-election via e-mail one month prior to the annual SASHT conference. The secretariat manages the term of office of the SASHT Executive and sends out notifications to retiring/re-election status members (and invites new nominations, to be done formally and on the standard SASHT nomination form) a week prior to the SASHT conference. The list of new nominations//re-electable Executive Committee members will be formally dealt with during the AGM.

4.4 Only fully paid-up members of the SASHT (and only one member per institution in the Society) are eligible for election as Executive Committee members.

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

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

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

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

5. MEETINGS

5.1 Committee Meetings

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

5.1.2 Meetings by the SASHT Executive Committee will take place BEFORE an annual SASHT conference and AFTER the conference has ended when new executive members have been elected.

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

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

5.2 General Meetings

5.2.1 The Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Society shall take place during the annual SASHT Conference.

5.2.2 A special general meeting may be convened by the Executive Committee upon the receipt of a signed, written request of at least ten registered members of the Society which request must be accompanied by a full motivation for requesting such a meeting.

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

5.4 The following procedures shall apply to all general meetings:

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

5.4.2 Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

5.5 Finances

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

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

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

5.5.4 A financial report shall be produced by the secretary-treasurer at the annual general meeting or upon request from the SASHT Executive Committee.

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

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

6. Right to vote

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

7. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Any amendment to this Constitution shall only be effected by a two thirds majority decision at a general meeting or special general meeting and further provided that seven days' prior notice was given of the proposed amendment. Notice is to be given in the same manner as a notice for a general meeting.

8. DISSOLUTION

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

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

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

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

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

9. MISCELLANEOUS

9.1 Every Executive member/ordinary member of the Society shall be entitled at all reasonable times to inspect all books of account and other documents of the Society which the custodian thereof shall accordingly be obliged to produce.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY
FOR HISTORY TEACHING
(SASHT)

SUBSCRIPTION 2012 - 2013

I HEREBY WISH TO:

1. RENEW SUBSCRIPTION ☐

2. TO SUBSCRIBE AS A SASHT MEMBER ☐

SOUTHERN AFRICA	- INDIVIDUAL MEMBER R200	☐
	- INSTITUTIONS R400	☐
RESIDENTS AND INSTITUTIONS	- USA 40US$	☐
	- EUROPE 30£	☐

TITLE:

SURNAME:

INITIALS:

INSTITUTION:

ADDRESS:

CODE:

TEL: (W) ( )

CELL:

E-MAIL ADDRESS: FAX:

THE AMOUNT INDICATED FOR THE YESTERDAY & TODAY JOURNAL ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, PAYABLE TO *THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING*, **AND CAN BE SEND TO:**

ELECTRONIC PAYMENT TO:

SASHT ACCOUNT DETAILS:

ABSA
POTCHEFSTROOM
SASHT
678209406

THE SECRETARY TREASURER SASHT/

DR SUSAN BESTER
SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING/

SCHOOL OF BASIC SCIENCE
NORTH WEST UNIVERSITY
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS
PO BOX 1174
VANDERBIJLPARK
1900
SOUTH AFRICA

EVIDENCE OF PAYMENT **MUST** BE FAXED OR SEND TO: SASHT FAX NO. - **(016) 910 3449 / (016) 910 3451**