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

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EDITORIAL

Although this is not a special edition of *Yesterday&Today*, it is nevertheless special in the sense that the editorial panel is privileged to dedicate the issue to Professor Elize van Eeden for her enormous contribution to, and involvement in, the continuance and success of the Journal.

Elize's association with *Yesterday and Today*/*Gister en Vandag* started 33 years ago in 1981 when she was a final year undergraduate student at the former Rand Afrikaans University. As one of the students of Professor Martin Trümpelmann, who was her History didactics lecturer and a founder member of the Journal, Elize and her peers were involved in the editing of the first issue. They were occasionally also asked for contributions to later issues of the Journal in the form of exemplar lessons and/or debate conversations.

Much later, in 1996 as a young member on the Executive of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT), she became aware of the financial and membership difficulties experienced at the Journal (then edited by Professor Pieter Kapp of the University of Stellenbosch). When the Journal finally seized to exist in 1997, Elize was the secretary of the SASHT. As a passionate History educator she refused to give up on the Journal, and decided to become part of a team of individuals who started a regular Newsletter in an effort to keep the loyal SASHT and Journal members informed about innovative teaching matters and classroom practices.

It was only in 2006 that Elize decided to take initiative and apply for funding from the North-West University to revive the Journal. Her continuous efforts were successful; and her editorship officially started in 2006 with a special issue of the Journal, and under a brand new name *Yesterday&Today.* Initially, the Journal only appeared once a year (except for 2008 when two issues were published). During this time, Elize edited almost all of the articles single-handedly, and managed the Journal on a scant budget.

In January 2012, after hours of writing tireless motivations and having multiple discussions with the staff of The Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAf), she managed to secure accreditation status for the Journal from the Department of Higher Education and Training. Shortly, after this achievement the journal was placed on the open-access Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO) platform which is a full-text journal database for South African scholarly journals. Elize was also instrumental in the creation of the SASHT website on which *Yesterday&Today* is available in digitalised

format – since the first issue in 1981.

At a time when the Journal is being published bi-annually, and is generating its own funding, Elize decided to step down as editor in June this year (2014). Fortunately, she was still willing to stay on as a member of the editorial panel, and will be responsible for the financial management of the Journal.

By dedicating this edition to Elize, the editorial panel is acknowledging her invaluable efforts and inspiration over the years to secure the survival of *Yesterday&Today*; not only for the current, but also for the future generations of History educators.

In this edition of *Yesterday&Today,* the articles focus on a variety of pedagogies, or practices of how best to teach H(history). These are the reconciliatory pedagogy (Reville Nussey, Elize van Eeden, Kevin Garcia, and Joanna Wojdon), an inspiring pedagogy (Gordon Brookbanks and Maxine Gibb), and, an educational excursion pedagogy (Wendy Carstens, and Johann Strauss and Louisa Meyer,).

With regard to the reconciliatory pedagogy, in the article authored by Reville Nussey entitled, *The "dance" of reconciliation: Understanding the complex steps in a reconciliatory pedagogy using an oral history assignment* she develops a most interesting and innovative pedagogy using a qualitative narrative inquiry approach and Lederach's (1999) image of a dance of reconciliation as interpretative framework. The steps of her proposed reconciliatory pedagogy were identified and discussed.

In her article, Elize van Eeden presents *The Miracle Rising® as source for teaching History: Theoretical and practical considerations.* She focuses on ways in which parts of this 92 minute historical documentary, which traced South Africa's political transformation to the first free and fair elections in April 1994, can be utilised as a teaching and learning source towards building the "rainbow nation". She exchanges valuable ideas on ways in which GET, FET and HET History educators can theoretically and practically utilise this visual medium in the assessment of their learners and students respectively.

The article of Kevin Garcia offers Grade 12 History teachers supplementary information to Topic 3 of the CAPS document, entitled Civil society protests 1950s to 1970s. An aspect to be covered under this topic is a case study of the US Civil Rights Movement. The article focuses on a lesser-known aspect of the same period, namely the American Indian Civil Rights Movement; and opens up the possibility for the enrichment of the learners' history study

by providing a broader context for the topic specified by CAPS, and for conducting a comparative historical analysis with the learners.

Joanna Wojdon's article deals with school History textbooks and the issue of one "scientifically approved version of what did happen" versus "presenting multiple perspectives on how it can be remembered and why." Textbooks in Poland, like in many other countries of the world, have for a long time been the major pedagogical tool in History classrooms, and as such they had, and still have, a major impact on the History teaching process, society at large, and the collective memory of its people. Wojdon illustrates the problem with a case study of a controversial issue, the introduction of Martial law in Poland. She argues for avoiding controversial topics and to concentrate on proven facts and interpretations.

Relating to an inspiring pedagogy, Gordon Brookbanks in the first hands-on article entitled, *Inspiring students: getting the recipe right* contributes to the inspiring pedagogy when he invites teachers of History to work on their classroom techniques and methods to inspire the learners in the classroom. He identified the advantages of teachers getting "… the recipe right …", namely personal enjoyment, increased understanding, and the necessary skills to achieve results. The focus should also be on introducing "other voices" into the History classroom, i.e. invited speakers to share their curriculum-relevant stories and experiences with the learners, and to promote among other things active citizenship and critical conversation.

Maxine Gibb, who was the top student in the Western Cape in the National Senior Examination for History in 2013, shares her personal experience in her article, *Achieving results in History and the role of the teacher: A learner's perspective*. She builds on McEwan's traits for a highly effected teacher and reveals how her history teachers' personal, intellectual and teaching traits inspired her passion for history, and contributed to her academic success. Her contribution to inspiring pedagogy is invaluable.

Within the parameters of the educational excursion pedagogy, Wendy Carstens' article entitled, *The value of tours around heritage sites with Melville Koppies as an example* demonstrates the importance and advantages of educational excursions to historical and heritage sites. She illustrates how learners could benefit from these tours – enrichment, reinforcement, inspiration, appreciation, and skills promotion. She also provides the what and how of a guided tour to the Melville Koppies, a nature reserve and heritage site near Johannesburg.

In the last hands-on article, *Historic Environment Education – tunnels: the forgotten history of the early days of coal in the Vereeniging area,* Johann Strauss and Louisa Meyer also contribute to educational excursion pedagogy. They focus on the topic of the transportation of coal to the diamond and gold mines. In a history that has not yet been comprehensively documented, they describe how tunnels below the Vaal River were utilised to transport coal to all areas of the Transvaal. An explanation follows of how the historical content by means of a specific task on tunnels and the transportation of coal (that includes an excursion to the heritage sites) can add value to the historical environment education of Social Sciences, History and Geography learners.

In the book review section, Jean Léonard Buhigiro critically reviews Hamilton Wende's, *Valleys of silence into the Rwandan genocide* published in 2014 by Sunday Times Books. This is followed by Kevin Garcia's review of *Understanding and Teaching the Vietnam War (The Harvey Goldberg Series)* edited in 2013 by John Day Tully, Matthew Masur and Brad Austin, and published by the University of Wisconsin Press.

Apart from the above contributions, this edition of *Yesterday&Today* also includes information on the 2014 SASHT's conference programme, and which was held at the Wits School of Education from the 10 to 11 October 2014. A conference summary of the chairperson of the SASHT, Prof Elize van Eeden, is also included. This edition of *Yesterday&Today* is concluded with a comprehensive SASHT regional report which elaborates the activities of the regional representatives in the different provinces of South Africa.

Articles

The "dance" of reconciliation: Understanding the complex steps in a reconciliatory pedagogy using an oral history assignment

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Abstract

This article is about understanding the challenges and successes of a reconciliatory pedagogy with second-year student history teachers, eleven years after South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established. While the TRC report stated that it started South Africa on the journey towards reconciliation, it never claimed that it was able to achieve this goal, although its legacy continues to affect the way reconciliation unfolds in this country. Education plays an important role in addressing the effects of conflict on the second generation, but the contribution history education could make has largely been ignored (Cole & Barsalou, 2006). Using eight interviews with student history teachers, which reflected on an oral history assignment at the University of the Witwatersrand, this article focuses on understanding the complex steps involved in a reconciliatory pedagogy. Applying the image of the "dance" of reconciliation (Lederach 1999) and selected examples from the TRC to the data from the interviews, helped to contextualise the students' responses in relation to the main ideas that inform reconciliation. This provided insights into the twists and turns involved in this difficult process, and how it affected relationships between the first and second generations. It also allowed me the opportunity to reflect on my own practice as a history teacher educator.

Keywords: "Dance" of reconciliation; Reconciliatory pedagogy; Student history education; Narrative inquiry; Oral history; South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Introduction

The process of reconciliation is a complex journey, especially in a post-conflict society. One of the difficulties lies in negotiating a space and place where victims, perpetrators, beneficiaries and bystanders can live together in relative harmony after a successful transition in the political sphere. Another difficulty is how to address the ongoing effects of this past conflict on the children of the antagonists, irrespective of the position adopted by their parents during the conflict.

Education plays a vital role in this process, and this article focuses on a quest to understand the steps in a reconciliatory pedagogy using an oral history assignment by a teacher educator in South Africa. Firstly, I explain the background to the apparent lack of reconciliation, despite the country having experienced a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), among second-year students studying to become history teachers at the University of the Witwatersrand's School of Education in 2006. Secondly, I provide a brief survey of the literature relating to reconciliation and pedagogy. Thirdly, I turn to Lederach's (1999:79) images of reconciliation, such as the "dance" of reconciliation to provide a theoretical framework, and use a narrative inquiry methodology to show how the data from the interviews relates to this image, as well as selected examples from the TRC. Finally, I discuss some of the advantages and disadvantages of using the image of the "dance" of reconciliation in relation to my own practice.[1]

Background

Efforts to promote reconciliation in South Africa, as in many post-conflict countries, show that structural changes in the political sphere do not necessarily lead to individual and social attitudes changing in the short term. The establishment of the TRC in 1995, which aimed to account for the "overall human rights violations" (Boraine, 1999:470) in South Africa's past, played an important role in revealing the multiple abuses that occurred during the apartheid era. While the TRC is credited with starting South Africa on "the long road" to reconciliation, it never claimed that it was able "to reconcile the nation" (*TRC Report,* Vol. 5, 1998:350), although its legacy continues to shape the way reconciliation unfolds in this country. Yet there are ongoing examples of a lack of reconciliation, which is shown in different ways in many university

1 This article is based on ideas and data from my PhD (Nussey, 2012).

contexts in South Africa: a ministerial report concerning transformation[2] in higher education stated: "that discrimination, in particular with regard to racism and sexism, is pervasive in our institutions" (Soudien, 2008:13). My experiences in the lecture room supported this view of the problem of racism.

When I started to lecture in history education methodology at the University of the Witwatersrand's School of Education in 2002, I expected that relations between students of different races[3] would be better than those prior to the end of apartheid.

Most of these students had started and completed their schooling together, as part of the post-1994 generation (when the first fully democratic elections were held in South Africa). However, the divisions of the past were apparent in lectures, in terms of where students sat and how they engaged, or did not engage, with one another. I felt strongly that these divisions, in and outside the lecture room, perpetuated the inequalities and injustices of the past in the present. If these divisions were not addressed in some way while these students were at university, then this situation would remain unchanged in the present and affect relationships negatively in the future too. Furthermore, if the students were not given an opportunity to reflect and shift in their thinking towards the "other", defined mainly by race in this case, then they would take these unreflective attitudes into their classrooms once they became qualified history teachers. In turn, this attitude of "us and them" could affect future generations, because their pupils would be unwittingly exposed to their views whether intentionally or unconsciously.

Events came to a head in 2006, with an oral history assignment about life before and after 1994, which a class of second-year students, who were mostly 19 or 20 years old, were required to do as part of their compulsory Social Sciences methodology course. The oral history assignment consisted of three parts. The students had to interview someone who had lived during apartheid, then rewrite the interview as an oral history for Grade 6 pupils; next, the students shared their oral histories in a cooperative group, which had the joint task of dramatising aspects of the group's oral histories; finally, the students were required to write a reflective essay about the interview and cooperative task.

2 I am not suggesting a conflation between transformation and reconciliation, but a link between the two concepts was made by a university colleague who said that there can be no transformation without reconciliation first.

3 I accept that race is a social construct, but the use of apartheid racial terms does not indicate support for a 'race as essence' understanding in this article. However, the effect of apartheid racial classification continues to affect identity and relationships in post 1994 South Africa, as shown by research conducted in schools (Carrim & Soudien, 1999).

Many students of all races reacted strongly and negatively when the assignment was handed out, and they expressed their frustration in a way that is best summarised as "not apartheid again!" The class' resistance to engaging with a difficult past is not something peculiar to South Africa. The German author, Bernard Schlink (2010:27), identified the problem associated with "[t]he legacy [of continual discussion of the Holocaust] for the next generation. … The ennui sometimes exhibited by schoolchildren concerning the Third Reich and the Holocaust has its roots in the deadening frequency with which they are confronted with the past by their teachers and the media". His explanation resonated with me as a possible reason for the students' initial negative reaction, which appeared to be a mixture of arrogance and ennui that they knew all about apartheid, because of the numerous repetitions of the topic at school and university. I felt that there was a need for the students to investigate the past in a way that they made a personal connection. Interviewing someone they knew who lived during apartheid might move them beyond the grand narrative of those times, and reveal that they did not know everything about apartheid.

A further challenge was how to address this situation as someone whom the students viewed (correctly) as a beneficiary of apartheid policies: I am a white, English-speaking woman who grew up in a conservative city, Bloemfontein, during the 1960s and 1970s. Yet, during the process of the assignment something shifted in a positive way in relationships between the students in the lecture room and between the class and me. This led to my questioning how to understand these shifts, and to theorise the implications of this "critical incident" (Tripp, 1993:24) by exploring conceptions of reconciliation and pedagogy in the literature.

Literature survey

There is a small amount of literature in the field of education that deals with the link between reconciliation and pedagogy. In South Africa, there were examples such as a post-conflict pedagogy (Jansen & Weldon, 2009), and research related to reconciliation combining visual arts and English in secondary schools (Ferreira & Janks, 2007, 2009). Other developments were international, with South African scholars making the links between reconciliation and pedagogy explicit (Akhluwalia, Atkinson, Bishop, Christie, Hattam & Matthews, 2012). There was also an attempt to develop different kinds of reconciliatory pedagogies in Israel and Cyprus (Bekerman & Zembylas,

2012), and a related field which linked education and reconciliation (Crowley & Matthews, 2006; Paulson, 2011) in different countries. Most of this research was based on countries that continue to deal with ongoing conflict in the international arena, as well as those that experience the aftermath of bitter conflict and its effects on the educational context.

Yet there is little research that has linked history education to reconciliation. According to Cole and Barsalou (2006:14), "few scholars have definitely assessed the impact of history teaching initiatives on social reconstruction in post-conflict societies". In South Africa, there are some materials based on oral history that were developed for use in schools, such as, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's *Pass Laws in the Western Cape* (2004), which could be used to facilitate reconciliation in the school history classroom. But there is only a small amount of research regarding the effects of history teaching and social reconstruction in South Africa, for example, Kros and Ulrich (2008) have published research on oral testimony and the teaching of history based on teacher workshops in Mpumalanga, and Weldon (2010:353) has focused on the importance of addressing "painful personal legacies of the past" during in-service teacher development workshops in the Western Cape. However, I am not aware of any research about the lack of reconciliation among student teachers that has been carried out in a South African history methodology context. This article seeks to contribute to this conversation by focusing on reflective interviews with some student history teachers about their experience of an oral history assignment. Doing this assignment appeared to shift relationships positively outside and inside the lecture room, and contributed to my understanding of a reconciliatory pedagogy. By pedagogy, I follow a conceptualisation proposed by Lusted, which "draws attention to the process through which knowledge is produced. … How one teaches is therefore of central interest but, through the prism of pedagogy, it becomes inseparable from what is being taught and, crucially, how one learns" (1986:2-3). The strength of this view of pedagogy is the way it integrates the key actors involved in teaching and learning with the creation of knowledge. But the conception of reconciliation that informs a reconciliatory pedagogy is something that requires further theorisation, and a discussion of this follows in the next section.

Theoretical framework: Lederach's images of reconciliation

"Reconciliation" is an extremely slippery term: Cole (2007:3) suggests that

"[reconciliation] is an imprecise term … [and] is also highly contested", because it has a variety of connotations and a multi-faceted relationship to other concepts. Themes from the broader literature about reconciliation support this view, because reconciliation is linked to concepts, such as, forgiveness (Tutu, 1999; Griswold, 2007), truth (Cherry, 2000; Posel & Simpson, 2002), apology (Brooks, 1999; Govier & Verwoerd, 2004) and justice (Sachs 2009; Metz, 2010). There is limited agreement as to what reconciliation means, how these concepts are conceived and how they relate to reconciliation.

In contrast, a model of reconciliation that helps to show the inter-relatedness of key ideas associated with reconciliation was developed by John Paul Lederach, an international peace-maker, based in the United States of America, in association with other peace builders at a workshop. This model of reconciliation, and how it changed over time, played an important role in helping me to understand the shift in relationships that occurred during the oral history assignment. Applying this model of reconciliation to my interviews with the students helped to generate further insights into the steps within a reconciliatory pedagogy.

The name given to this model was "The place called reconciliation" (1997:30). Reconciliation is placed in an oval in the centre, with the key ideas of Justice, Truth, Mercy and Peace arranged clockwise around the oval, and opposite one another in a symmetrical pattern. The purpose of this model is to show that people and their relations with one another are part of a dynamic social context. The key ideas of truth, justice, mercy and peace are understood as paradoxes, because this model "links seemingly contradictory [ideas], but in fact [they are] interdependent ideas and forces … the opposing energies … [which] form the poles of the paradox … [and all the ideas are] necessary for the health of the group" (Lederach, 1997:30). This model offers a way of integrating many of the "big ideas" frequently associated with reconciliation, instead of an approach where reconciliation is seen as related mainly to one of the key ideas, as shown in the broader literature on reconciliation.

Further, Lederach developed this conception of reconciliation, by describing the "big ideas" of truth, justice, mercy and peace as "social *energies*" [italics in the original] (Lederach, 1999:79). This means that these ideas, which are all abstract nouns, become transformed into verbs, so that reconciliation in the centre becomes an anchor for the opposing energies of the four. The inter-relationship among the social energies is "dynamic, interdependent, and evolving" (Lederach, 1999:79), as a change in one of the energies

involves a change in another. Together, the interaction among the social energies helps to achieve "[t]he primary goal [which] is reconciliation, understood as relationship and restoration, the healing of personal and social fabrics" (Lederach, 1999:138). This reveals the strength of his conception of reconciliation, because it emphasises the dynamic interaction between individual and social reconciliation via the social energies. However, as Zembylas (2007:215) noted there is also a tension in this conception, because "there is almost always an unbridgeable gap between collective and individual efforts for reconciliation".

Image of the dance

Another important aspect of Lederach's (1999:78) ideas is that he used a "*polychronic"* and "*systemic"* [italics in the original] approach to reconciliation, where "[l]ike a dance, we simultaneously have activities taking place related to the past (Truth), the present (Justice and Mercy), and the future (Hope and Peace)" (1999:79). When a fifth social energy, "Hope", was added, it disrupted the symmetry of the original model of reconciliation, and created the need for another image for reconciliation. Thus Lederach transformed the social energies into dancers on a stage, where all of them are present at the same time, and engaged in a "dance" of reconciliation.

It is this image that was key in shaping my understanding of what conception of reconciliation could inform a reconciliatory pedagogy. The reasons are as follows: the "dance" of reconciliation provided a lens for understanding the students' interviews about the oral history assignment, where the possibilities and challenges of a reconciliatory process in practice are shown; the image of the "dance" of reconciliation also keeps the strengths of the original model of reconciliation, such as the relational ideas between truth, justice, mercy and peace, instead of viewing them in isolation. Moving away from a fixed place for these social energies as shown in the original model allows them to interact in different ways during the "dance" of reconciliation, such as forming partnerships or groups, wherever appropriate. The notion of paradox is still implicit in the "dance" of reconciliation, although in a different form. It is impossible to talk about the social energies without considering their opposites; for example, to refer to Truth indirectly raises its opposite, namely, Lies. The same applies to the other dancers: Justice and Injustice are two sides of the same coin; as are Mercy and Revenge, and Hope and Fear. Incorporating Hope as a dancer in the "dance" of reconciliation is vital,

because this is the dancer most likely to be engaged in a close dance with the other social energies. For example, there is the hope that the truth will be discovered about the past, and at the same time, the fear that lies about the past might triumph and disrupt peace in the future. However, without Hope, there is little chance of any reconciliatory process succeeding.

By applying the "big ideas" that inform reconciliation, as represented by Lederach's five dancers, to the interviews I conducted with former students about the oral history assignment, I use his conception as a means of showing some of the tensions and ambiguities, the successes and challenges, of a reconciliatory process in a different and much smaller context.

Methodology

A qualitative approach known as "narrative inquiry" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) helped me to unpack the steps within the "dance" of reconciliation as shown in my interviews with the students. These researchers suggested that John Dewey transformed the concept of "experience" into an inquiry term, so that research is the study of experience, as "education, experience and life are inextricably intertwined" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000:xxii).

Following Dewey, they claim that experience is both "*personal* and *social* (interaction)" [italics in the original] (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000:50). This idea links with this article because my experience in the lecture room was a starting point for this research: the next step was to interview the students to understand their respective perceptions of the oral history assignment after it was completed, and how this led to a shift in attitudes towards their interviewees, peers and me.

Clandinin and Connelly suggest that their framework of narrative inquiry allows for inquiries to travel in different "directions", such as "*inward, outward, backward, forward* and *situated within place"* [italics in the original] (2000:49). By "inward", they suggest that questions can be directed to the researcher's own experience, while "outward" refers to questions that can be asked about the environment in which the inquiry takes place. My narrative inquiry travels in different directions, as I inquire into the students' experiences of the assignment during my interviews with them, relate their individual experiences to Lederach's "dance" of reconciliation and situate this inquiry within the broader context of relevant examples from the TRC. Finally, this process of inquiry encourages a reflection on my own practice.

This methodology provides the means for an open-ended inquiry, which mimics that of a dance.

Data

During the first part of the data collection, I collected 15 oral history stories and reflective essays on the process of the assignment from the class of 2006 (out of a class of 66 students). These assignments were collected after they were assessed, and returned to the students. I requested that the students volunteer to resubmit their assignments for the purpose of research, and 15 students gave me their permission via written consent. This formed the basis of my first article, which examined their oral histories and reflective essays (Nussey, 2009).

The second part of my research was based on follow-up interviews with these former students from the end of 2008 to 2011. This was after I had lectured some of them in their fourth year, once they had almost completed their undergraduate studies and embarked on their teaching career or post-graduate studies. This delay in interviewing the students was due to ethical considerations, as the university's Ethics Committee expressed reservations about the power relations of someone lecturing students and conducting further research with them. The result is that my sample is small, as only eight students from the original sample agreed to be interviewed. Thus, I cannot make broad generalisations based on my data. However, by focusing in depth on a few former students' experiences of the oral history assignment as shown by their interviews, I believe that there are valuable insights gained into understanding the steps in a reconciliatory pedagogy, which a broader study might lack.

The demographics of this research was formed by the students who agreed to be interviewed, and the result was an even split between black and white students. Two of the students were not born in South Africa, although they attended primary and high schools in the country, and they were the only males in the sample. This gender imbalance was representative of the general situation in the school of education. However, there were more black students than white students in this class, so the sample I interviewed was not representative of this particular demographic.

During the interviews, I asked questions to uncover the background to their oral histories, and what changed in their understanding and relationships

with their interviewees. The students (individually) interviewed two black parents, two white parents, one coloured[4] parent, one coloured member of the community and two black members of the broader community. Five of the students chose to interview their own parents, while three interviewed members of the broader community. The reasons for the latter choice varied. Neither David[5] nor Kagiso had family who lived in South Africa during the period of apartheid, so David interviewed a fellow member of a political party, and Kagiso interviewed a worker at the flats where he lived. Greta decided not to conduct an oral history interview with her white parents, as she considered them to be bystanders with not much of a story to tell about apartheid. Instead, she chose to interview one of the victims of apartheid, because "I wanted to hear it from a person of a different race … that's the real people who we need to ask." Greta interviewed her coloured "nail lady", with whom she had a personal relationship, which was a rare example of an oral history interview that crossed racial lines.

During my interviews with the students, I also asked questions related to how they felt and responded to their peers during the cooperative task of dramatising their oral histories. Quoting from the data in my interviews with the students allows for their views to be expressed in their own words, which is a perspective that is sometimes side-lined in reporting about an educational process (Paulson, 2011).

I have used the "dance" of reconciliation as a lens to help understand and explain what happened during the process of the assignment in greater depth. There is a dance among the various parts of the assignment, from the students' interviews with an older member of the family or community which formed the basis of the oral history stories, to the cooperative task of the dramatisation of these stories with their peers, to the students' individual written reflections as shown in my interviews with them. However, this "dance" of reconciliation does not occur in isolation, instead, it occurs within the broader historical context of the TRC and its legacy.

The "dance" of reconciliation and a reconciliatory pedagogy

The social energies that inform Lederach's "dance" of reconciliation, such as truth, justice, mercy, peace and hope, are contested ideas as shown in the

4 This was a term used to describe people of mixed race during apartheid, but it is still used, despite being controversial.

5 All the names of the students are pseudonyms, and I have used first names throughout this article to indicate where I have drawn on their ideas or quoted from their respective interviews.

brief survey of the broader literature of reconciliation at the beginning of this article.[6] In the following sections on each of the different dancers, I will start with a brief overview of how Lederach conceptualised each of these social energies. Next, I will select a few, relevant examples from the TRC to illustrate aspects of the dancers in the South African context. Finally, I will show how these ideas provided a framework for helping to understand my interviews with the former students and the effects on relationships as part of a reconcililatory pedagogy. In the next section, I start with the dancer of Truth.

Dancer of Truth

According to Lederach (1997:29), the dancer of Truth involves the "the longing for acknowledgement of wrong, and the validation of painful loss" in contemporary conflicts, and is associated with images of "honesty" and "open accountability" (Lederach, 1997:28). At the TRC, in some cases, the truth of what happened to anti-apartheid activists, such as the death of Phila Ndwandwe at the hands of the security police, was revealed (Tutu, 1999:151-152). However, in other cases, the truth proved to be elusive, because competing versions were offered by the perpetrators as to how three men, known as the PEBCO Three, died (Cherry, 2000:137-138). Cherry commented on the problem of establishing "the truth" in relation to this example as follows:

> *My fear is that in an attempt to establish a consensus about 'the truth', many of the complexities and nuances of the truth are lost. It seems that we have to acknowledge that the truth that the TRC has uncovered is, at best, only a partial truth ... it may be more valuable to see historical truth as a continually unfolding process – not something that is past but something that is still part of the present, still contested and under construction* (2000:143).

Her comments demonstrate some of the difficulties of establishing "the truth", and the wisdom of perceiving it as "partial" and an "unfolding process" in "the present", which remains "contested and under construction", especially where there are conflicting eye witness accounts. Other issues concerning "the truth", which are suggested by this example of the PEBCO Three, are that memory is fallible, or that people may deliberately lie to protect themselves, or commit the "sin of omission", where salient details are omitted. Yet, there

6 These concepts have a long history of controversy in political philosophy, which is impossible to discuss in this context, so at the risk of oversimplification I have chosen to limit my discussion of these concepts to Lederach's ideas and relevant examples from the TRC.

may also be different perspectives as to what happened and how an event occurred, so that an absolute truth may never be known. The PEBCO Three victims cannot speak to give their version of events, although there is no doubt that they were killed by members of the security forces. But the TRC's legacy concerning the establishment of "the truth" is ambiguous.

Examples of different aspects of "the truth" were shown in my interviews with the students: Zahiera said that this assignment "opened my eyes to my parents' point of view", while Greta commented on the power of hearing about people's experiences at first-hand, as "[n]o textbook, video, story in a book was as effective as actually hearing it out of someone's mouth", which suggests that they both felt that information gathered at first-hand from their interviewees was honest and "the truth".

However, there are dangers associated with this perspective: Eva Hoffman indicated, from the perspective of a daughter of survivors of the Holocaust, how traumatic events can be passed from one generation to the next in the form of "first knowledge" (2005:6) and even transmitted in an unconscious way. In the South African context, Jonathan Jansen, coined the term "bitter knowledge" (2009a:114). He used the term to describe a similar process of how the parents' stories, using the particular example of white Afrikaners, can be used as a means to transmit prejudices against, stereotypes and myths about "others". I acknowledge the validity of the possible effects of the parents' stories on children. But one of the results of my interviews with the eight students revealed "the truth" that of the five who interviewed their parents, none of them had discussed this difficult past of apartheid with their children in a comprehensive manner.

There is a silence about the topic between the generations. Both Mpho and Nonzali complained bitterly that their parents had censored the past, but it was unclear whether this was a deliberate "sin of omission" on the part of the parents. For example, Nonzali found out "the truth" behind the story of one of her cousin's scars. He was cut (as a young onlooker) by a gas canister that the police lobbed at protesters during an anniversary of the Soweto Uprising.[7] Nonzali's mother was forced to make a difficult choice between taking her eight-year-old nephew to hospital and leaving her baby, who was a few months old, at home. She decided to take her nephew to hospital. Nonzali was angry that she had never been told this story before, as well as commenting on how "unthinkable [it was] … that people would actually go that far" to injure an

7 This uprising in 1976, was the start of major protests against apartheid, where the spark that caused it was the enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in some subjects at black schools (Lodge, 1983:328–330).

innocent child.

Mpho acknowledged that there were stories about the past in her home, but they were only told in "dribs and drabs", and Mpho wanted the "the whole picture of it" from her mother. This was not only for herself, but also for her future children, as she said that "we're ignorant of the past". Her admission was an acknowledgement of the importance of this assignment, as well as a challenge to the students' view that they knew the whole truth about apartheid when the assignment was announced.

Irrespective of whom they interviewed for their oral histories, none of the students subjected their interview to "scrutiny" to use Portelli's term (quoted in Field, 2008:8). I hoped that the students would apply some form of historical thinking by comparing the oral histories with other historical sources that they knew to establish "the truth" of what they were told during the interviews, as required by an instruction in the assignment, but this did not happen in most cases.[8] Mpho was the only person who tried to corroborate her mother's story by checking it with other members of the family. However, her story also revealed a historical error, as she wrote that passes were abolished after 1994, whereas the laws that enforced the carrying of passes were repealed in 1986. This does not mean that the students' oral histories were necessarily based on an active attempt to deceive on the part of the interviewees: sometimes oral histories may be inconsistent, as individual memories are repressed or there are selective representations of the past, which are influenced by the social context. Furthermore, the interaction between individual memory and collective memory may also be unreliable (Ward & Worden, 1998:209-211). But the students did not engage with the possibility of the dancer of Lies emerging in their interviews, and many appeared to take at face value what they were told, which was problematic.

A possible reason why some of the students did not probe "the truth" further during their interviews was expressed by Kagiso, who stated that "apartheid is over and people have moved on, but you still get people that still carry scars … [they would] remember what happened … it's going back into memory land and some had very bad memories." He pointed to a real difficulty with interviewing people who lived during apartheid, because the act of interviewing someone has the potential to retrigger trauma in an interviewee.

8 In lectures, some of the problems with oral histories were raised, and the students were given a reading pack on oral history, which explored these issues further. The students also practised asking one another questions, and reflected on what worked (or not) before doing their own oral history interviews.

I learnt more about "the truth" of the background to the oral stories during the interviews. For example, Mpho's oral history was about her mother's perspective of the fears of both white and black people concerning the 1994 elections in a small town in the rural Eastern Cape. The former expected the worst and hoarded cans of food, while the latter feared that they would be killed if they voted for a particular party.

This oral history was clearly written from the point of view of a victim of apartheid, but during the course of my interview with Mpho in 2008, the family's story behind the oral history emerged. Her grandfather was a policeman during the apartheid period in the Eastern Cape. This job was regarded by many people as being the equivalent of a black collaborator with the apartheid state. She said the following:

> *People always looked at us as one of the traitors … So that was one of the things that even today when I go to the village … people still … say that your grandfather was a very rude policeman, he was just violent … And I always tell them, but I'm not him. So you can't compare me to him … He was in the police force, the circumstances forced him to be like that, so there were no favours, we were as much victims as anyone else.*

This example reveals some of the complexities behind the oral histories, and within the concept of the "dance" of reconciliation, because whose perspective of the dancers of Truth and Justice do we acknowledge here? The ambiguities of this family's position in relation to the past are clearly shown: Is Mpho's label of her family as victims of apartheid acceptable, or is the perspective of some members of the community that they were beneficiaries of apartheid, more accurate? Either way, this example clearly shows the intergenerational effects of the past on the present and the future, where a granddaughter feels that she is unfairly being held responsible for the choices and actions of her grandfather. This also shows how the scars of the past are passed on to another generation.

During another part of the interview, Mpho described the anger she felt about the way her grandfather was treated during apartheid and the role this played in developing a love of ballroom dancing, where she felt that she could channel her anger in a positive manner. This direct link to dance shows a literal connection to the image and another angle to the "dance" of reconciliation. It reveals some of the raw emotions associated with coming to know about the past, where there is a see-saw between compassion and anger about the injustices of the past, and about members of the first generation who embody this past.

Overall, applying the dancer of Truth to the students' interviews and the examples from the TRC shows some of the difficulties of coming to terms with the past in South Africa. There are layers of truth and lies, remembering and forgetting, as well as different perspectives on the past, which will continue to unfold in the present and future. The journey towards "the truth" is ongoing, and one that is closely related to the dancer in the next section, namely, Justice.

Dancer of Justice

According to Lederach (1997:29), the dancer of Justice "represents the search for individual and group rights, for social restructuring, and for restitution", and is associated with images of "making things right [and] creating equal opportunity" (Lederach, 1997: 28). This view supports a conception of justice known as restorative justice, where the aim is "to repair the injustice and to restore the relationship between the parties involved" (Ericson, 2001:25), instead of retributive justice where the aim is to prosecute those responsible for crimes in court, where perpetrators were punished if found guilty (Nussey, 2012). In the South African context, the principle of individual and group rights was adopted in negotiations for a new constitution. But the issue of how to hold those responsible and accountable for human rights violations proved to be a thorny issue during negotiations, and the TRC was established as part of a last minute political compromise (Posel & Simpson, 2002) to address this issue.

The TRC adopted a restorative justice approach to justice: amnesty was offered to individuals in return for the truth about gross human rights abuses during 1960 – 1994. The problem initially was that only a few perpetrators came forward to take responsibility for their actions in the past at the TRC: Eugene De Kock, who was in charge of the notorious Vlakplaas, where "enemies of the state" were tortured and murdered, was one of the first to apply for amnesty. He was granted amnesty for a number of crimes, but was also charged and convicted in a law court for murder, and is serving a double life sentence in jail, despite launching an appeal for parole (Hamlyn, 2010). Many alleged perpetrators chose not to appear before the TRC, and only a few have been prosecuted in South Africa for their alleged crimes committed during apartheid. For example, Dr Wouter Basson was prosecuted for his role while in charge of the South African Defence Force's Project Coast, where chemical and biological agents were allegedly developed for use against the

opponents of the apartheid government. He was acquitted in 2002, despite corrobative evidence that suggested his guilt (Du Preez, 2005:16). This suggests that there is unresolved business concerning the dancer of Justice in present-day South Africa, which is likely to affect the future too.

In my interviews with the students, there was a brief nod in the direction of the dancer of Justice, where they acknowledged that social equality was established among all South Africans as a result of the 1994 elections in South Africa. But the students' reflections on their own interviews highlighted the opposite of the dancer of Justice, in the form of the injustices of apartheid. For example, Kagiso recounted how the man he interviewed recalled being told to strip in order to establish whether he was old enough to be forced to carry a pass (a document required by apartheid laws to show that one was "lawfully" permitted to live and work in a white area), and "the shame involved in whole process".

This emphasis on the injustices of the past in the interviews with the students was hardly surprising given the oral history topic on life before and after 1994. Yet, some of the students emphasised the continuities between the injustices of the past, in the present and their effects on the future. For example, Clare acknowledged that her father, as a white man, benefitted from apartheid, "as he had that foundation, he had the schooling … he had all the resources available to him". Another example was provided by Michael, who stated that his black interviewee thought his fight against apartheid was for social and economic justice, but "there's still a bunch of rich white guys who own everything and … manipulate the state to make them even richer". According to this view, despite the political changes introduced in 1994, the social and economic power of whites has continued unchanged.

This view was challenged by a theme that ran through a few of my interviews with the students, where some of them considered Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) to be a major injustice in the present and the future. This is a policy of affirmative action for black people, as a means of redressing social and economic inequalities of the apartheid past, and is an example of "making things right [and] creating equal opportunity" (Lederach, 1997:28). Greta stated that she was "proudly South African … [but] where do we draw the line [as] to how much we give back to the wrongs of our past? So for example, how long can affirmative action stay? How long can BEE? … when is there ever really going to be equality?" Her concern was echoed by Zahiera: "If a white child is looking for a job, he shouldn't be disadvantaged because

it is his ancestor's history. It's our history as South Africans, but our children shouldn't be punished for it. …You can't make all white people suffer. There were lots of white people that were involved in liberation … struggles … those people also need to be acknowledged … not all Afrikaans [speaking] people were racist and did horrible things." Her compassion towards "our children" is noteworthy, because she described herself as being of "mixed heritage", and personally stood to gain from a policy of affirmative action.

The dancer of Justice evokes strong views around sensitive issues, which requires an ongoing, delicate dance between the past, present and future. There is a close partnership here between the dancers of Truth and Justice, as there is a need to acknowledge "the truth" of the political, social and economic injustices of the past, and the need for restitution.

Policies, such as BEE, are required to redress the wrongs of the past, and to level the playing fields in the present and future (despite the debates in favour of and against the policy, its uneven implementation and the sometimes unexpected consequences of these ideas in practice). South Africa's present Constitution ensures formal equality, although South Africa's high Gini coefficient[9] demonstrates significant inequality in practice, despite the impact of social grants.

These issues of social and economic justice will not be solved in the lecture room, because they are clearly part of the broader society's responsibility. But the TRC's legacy of ambiguities surrounding the dancers of Truth and Justice, needs to be addressed via an ongoing dialogue in the lecture room, especially as these dancers are closely linked to the next dancer, namely, the dancer of Mercy.

Dancer of Mercy

Lederach (1997:29) sees the dancer of Mercy articulating "the need for acceptance, letting go, and a new beginning", which is associated with images of "compassion" and "forgiveness" (1997:28). However, he warns that mercy on its own is "superficial" (1997:28), because it may conceal truth, and there

9 Donnelly (2013) wrote the following explanation: 'The Gini coefficient is a ratio between 1 and 0, where 0 shows perfect equality and 1 perfect inequality. The closer to 1 a country's Gini coefficient is, the greater the inequality in that country.' According to the calculations of the World Bank in 2011, South Africa's Gini coefficient was 0.65. Available from: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI/countries?display=default. Accessed on 24 November 2014.

is a need for interaction between the dancers of Truth and Mercy in any process of reconciliation.

In the South African context, the connection to the dancer of Mercy was made by Archbishop Tutu, who chaired the TRC. Restorative justice was linked to forgiveness (Griswold, 2007:158–159), despite forgiveness never being part of the official brief of the TRC, and criticisms that Tutu's conception was too Christian-orientated (Griswold, 2007). Yet, there were examples of forgiveness shown at the TRC, such as by the family of Amy Biehl. She was an aid worker from the United States, who was killed in 1993 by four men in Guguletu. Not only did the Biehl parents support the killers' amnesty request at the TRC in 1997, but her mother attended the wedding of one of her daughter's killers and danced with him (Philp, 2005). In contrast, Marius Schoon refused to forgive an apartheid policeman, Craig Williamson, for killing his wife and six-year-old daughter by a letter bomb. The reason for Schoon's refusal was that Williamson showed no sign of "remorse" (Robertson, 2000:273). These examples show the mixed legacy concerning the dancer of Mercy at the TRC.

My interviews with the students revealed aspects of the dancer of Mercy, which were not related to matters of life and death as at the TRC, but were nonetheless intensely felt. Nonzali reflected on the cooperative part of the oral history assignment in the interview with me as follows:

> *[W]e looked at ourselves and where our parents come from and what it means for us … we got to appreciate and understand what happened in the past. And again, we counted ourselves lucky for not being there and how we should not be taking it out on each other. So it did kind of bring us together, even though some stories you hear … you can't help but think to yourself, you guys had it easy … your parents weren't even aware, it [apartheid] was like something happening in another country … So although there's those feelings of bitterness, but at the end of the day we … realise that … this is not our story, it's our parents' story, but it's important to keep them [the stories] alive and they can make us appreciate where they [the parents] came from.*

Nonzali's response reveals a mixture of emotions. These range from the compassion she showed towards her peers, when she stated that they were lucky not to have been alive during apartheid, and should not take it out on one another, to the anger and bitterness she expresses in terms of the lack of awareness and care of some of her peers' parents during apartheid. But she tries to distance herself from the past by saying that "this is not our story, it's our parents' story". Her attempt to take a step backward in this intergenerational dance is understandable. In a literal sense, she is correct that

the stories do belong to the parents, and the implicit desire not to be saddled with the heavy burden of the past is a plausible response.

However, it is impossible to reject the effects of the stories of the past on the present (and the future), especially for the children. Schlink suggests that German adults in Nazi Germany were guilty either directly or indirectly, and their children were "entangled in this web of guilt" (2010:18), and this applies to the situation in South Africa too, especially for the children of perpetrators, beneficiaries and bystanders.

In addition, Schlink argued that each generation has to recreate its own identity, as "[t]he task of dissociation from specific historical guilt" (2010:21). But there still needs to be an "acknowledgement of wrong" (Lederach, 1997:29) by these children concerning what happened in the past, and this is something that some of the students are grappling with as shown in the interviews.

Elaine said that she thought that forgetting was an important part of forgiving, although "not forgetting what had happened, but forgetting … your hurts and to just move on from that … so that the next generation can grow up without that hurt being instilled in them." The desire expressed by Elaine "to move on" appears a way of leaping into the arms of the dancer of Mercy, without doing the work of engaging with the tough issues represented by the dancers of Truth and Justice, such as "acknowledgement" and "making things right" (Lederach, 1997:30).

Another student, Zahiera, suggested that reconciliation was about "forgiving … but not forgetting … not in a sense that you … still want to exact some kind of revenge or repayment. Just [by] making amends." The difficulty lies in what steps to take in making amends, and how to deal with the hurt during the process of a reconciliatory pedagogy. For example, Mpho relished the opportunity of working in a cooperative group with members of different races, languages and genders in order to dramatise their respective stories. In my interview with her, she mentioned that a white male student apologised to her "on behalf of the white people" after she retold her oral history and gave parts of her mother's background. But when I interviewed David (the male student who was in her group at a later stage in my research), and asked him about the apology, he denied ever having made it. This is an example of where the dancers of Mercy and Truth appeared to be out of step in my interviews with the students, and it is unclear whether Mpho was expressing the desire for an apology or whether David forgot.

The dancer of Mercy, and her opposite, Revenge, were both present in my interviews with the students Greta, Kagiso, Michael, Mpho and Nonzali. Their interviewees could be identified as belonging to the category of victims, and they expressed no explicit desire for revenge. Nonzali further reported that her family did not encourage ideas of harbouring hatred towards white people for what had happened in the past. But her boyfriend's family did, especially the boyfriend's grandfather who spoke of the pain of "what they did to us". Further, her boyfriend complained that in the workplace "we still call each other names that we know are banned." These examples show some of the challenges for the dancer of Mercy/Revenge within the "dance" of reconciliation, both in the present and for long term peace in the future. Finally, I turn to the dancers of Peace and Hope in the next section.

Dancers of Peace and Hope

According to Lederach (1997:29), the dancer of Peace "underscores the need for interdependence, well-being, and security", and is associated with images of "harmony, unity" (Lederach, 1997:28). The dancer of Hope was less clearly defined, but a major reason for engaging in a Cambodian peace process was explained by former antagonists to Lederach as "'I do it so my children and grandchildren will never have to suffer as we did'" (Lederach, 1999:76). This shows how the dancers of Peace and Hope relate to the future.

In the South African context, the negotiated settlement between opposing political parties led to the cessation of the formal armed conflict in the early 1990s, and the hope for a different future. Despite criticisms of the narrow interpretation of its mandate (Mamdani, 1999), the TRC also contributed to developing peace in a fragile democracy, by its exposure of the truth in many cases of what happened to anti-apartheid activists who were killed by the security forces. But South African society continues to experience unacceptably high levels of violence in the present (Gould, 2014), which suggests that the images of "harmony [and] unity" (Lederach, 1997:28) are difficult to be applicable to this society.

My interviews with the students revealed their mixed feelings when it came to the dancer of Peace. In response to a question as to whether they considered South Africa to be a reconciled country, Zahiera replied that there were some positive changes, such as the ability to walk down streets, and to choose what schools children can attend, and "in some ways there is that … a freedom

from conflict". However, Michael disagreed as he mentioned that he lived surrounded by electric fences and was burgled many times, despite doing charity outreaches in his neighbourhood and stated flatly, "[South Africa] isn't reconciled. It's horrible." Nonzali added a further twist by her suggestion that everyone is pretending that everything is fine, "[b]ut behind back doors, I don't think it is." I think that it is important to acknowledge the significant shifts towards the dancer of Peace that South Africa experienced in the change from apartheid to democracy, although this dancer was not formally part of the TRC's brief. Yet, it seems that the dancer of Conflict continues to move under the surface now and will continue to affect the future.

The cooperative task of dramatising their oral histories helped to change relationships in a constructive manner towards peace among members of the small groups: Nonzali stated that it allowed her to "let down [her] walls"; further, she acknowledged that "boundaries were broken", as "at first we didn't even know the other existed." But this acknowledgement of a shift in relationships was qualified, because some students said that the oral history assignment did not lead to their developing friendships overnight, although they now greeted one another and asked for information about other university assignments. As Greta described the situation, "I don't have to be your best friend, I just need to make peace …".

An assignment based on the topic of apartheid evokes the opposite to the dancer of Hope, that is, Fear, especially on the part of the white students. Clare said that she was scared that there would be a "clear-cut fight between the black people and the white people", and that people's feelings might get hurt, and that her own experience might be excluded from the discussion. Instead, she found that in practice the cooperative task of dramatising their stories did not cause the controversy she feared, because it led to a sharing of "how people had experienced [apartheid]."

Elaine's fear was that she would be blamed, as "all white people are responsible for apartheid". In contrast, she discovered in the process "how much it [apartheid] actually affected the students who were in the group with me … and those things are still with them today." There was a subtle shift in Elaine's position during our interview, where she acknowledged the negative impact apartheid continued to have on some of her peers.

However, it appears that this oral history assignment started a process of reconciliation, which is like the reweaving of relationships. Many of the former students that I interviewed years later recalled that they established

friendships across the racial barriers of the past during the course of the rest of their four-year degrees (Clare, Greta, Kagiso, Michael, Mpho and Zahiera). But Nonzali pointed to the clear ongoing racial divisions in the canteen as evidence that not much had changed in relationships with their peers, in fact, that this was evidence of no reconciliation whatsoever. These contradictory examples show some of the difficulties that continue in the present in relation to the dancer of Peace in the South African context.

Overall, the application of the "dance" of reconciliation to the interviews about the oral history assignment revealed a variety of mixed feelings, such as anger, guilt, empathy and the desire for revenge. But this showed that the students engaged both intellectually and emotionally with the topic as well as with their interviewees and their peers. This corroborates the view that "[i]t is impossible to change students' deep knowledge and emotions about the past by simply treating the subject as a cognitive or intellectual problem. … To shift this knowledge in the blood, or understandings of the heart, requires emotional engagement with the subject" (Jansen, 2009b:330). An emotional response is crucial in this context, because it gets to the heart of what a reconciliatory pedagogy hopes to achieve: relationships between the different generations and among members of the same generation are extremely damaged by what happened in South Africa's past. The aim is to encourage understanding of one another and to explore different perspectives about the past, because without an honest dialogue that allows for an intellectual and emotional response to the past in an inclusive and safe space, then the hope of living peacefully together will continue to be elusive.

Conclusion: The advantages and disadvantages of Lederach's "dance" of reconciliation in a reconciliatory pedagogy

Using the lens of the "dance" of reconciliation helped me to develop my understanding of what happened during and after the assignment at a number of levels. As a teacher educator, I was searching for ways to present ideas about reconciliation so that theory and practice were integrated in an accessible manner for my history student teachers. The interviews with the former students showed that an application of the "dance" of reconciliation to the oral history assignment offered many advantages: it provided a flexible, coherent framework, which allowed me to develop an understanding of the complex steps within the oral history assignment from a broader perspective; it also encouraged dialogue between the students and myself about key ideas

concerning reconciliation, and the importance of engaging with the legacy of the TRC in a bottom-up approach to reconciliation; it also revealed some of the complexities of a reconciliatory pedagogy in practice, such as, the unexpected revelations that occurred during some of the interviews.

My students taught me during their interviews that reconciliation is different for each generation, and that their initial reaction to the assignment was a symptom of a major problem of how history teacher educators (among others) are dealing with the recent past in relation to the second generation. The "dance" of reconciliation provides an alternative way to address issues surrounding reconciliation: by incorporating Lederach's "dance" of reconciliation into my conception of a reconciliatory pedagogy, it could act as a powerful way of debriefing the oral history assignment with the students. By engaging with the "big ideas" in Lederach's "dance" of reconciliation, it provides a way for the students to discuss and reflect at a deeper level about what happened in their interviews with members of the first generation and during the cooperative task with their peers, so that the discussion moves beyond their respective experiences. This process provides the opportunity for the students to question received knowledge from the first generation, their own prejudices and allows for an on-going shift in perspective and relationships with "others" in an open-ended manner.

This does not imply an uncritical acceptance of Lederach's "dance" of reconciliation, as one of the disadvantages of using this conception is that it was developed at an international level and in a different context to a South African history lecture room. However, I have shown in this article some of the similarities and differences in applying the "dance" of reconciliation from one context to another. Interrogating these similarities and differences further could provide a way to encourage further dialogue among the students through a critique of Lederach's conception of reconciliation. In turn, by critiquing the "dance" of reconciliation, this becomes another polychronic activity within a reconciliatory pedagogy. While there is an assumption that a dance is choreographed, the interviews with the students showed that in a post-conflict situation there is no choreographer. Instead, it is a free dance, where the steps are made up by the dancers, which sometimes flows and sometimes does not, but there is no predetermined outcome to this process.

One of the most difficult steps in classical ballet is the pirouette, because it requires balance and strength as a dancer spins around on one leg; yet, it is extremely easy to become dizzy, and to fall off centre if you stop concentrating

on a particular spot. So, too with a process of reconciliation: this is why the image of the "dance" of reconciliation is so evocative, as it captures the gravity of the situation with its important cast of dancers, and, paradoxically, their opposites; it allows for the possibility of both fluid or mechanical movements, because it is a free dance that is not choreographed; it also acknowledges the difficult steps involved in this non-linear process, where it is easy to lose balance; but it never loses sight of the dancer of Hope. The open-endedness of a reconciliatory pedagogy, as shown by the students' interviews about their oral history assignment, means that there is no pre-determined outcome to this process, and this is what makes the "dance" of reconciliation so fragile in a post-conflict country.

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The *Miracle Rising*® as source for teaching History: Theoretical and practical considerations

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Now is the time for celebration, for South Africans to join together to celebrate the birth of democracy. I raise a glass to you all, for working so hard to achieve what can only be called a small miracle.

Nelson Mandela (Victory Speech, 2 May 1994)[1]

Abstract

Twenty years ago, all South Africans – for the first time – had the privilege to vote on an equal basis for the political party to govern the country in the years to come. It was an extraordinary and a momentous phase in the country's history – a historical milestone indeed. Mr Mandela referred to this occasion as a small miracle. This was undeniably so if one considers that colonial, apartheid, racial and cultural legacies have immensely contributed to divisions, distrust, violence and killings among people of all races and colour. To digestibly capture relics of these memories of reality in a single historical documentary accessible to the ordinary man through the Internet and other media, the producing of Miracle Rising® was and is welcomed in the public domain. To what extent educators of History in South Africa have responded to this documentary since 2012, and have considered using it in History classes, is not known. However, this paper intends to focus on its theoretical and practical value for teaching History that should be embraced in every History class. Teaching Miracle Rising® provides for opportunities to address a very difficult yet jubilant phase in the history of a country so long aspiring for equality and peace. The process leading to South Africa becoming democratic can be regarded as a sensitive topic to teach because of the racist, politically violent and culturally intolerant undertones that occurred decades before the April 1994 election. A maturity with regard to teaching, comprehensive knowledge, as well as an efficient application of teaching skills and assessment techniques will be pivotal in overcoming the moments of sensitivity, especially those captured in Miracle Rising®.

Keywords: History teaching; Teaching democracy; Leadership; *Miracle Rising*®; South Africa; History documentaries.

1 S Friedman and D Atkinson (eds.), *South African Review 7, The small miracle. South Africa's negotiated settlement* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1994), back page.

Introduction

Several, or probably thousands of pens and minds in different forms and shapes recorded or revisited South Africa's most historical moment ever, namely 27-28 April 1994.[2] Those were two historical days on which all South African citizens had the opportunity to cast their vote for a democratic South Africa. At the time, I had already spent years as a school teacher. I passionately taught History despite still knowing so little about my country's deeply wounded past. Perhaps histories of countries and the histories of peoples are mostly groomed by the beautiful, the bitter, the sad and even the better days and years. I remember singer Laurika Rauch's captivating song *Hot Gates*[3] in 1995, in which song writer Christopher Torr[4] captured in this song several places all over the world as spaces of human hardships. The song also included some erstwhile black townships in South Africa, like Sharpeville (March 1960),[5] Boipatong (June 1992),[6] and Mitchell's Plain (1992[7] and, alas, ongoing).[8] It might just as well have been any other place in the country experiencing distress in the early 1990s. Think of Bekkersdal[9] or Soweto[10] or Alexandra,[11] perhaps thoughts about the demolishing of Sophiatown[12] in its original glory and pain? It is against the broader reality of the country's rich history and the

2 From a historical angle some standard publications that should be consulted when seriously engaging in gaining knowledge prior to 1994 and from 1994 the following can apply: S Friedman and D Atkinson (eds.), *South African Review 7…*, pp. 1-68; HB Giliomee & B Mbenga (eds.), *New history of South Africa* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 2007), pp. 454; FJ Pretorius (ed.), *A history of South Africa. From the distant past to the present day* (Pretoria, Protea Book House, 2014), Chapters 17-19, 23-24.

3 The meaning of Torr's *Hot Gates* maybe a duality of meaning, referring to the Battle of Thermopylae in Greece, fought between the Spartans of Greece and Persia in August-September 480BC or/and also hinting towards life after death in a religious way. See E Bradford, *Thermopylae: The battle for the West* (Open Road Media, 2014), p. 256.

4 Torr is the husband of Rauch.

5 T Lodge, *Sharpeville a massacre and its consequences* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 423.

6 See P Noonan, *They're burning the churches: The final dramatic events that scuttled apartheid* (Durban, Jacana Media, 2003), pp. 285; MJ Evans, *Broadcasting the end of apartheid: Live television and birth of a new South Africa* (New York, I.B. Taurus, Oct 2014), p. 320.

7 B Dixon & L-M Johns, "Gangs, Pagad & the State: Vigilantism and revenge violence in the Western Cape", *Violence and Transition Series*, 2, May 2001 (available at http://www.csvr.org.za/wits/papers/papvtp2.htm, as accessed on August 2014; WG James & M Simons (eds.), *The angry divide. Social & economic history of the Western Cape* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 1989).

8 On 20 September 2013 gang violence in Mitchell's Plain was said to be the worst crime area in South Africa. See M Gebhardt, "Mitchells plain worst area of crime in SA" (available at BDAlive: http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/2013/09/20/mitchells-plain-worst-area-for-crime-in-sa, as accessed on August 2014.

9 ES van Eeden, "Profiling another 'Bekkersdal marathon': Several angles from history on a community in the West Rand mining region of South Africa, 1949-2013", Draft Manuscript prepared for publication in 2015.

10 E Bornman, R van Eeden, M Wentzel, *Violence in South Africa: A variety of perspectives* (Pretoria, HSRC Press, 1998), p. 457.

11 DY Curry, *Apartheid on a Black Isle: Removal and resistance in Alexandra South Africa* (Johannesburg, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 224; L Sinwell, "Rethinking South Africa's transition: From transformative to mainstream approaches to participatory development", *African Studies*, 70(3), December 2011.

12 DM Hart and GH Pirie, "The sight and soul of Sophiatown", *Geographical Review*, 74(1), January 1984, pp. 38-47.

historical state of violence after 1990[13] that the "small miracle" of successfully seeing through a democratic election in April of 1994 was to be coined by the first democratically elected President of South Africa, Mr Nelson Mandela.[14] The production of the documentary *Miracle Rising*® 17 years later can be viewed as a successful result in which noticeable efforts were made to view events and actions as contributions towards progressing to a democratic South Africa from diverse perspectives (however, not yet a "complete" perspective).[15]

Miracle Rising® is a 92-minute historical documentary on South Africa that was inspired by the companies MultiChoice and A & E Networks, and financially sponsored by Dimension Data. The South African company, Combined Artist, was commissioned – supported by History™ – to produce this documentary as from late 2011. Brett L Best (Writer and Director), Jonathan Sparks (Executive Producer) and Adam McDonald (Executive Producer for History) brought the project to completion in 2012. An impressive cast of interviewees from a variety of countries, professions and descent were involved by reliving their experiences and impressions of South Africa's difficulties, its leadership and its becoming a democratic state. The production was efficiently combined with either true to life visual moments from the past or reproduced to reflect past events that led up to South Africa's "miracle" democratic election of April 1994.

As *Miracle Rising*® is regarded as the most often watched documentary ever produced in South Africa, its value and usefulness deserves to be considered for application as teaching source in general, and in Further and/or Higher Education and Training environments. The focus of this paper will therefore be from the stand that learners will be exposed to parts of the documentary. Based on this exposure some ideas are exchanged and shared regarding constructive assessment as possibilities for using *Miracle Rising*® in an environment where History is taught.

What follows, is a historian and an educator's approach to make sense of this documentary as a valuable visual medium and tool in the History classroom

13 Compare S Ellis, "The historical significance of South Africa's third force", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24(2), 1998, pp. 261-299; B McKendrick & W Hoffmann, *People and violence in South Africa* (USA, Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 495; HPP Lötter, *Injustice, violence and peace: The case of South Africa* (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1997), p. 223; Anon., "Comment", *Sowetan*, 8 March 1994, p. 8.

14 S Friedman and D Atkinson (eds.), *South African Review 7…*, back page. See also the South African Democracy Education Trust's, *The road to democracy in South Africa*, 4 (parts 1 and 2), 1980-1990 (Pretoria, Unisa Press, 2010).

15 Critical viewers and supporters of for example the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha, the erstwhile Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [*Resistance Movement*] (AWB) might argue an absence of voice or/and a visibility of only a negative side of their activities.

from the GET[16] to the FET[17] and the HET[18] educational phases. The theoretical consideration of the article is embedded in the country's history (thus in historical knowledge) of progressing towards democracy (thus an understanding of democracy in theory). The practical side of the discussion (exposed in some additional knowledge and memories) with regard to the 1994-election and its assessment possibilities are pointers to themes in the current Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) curriculum document. Ways of engaging and forms of assessing are exchanged. Before doing so, however, a concise historical account of South Africa and the main contents of the documentary *Miracle Rising®* are also provided against the background of an understanding of democracy.

Political, intellectual, social and economic strides towards a "miraculous" democratic South Africa

Underlying historical and theoretical considerations

Though it may be tempting to simply view the history of any event from a mere anecdotal, event-detailed and perhaps parochial or sometimes trivial-seen-in-later-years view, most events that actually did happen[19] remain rooted in deeper reasons, trends and developments.[20] Thus, for example, the Southern African region has as a result been exposed historically to the impact of modernism[21] resulting from European industrialisation and territorial colonialism.[22] In turn, several military rivalries,[23] political tug of war scenarios[24] and instances of *religious intolerance*[25]also allowed for circumstances in Europe and elsewhere to have further bearing on the incoming and indigenous

16 General Education and Training Phase, Grades 1-6.
17 Further Education and Training Phase, Grades 7-12.
18 Higher Education and Training phase which covers tertiary level education.
19 A reference and acknowledgement to the well-known historian-pioneer Leopold von Ranke.
20 Compare J Comaroff, *Body of power, spirit of resistance: The culture and history of a South African people* (USA, University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 303; G Rist, *The history of development: From Western origins to global faith* (New York, Zed Books, 2002), p. 286; JN Pieterse, *Development theory*, 2 (London, SAGE, 2010), p. 252.
21 JC Myers, *Indirect rule in South Africa: Tradition, modernity and the costuming of political power* (USA, University of Rochester Press, 2008), p. 140.
22 See CA Bayly, *The birth of the modern world, 1780-1914: Global connections and comparisons* (UK, Oxford, 2004), p. 568; T Pakenham, *The scramble for Africa* (London, Harper Collins, 1992), p. 800.
23 AJP Taylor, *Struggle for mastery in Europe 1848-1914* (Oxford History of Modern Europe, OUP, 1998), p. 690; M Howard, *War in European history* (UK, Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 192.
24 A Wendt, "Constructing international politics", *International Security*, 20(1), 1995, pp. 71-81.
25 AH Anderson, *African Reformation: African initiated Christianity in the 20th century* (Eritrea, Africa World Press, 2001), p. 282; JLG Gray, *The French Huguenots: Anatomy of courage* (Barker Book House, 1981), p. 282; OP Grell and B Schribner, *Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation* (UK, University of Cambridge, 2002), p. 292.

peoples at the tip of Africa.[26] With time, other forces present in South Africa also contributed to the escalating violence, racism and politically inspired nationalism. Despite the impact of history, time has allowed for the realisation of a "small miracle" in South Africa in 1994 – one embedded in democracy.[27]

According to an expert on democracy, Charles Tilly,[28] the concept democracy's visibility in countries could include the following four features:

- Constitutional democracy (a focus on laws – legal arrangements);
- Substantive democracy (an emphasis on conditions of life and politics that a given regime promotes);
- Procedural democracy (the visibility of democracy through the appearance of elections and who may vote);
- Process-oriented democracy (attention to a minimum set of processes that must continuously apply to be recognised as democratic like effective participation; voting equality and enlightened understanding).

In progressing towards a democracy most countries experienced precursors that signalled an action as a result of dissatisfaction with a government. These precursors or signs could have been proactive responses by strong businesses (merchant oligarchies); a consolidated reaction by ordinary people (peasant communities); responses of discontent by for example non-governmental groups and denominations because of a perceived violation of human rights. Lastly, some revolutionary moments in a country's history can also contributing in progressing towards a democracy.[29]

Though, in Africa the concept democracy in a postcolonial phase rather signalled autocracy and dictatorships[30] since the end of the Cold War.[31] Therefore, South Africa's successful transition to a democracy in 1994 is meritorious and worth it to understand[32] against the utilising of a visual tool

26 LM Thompson, *A history of South Africa* (USA, Yale University Press, 2001), p. 358; L Hartz, *The founding of new societies: Studies in the history of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia* (USA, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1969), p. 336.

27 A Lester, *From colonization to democracy. A new historical geography of South Africa* (London, I.B.Taurus, 1998), p. 288.

28 C Tilly, *Democracy* (UK, Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 313, with particular emphasis on pp. 1-24.

29 Compare RC Box, *Public Administration and Society* (USA, M.E. Sharpe, 2009), pp. 25-27.

30 Compare M Meredith, *The state of Africa. A history of fifty years of independence* (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2005). See Part III, Chapter 23, pp. 378-411 on the struggle for democracy; A Thomson, *An introduction to African politics*, 3rd Edition (London, Routledge, 2010), pp. 243-271.

31 A Green, "Democracy and institutions in postcolonial Africa" (available at http://ssrn.com/abstract=2120837, as accessed on March 2012), pp. 1-28.

32 For more background on South Africa's road to a democracy the writing of Laurie Nathan could be considered, titled "Accounting for South Africa's successful transition to democracy", *Crisis States Development Research Centre,* Discussion Paper 5, June 2004, pp. 1-10.

such as *Miracle Rising®*. This should be done with a solid emphasis on obtaining a thorough historical knowledge of the period before South Africa's becoming a democracy in April 1994, as well as consider using a meaningful variety of assessment possibilities for various grades that captures South Africa's road to democracy as is presented in the CAPS.

The road towards accomplishing the "small miracle"

Educators of History are encouraged to read the *South African Review 7* (1994)[33] in order to be able to follow a detailed account of events that led to the 1994 democratic election in South Africa as recorded at the time.

An interesting approach is followed by Doreen Atkinson in her contribution of the *South African Review*[34] towards discussing a very complicated political set up. Atkinson (like the world renowned Wangari Maathai) relies on a metaphor in the field of transport when discussing postcolonial political developments in Africa which, amongst others, led to the "small miracle" of 1994 in South Africa. Maathai, for example, does so when referring to poor leadership on the African continent since freedom was gained as a "travelling on the wrong bus":[35]

> *Like travellers who have boarded the wrong bus, many people and communities are heading in the wrong direction or following a wrong route, while allowing others (often their leaders) to lead them farther from their desired destination. I hold to the conviction that most of Africa is on the wrong bus today.*

Atkinson, in her discussion of South Africa's "small miracle", uses the metaphor of a train when she explains the difficulties among leadership and their parties to find consensus on "travelling" the way forward. Quite appropriately, the following historical events representing difficulties and hardships are listed briefly. Some are also highlighted in *Miracle Rising®*:

Back aboard the train

- Failure of CODESA:[36] both the ANC and the NP overestimated their strength and underrated that of their opponents. August 1992 marked a new phase

33 D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle? The multiparty negotiating forum", S Friedman and D Atkinson (eds.), *South African Review 7*…, pp. 13-43.

34 D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", S Friedman and D Atkinson (eds.), *South African Review 7*…, p. 13.

35 W Maathai, *The challenge for Africa – a new vision* (UK, Heinemann, 2009), p. 336 (introduction).

36 CODESA known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and convened as from December 1991. Explore for some baseline information in standard works on South Africa's history as well as http://www.sahistory.org.za/codesa-negotiations in South African History Online. See also the reference to Appendix C questions and Vladimir I Tikhomirov, *CODESA: New realities and old contradictions* (International Freedom Foundation, 1992), p. 24.

of negotiations that led to a Record of Understanding between Mandela and De Klerk (made possible by "the channel", alias Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer;[37]

- The ANC regarded a set date for the election as pivotal to continue constructive discussions.

The derailment danger

- As the NP and the ANC moved closer, it was the IFP that became restive. Their leader Mangosutho Buthelezi was enraged by the Record of Understanding, the prospect of possible exclusion of future negotiations and the fact that the issue of violence was not addressed;
- The rift was more about protocol than about principle;
- Under a group, known as COSAG,[38] Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope (Bophuthatswana), Oupa Gqoso (Ciskei)[39] and the Conservative Party of Dr Andries Treunicht formed a loose alliance against the ANC and NP;
- Eventually a second "channel" was set up between the NP (Roelf Meyer) and IFP (Dr Frank Mdlalose);
- Draft laws in process to scrap the "homelands" and start an interim government caused alarm in COSAG. While Mdlalose seemed to have made progress with Meyer, Buthelezi warned of the possibility of civil war;
- The IFP wanted a constitution written before any election so that all parties could indicate either their approval or disapproval thereof;
- A possible refusal to negotiate was not popular among IFP supporters;
- After three days' talks in seclusion between the IFP and the NP, the IFP agreed to enter into further discussions.[40]

Shelter from the storm

- The PAC was another Party that needed to be spoken to because they threatened the order if excluded. There was a guerrilla army, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) under PAC command;
- The NP government initiated talks with the PAC;

37 M Gevisser, *Portraits of power: Profiles in a changing South Africa* (New Africa Books, 1996), p. 175; A Butler, *Cyril Ramaphosa* (revised) (South Africa, Jacana Media, 2011), p. 442.

38 COSAG known as the Concerned South African Group. See D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", p. 16; K Cole (ed.), *Sustainable development for a democratic South Africa* (USA, Routledge, 2014), p. 256.

39 Freedom House Survey Team, *Freedom in the world: The annual survey of political rights and civil liberties, 1992-1993* (USA, University Press, 1994), p. 650 and particularly p. 639 on Ciskei.

40 For more on the IFP see KE Ferree, *Framing the race in South Africa: Political origins of racial census elections* (USA, Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 273; D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", pp. 17-18.

- Factions within the PAC did not allow for progress. APLA commanders declared 1993 as "The Year of the Storm";
- Eventually, the PAC joined the negotiations without APLA ending their military actions.[41]

Boarding the right train?

- The CP split in white circles allowed for the breakaway of the Afrikaner Volksunie under Andries Beyers. This group entered into discussions with the ANC as the major representative of black people to opt for a federal system in which an Afrikaner fatherland was to be the focus;
- Dr Treunicht and the CP also entered the planning conference under several preconditions.[42]

Leaving the station: The sparring begins

- The first day of negotiations was mainly a scuffling around very important concepts, namely what "sufficient consensus" implied before any justification whatsoever for any resolution was possible. From the NP-member came the proposal that "all participants must be prepared to give up something to achieve consensus. This must go hand in hand with a positive and constructive attitude and "*to put settlement first, even if their* [the participants'] *concerns were not met"*;
- The PAC was also critical of the power of the chairperson;
- Fear of possible formation of elitist groups concerning the CODESA agreements featured amongst Ciskei's delegates. Ramaphosa observed that "…*there was nothing wrong with elitism if it got things done*";
- An 11-member subcommittee was formed;
- It was said that, "*Despite disagreements, there was remarkable bonhomie* [cheerful friendliness; geniality] *among delegates*" and only the CP remained in doubt.[43]

Engineering the process[44]

- To ensure a healthy flow of discussion and minimize conflict, an elaborative number of bodies contributed to making progress regarding united decision

41 D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", pp. 19-20; N Worden, *The making of modern South Africa: Conquest, apartheid, democracy* (John Wiley & Sons, 2012), pp. 204, particularly pp. 156-169.
42 D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", pp. 20-21.
43 D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", pp. 22-23.
44 See also DL Horowitz, *A democratic South Africa?: Constitutional engineering in a divided society* (USA, University of California Press, 1991), p. 293.

-making for South Africa possible, namely:

» Forum (highest decision-making body);
» A negotiating council (each party's chief negotiator and one adviser);
» Subcommittee;
» Planning committee (meetings in secrecy, known as the "black box" from which processes were steered);
» Facilitating Committee;
» Technical Committees;
» *Bosberaad* (opportunities organised in making decisions about critical issues by mainly the NP and the ANC).

Atkinson responds to these tools as devices by stating: "[They] could only ensure progress among those who wanted to make it. As events showed, they would not prevent those who wanted to slow or to stop the process from doing so".[45]

Parties to the party[46]

- Though the Forum was said to be more inclusive than the CODESA process, it still was a challenge to manage pressure from the participation of more parties. Criteria for Kempton Park Forum membership were laid down and, in order to address the gender imbalance, it was decided that each participatory delegation had to include at least one woman. The Forum criteria for parties or groups wanting to join, were:

» Proven support;
» Recognition in the political arena;
» Recognition in the world community;
» The existence of membership lists, and
» The extent of political activity.

- Tight chairing in the negotiating council made it difficult for delegates to raise issues outside the limits set by resolutions.
- Incidents beyond the control of negotiators threatened the process. Amongst others, the leaking of plans to end the independence of the TBVC states;

45 D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", pp. 26-27.
46 RB Horwitz, *Communication and democratic reform in South Africa* (UK, Cambridge, 2004), Chapter 3.

continuing violence and the IFP's Buthelezi accusing the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe; the murder of Chris Hani (though Hani's death fuelled an increasing pressure to speed up with talks), and "damage control" with regard to several matters was done by the planning committee or the "black box".

- Each party aimed at different priorities as reasons for participating, amongst others:

» the ANC wanted an election date;[47]

» the NP worked towards a Transitional Executive Council and interim constitution;[48]

» COSAG wanted a decision on the form of state.

- Pressure allowed for the planning committee to find "sufficient consensus" to agree on an election date within four weeks, while the ANC also expressed a "softer stance" on regional government.[49]
- The IFP, however, left the process and the TEC bill was adopted in August 1993 in its absence.
- On 2 December, the TEC took office amidst several rejections of some parties and groups, but with limited standing to prevent the process from progressing in the direction of a democracy, and eventually boarded the "train" heading in the direction of an election – this despite continual incidences of violence, racism and conflicts in homelands like Bophuthatswana.[50]

Atkinson remarks: *Some analysts argue that deals between elites are essential if conflictual societies are to be steered to democracy. The Kempton Park deal was a typical elite settlement*.[51] Steven Friedman and Louis Stack then continue the discussion in the *South African Review* by discussing the magic moment that followed five months after the Kempton Park negotiations had ended.[52]

47 Compare A Sa'adah, "Hope, disappointment, and self-restraint: Reflections on the democratic experiment", TK Rabb and EN Suleiman(eds.), *The making and unmaking of democracy: Lessons from history and world politics* (New York, Routledge, 2013), Chapter 5, pp. 66-79; A Lissoni, J Soske, N Erlank, N Nieftagodien & O Badsha, *One hundred years of the ANC: Debating liberation histories today* (Wits University Press, 2013), p. 396.

48 Compare H Klug, *The constitution of South Africa: A contextual analysis* (Oregon, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), Chapters 1-2.

49 D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", pp. 27, 36-37.

50 Y Ronen, *Transitions from illegal regimes under international law* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 53-54; A Kemp, *Victory or violence – The story of the AWB of South Africa* (South Africa, Lulu.com, 2008), p. 216.

51 D Atkinson, "Brokering a miracle?...", p. 35.

52 S Friedman and L Stack, "The magic moment. The 1994 election", S Friedman and D Atkinson (eds.), *South African Review 7, The small miracle...*, pp. 301-330.

The magic moment

Friedman and Stack observe the following[53] regarding the historical election days of 27-28 April 1994 (apart from hosts of difficulties faced by the IEC[54] in the preceding months:

> *The election's administration exceeded the fears of many; the behaviour of voters exceeded the hopes of most…the white right had been more subdued than anticipated…Rumours of impending action ranged from a strike or sabotage which would close down electricity supply…Fears of right-wing action proved justified; but it was restricted to bomb blasts directed at people and at voting stations which, while damaging, did not derail the elections. The patience* [at polling stations] *had little to do with indifference. Many white voters confessed afterwards that they had never realised how important the vote was to their black compatriots. This perhaps also explained the little miracle of the voting days and the sharp drop in violence which persisted in the days after the ballot.*

Recordings of the days characterised by conflict and consensus leading to the 27 April 1994 election eventually found their way into the classroom under several themes as outlined in history curricula as well as in modules on tertiary level. The following sections were efforts to provide guidance with regard to ideas on how to utilise the arrival of a democracy in South Africa as a major historical milestone through a tool such as the documentary *Miracle Rising*®.

Miracle Rising® as source for teaching History

As miraculous as South Africa's 1994 historical turn-around was, equally so was the bloody[55] path on which it was paved, as well as the determination that would characterise it subsequently. It can rightly be assessed as very sensitive years and perhaps too difficult to come to grips with regarding moments and detail of the past in the classroom or lecture hall.[56] *Miracle Rising*® provides an opportunity to approach the content or parts of the documentary with the intention to visually remember how certain events actually occurred and were reported on, or were judged by both experts and ordinary people – both in South Africa and internationally.

53 S Friedman and L Stack, "The magic moment...", pp. 318-319. See also AP Brink's source, mention later in the Appendix B and C for a more explicit focus on ordinary voices regards the election days for exploring in the classroom.

54 The IEC was appointed in December 1993.

55 See on YouTube the 90 minute, *1994 Bloody Miracle,* downloaded by Sabido productions (available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=9_usdNcnJp0).

56 Compare JA Williams, Classroom in conflict: Teaching controversial subjects in a diverse society (New York, SUNY Press, 1994), p. 204, particularly pp. 85-86.

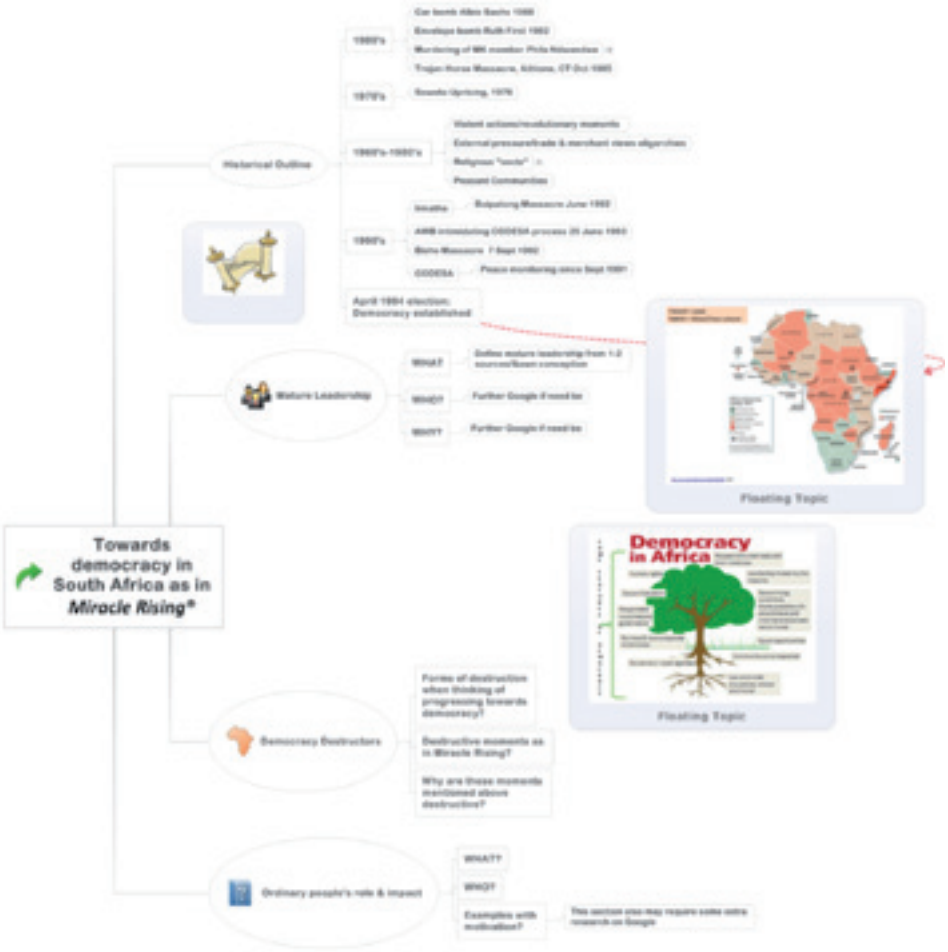
To visually engage with this past (whether in a more simplistic way on GET level, or perhaps a more thematic way on FET level and progressing towards a more mature critical analysis level on HET level) is always more beneficial for addressing curriculum content in the learning process. To follow an approach of consciously and deliberately understanding the diversity of people, their perspectives and political sentiments cannot be done justice to in a single documentary. Yet *Miracle Rising®*[57] provides enough food for thought for the serious and responsible educator of History to utilise the documentary in several meaningful ways, even though it contains sensitive, perhaps conflicting[58] moments. Yet its utility is also reliant on the learners having prior content knowledge of chronological developments... which may limit its utility in terms of the GET phase, unless the educator fills the knowledge gap with a proper (but concise) narrative to overcome the learner's historical silence.

In *Miracle Rising®*, the following histories (see the mind map below) are covered either concisely or in depth and not necessarily absolutely chronologically (but understandably so). The map of Africa on the democratic status of Africa by 2012 as well as the visual of the tree as metaphor for outlining the status and/or features of democracy in Africa are additional to *Miracle Rising®* and could be utilised to debate the status of South Africa's democratic miracle close to present times and people's thoughts about democracy in theory:

57 See YouTube, "Miracle Rising South Africa [Full Movie]", downloaded by Sambotin Alexandru (available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=IKDrRdfvUg8, as accessed on 17 April 2013).

58 See also G Weldon, "Post-conflict teacher development: Facing the past in South Africa", *Journal of Moral Education*, 39(3), 2010, pp. 353-364.

Image 1: A mind map outline on content as mainly covered in *Miracle Rising®*



Source: Compiled by author.

Themes from CAPS and others for assessing different levels of GET, FET and HET education when utilising Miracle Rising®

GET-level:

Grade 4

- Learning from leaders: Ask and answer questions about the lives and qualities of good leaders; Life stories of leaders who show the above qualities: Nelson Mandela. Guiding questions:

» Focus: Leadership qualities as expressed in the documentary *Miracle Rising®* [an educator's effort to identify the leadership qualities, though the learners could be exposed specifically to the last parts of the documentary where there is reporting on the voting days and where Mr Mandela features in the announcement of the ANC victory at the ballot box].

» Ways of utilising *Miracle Rising®* in this curriculum outcome: Outline the reasons (as observed from historical moments) why Mandela can be regarded as a good leader.

» Additional sources for educators:

- Peter Limb, *Nelson Mandela: A biography* (2008);
- Nelson Mandela, *Long walk to freedom: The autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (2008);
- Jean Guiloneau, *Nelson Mandela: The early life of Rolihlahla Mandiba* (2002);
- Chris van Wyk, *Nelson Mandela* (2003);
- Nelson Mandela, *No easy walk to freedom* (1973);
- Anders Hallengren, *Nobel Laureates in search of identity and integrity: Voices of different cultures* (2004, pp. 215-232);
- Wangari Maathai, *The challenge for Africa* (Heinemann, London, 2009, chapter on leadership.

Grade 6

- Democracy and citizenship in South Africa: How people govern themselves in a democracy: our national government; Rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy; Children's rights and responsibilities; National symbols since 1994; Research project.

Grade 7

- Colonisation of the Cape in the 17th to 18th centuries: Dutch settlement: Reasons for the VOC's permanent settlement at the Cape in 1652; Results of the Dutch settlement: Slaves at the Cape; Free burghers; Land dispossession and consequences for the indigenous population.
- Co-operation and conflict on the frontiers of the Cape Colony in the early 19th century: Arrival of the British and expansion of the frontiers of the European settlement; The Eastern frontier of European settlement: Frontier wars; Case study; British immigration; Boers migrate and move to the interior.

» Focus: Features of democracy (Grade 6) and aspects of the historical legacy of South Africa (Grade 7) apply.

» Ways of utilising Miracle Rising® in this curriculum outcome: For Grade 6, the images of the election days as in Miracle Rising® and the counting of the ballot papers as a means to illustrate the process after an election as well as the value thereof. There was also the historical lowering of the "Union flag" to be replaced at the evening prior to the April 1994 election, which could be further explored.

FET-level:

Grade 9

- Turning points in South African history in 1948 and in the 1950s: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights after World War II; Definition of racism; 1948 National Party and Apartheid; Case studies: Group Areas Act and Bantustans; 1950s: Repression and non-violent resistance to Apartheid; Oral history and research project.
- Turning points in South African history in 1960, 1976 and 1994: 1960: Sharpeville massacre and Langa march; 1976: Soweto uprising; 1990: Release of Nelson Mandela and unbanning of liberation movements.

» Focus: Turning points in South Africa's history followed by the Soweto uprising as well as Mandela's release.

» Ways of utilising *Miracle Rising®* in this curriculum outcome: Parts of *Miracle Rising®* take its audience back to some historical moments in the heydays of apartheid. Boipatong as a turning point is accentuated and could be further explored. The National Party and apartheid (and the views of Meyer as well as De Klerk in *Miracle Rising®*) could be listed and extended with historical research on a diversity of views (such as that of Cyril Ramaphosa) on the Apartheid years. Also see Appendix B; the *Yesterday & Today* Dec 2011 issue, in its practical hands-on section, which provides memories of people regarding the Soweto uprising, Afrikaans and the apartheid years. The contributions by intellectuals who advised the De Klerk government of the day concerning the release of Mr Mandela can be further explored.[59]

59 The history of the PU for CHE/PU vir CHO, before amalgamation and becoming the NWU, should be considered. The chapter on the Stem of Potchefstroom/Voice of Potchefstroom as in ES van Eeden (Red.), "IN U LIG": Die PU vir CHO van selfstandigwording tot samesmelting, 1951-2004 (NWU, Potchefstroom,2005), provides insight into this era in history.

Grade 10

- The South African War and Union: Background to the South African War: mining capitalism; The South African War from 1899 to 1902; the Union of South Africa (a brief overview); The Natives Land Act of 1913.

» Focus: South Africa becoming a Union is the point in the curriculum to be focussed on. Its history, and the exclusion of all South Africans by means of the British Indirect Rule system, could be accentuated. Because of this history and partly due to this history, the nurturing and entrenchment of racism were ultimately to be transformed into formal apartheid.

» Indirect ways of using Miracle Rising® in this curriculum outcome: Parts of arguing the past and the process of transforming formal apartheid into a democracy could be used. An indirect focus on the exchanging of the Union flag for a new South African flag as symbol could also be investigated.

Grade 11

- Nationalism – South Africa, the Middle East and Africa: What is nationalism? Case study: South Africa: Rise of African nationalism; Rise of Afrikaner nationalism; Case study: Middle East; Case study: From "Gold coast" to Ghana; Review: The positive and negative factors of nationalism.
- Apartheid South Africa 1940s to 1960s: Racism and segregation in the 1920s and 1930s; Segregation after forming of Union; National Party victory 1948; Legalising Apartheid; From petitions to Programme of Action; Response of the Apartheid state; Sharpeville massacre; Rivonia Trial.

» Focus: By identifying and understanding various forms of nationalism in South Africa, especially their status in recent times when South Africa became a democracy, can add value to an improved understanding of other forms of African nationalism as opposed to colonial and other autocratic leaderships. The response to the apartheid state is another complementary theme.

» Indirect ways of utilising *Miracle Rising*® in this curriculum outcome: See Appendix B for some examples in the Example 2 section, especially the questions based on Njabulo S Ndebele's memories of the election days of April 1994.

Grade 12

- Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s to 1980s: The challenge of Black Consciousness to the Apartheid State; The crisis of Apartheid in the 1980s: Government attempts to reform Apartheid; Internal resistance to reforms: International response; The beginning of the end.

- The arrival of democracy in South Africa and coming to terms with the past: The negotiated settlement and the Government of National Unity; How has South Africa chosen to remember the past? The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Reasons for the TRC; Remembering past: memorials.

» Focus: All aspects of the curriculum content apply.

» Ways of utilising *Miracle Rising*® in this curriculum outcome: The full spectrum of *Miracle Rising*® can be utilised as it covers aspects of civil resistance in early days, international responses through journalists and respected leaders. Glimpses of the settlement process evolving into a Government of National Unity as well as the TRC proceedings are covered visually. A historical moment that could be accentuated more in the classroom as an operational effort from the level of ordinary citizens (an approach from below) is represented by the Peace Committees that were established all over the country after 1992 to address and reduce the flare-ups of violence and intolerance.

See Appendix B where examples 1 and 2 are fully applicable.

HET-level (AN EXAMPLE):

History 2nd year level re Africa, South Africa and politics

One of four broad AIMS: *Traces of democracy from early times through the pre- to the post-colonial era – reviewing its impact on Africa and the local area or region (with reference to leadership):*

» Focus: South Africa's becoming a democracy[60] amidst traces of a "destructive" past.

» Ways of utilising *Miracle Rising*® in assessments regarding this curriculum outcome: See Appendix C

» Additional sources for educators post 1994 [Some are contentious or critical debates against or sceptical about the achievement of a 1994 miracle.]:

60 A source of value to use as a reflection on the 20 years of democracy can be that of A Johnston, *South Africa. Inventing the nation* (UK, A&C Black, Bloomsbury), p. 336.

- Elizabeth B van Heyningen, The "Small Greek Cities" of the Cape Peninsula" *Contree*, 10, pp. 5-8 on democracy traces in a regional context in South Africa in the early 20th century.
- Wangari Maathai, *The challenge for Africa* (Heinemann, London, 2009), Chapter 2 on leadership.
- Thula Simpson, "Indirect Rule in South Africa: Tradition, modernity, and the costuming of political power", *African Historical Review*, 43(2), 2011, pp. 84-86.
- Elize S van Eeden, "Informing history students/learners regarding an understanding and experiencing of South Africa's colonial past from a regional/local context", *Yesterday & Today*, 10, pp. 1-24.
- "Frederick Lugard and the policy of Indirect Rule in British colonial Africa, http://voices.yahoo.com/frederick-lugard-policy-indirect-rule-in-3900060.html, 16 March 2014.
- SAHO, South Africa: Not yet post-colonial, 13 August 2008 as in Democracy, Featured South Africa: not yet post-colonial, by Johann Rossouw, pp. 1-20.
- Dare Arowolo, *The effects of Western Civilisation and culture on Africa, Afro Asian Journal of Social Science*, 1(1), December 2010, pp. 1-13. [OPTING AGAINST DEMOCRACY – Return to traditional governing systems supported. Nigeria-Muslim militancy in Boko-Haram also supportive of anti-Western thoughts and governing mechanisms].
- Jason C Myers on tradition and tribe in the days of *British indirect rule in South Africa in his book: indirect Rule in South Africa: Tradition, Modernity and the costuming of political power* (University of Rochester Press, 2008, 140 pp).
- Walter D Mignolo, *The darker side of Western Modernity. Global futures, decolonial options* (USA, Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 408.
- Development Research Centre (LSE), Laurie Nathan, "Accounting for South Africa's successful transition to democracy" (Discussion Paper no 5, June 2004), pp. 1-10.

Some other teach-worthy themes and topics from the documentary Miracle Rising®

* **<u>Themes to be considered on their own or combined</u>** for especially learners or students on FET and HET levels:

» <u>History method</u>: Source criticism; diverse perspectives and approaches

- Oral history;
- Visual history;
- Biographical and leadership histories;
- Regional and local historical events prior to 1994 (making up the broader history);

- Cultural histories;
- Truth and Reconciliation memories and using memories concerning history, and
- History from below input and history from above recount diversity of efforts and opinions.

* **In some of the themes listed above, there are also ample possibilities to extend the learner's and/or student's level of thinking about themes or topics by asking questions related to:**

» Social theory/ies and historical knowledge such as man's ability to distort the historical consciousness of his own mind and the minds of other people;

» Contentious debatable questions (after sufficient historical research) about violence, racism, economic boycotts; deeds of terror on soft targets; political blindness and human intolerance; the youth's present and future in histories of violence and political restrictions; gender issues etc.;

» A definite approach towards exposing the impact of individuals' actions on the masses and a minority group's actions or decision making allowance for major changes and their inevitable consequences;

» The history and the level of impact by the following community groups on expressing or enforcing societal and political change:[61]

- Merchant oligarchies or major businesses;
- Peasant communities/ordinary people/communities;
- Religious sects/groups/denominations;
- Revolutionary moments – a combination of different classes and races and individual initiatives.

Conclusion

This discussion of Miracle Rising® was mainly an effort to open up opportunities for educators of History to see how this historical milestone of South Africa becoming a democratic country can be used in multifaceted ways for the instruction of both learners and students. Several themes in the current CAPS curriculum for History themes with regard to the GET as well as the FET levels, and equally so on HET-level, allow for an opportunity by educators and specialists to visually, theoretically and practically engage in

61 Question based on the writings of C Tilly (edited by T Skocpol), *Democracy, revolution and history* (USA, Cornell University, 1999), p. 273.

this particular past. To experience it live and virtually "first-hand" allows for a better understanding if educators of History will use the selected history sections and/or available informative material in Miracle Rising® responsibly and efficiently during assessment opportunities.

> *In the political order we have established there will be regular, open and free elections, at all levels of government – central, provincial and municipal. There shall also be a social order which respects completely the culture, language and religious rights of all sections of our society and the fundamental rights of the individual.*
>
> Nelson Mandela, Inaugural speech, 1994.

Appendix A: GET-level questions on *Miracle Rising®*

Learners or students can be provided with four to five photographs of Mr Nelson Mandela, celebrating different historical occasions demonstrating his leadership qualities. Learners or students could be asked to:

i. identify the historical occasion;

ii. provide reasons or motivation for the "good leadership" qualities Mr Mandela personified;

iii. identify a famous quote/saying by Mr Mandela that fits the photograph and his thoughts in general as leader.

Examples of photographs:

A)

B)

Source A): http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/nelson-mandela-dead-how-power-2899459

Source B): http://www.myhero.ws/images/guest/g242361/hero74775/g242361_u87123_1-freedom-nelson-mandela.jpg

C)

D)

Source C): http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/nelson-mandela-1/

Source D): http://www.news.com.au/world/many-of-us-dont-know-the-world-mandela-fought-in-but-we-live-in-the-world-he-fought-for-here-are-some-of-his-key-influences/story-fndir2ev-1226777006935

E)

Source E): brianfobi.com

Appendix B: FET-level questions on Miracle Rising®

» ***Note that gaining a clear historical understanding of the past process*** **[knowledge]** ***in becoming a democracy is of utmost importance before engaging with task-specific assessments.***

EXAMPLE ONE

QUESTIONS FOR LEARNERS TO RESPOND TO, BASED ON THE DOCUMENTARY:

1. The importance of mature and/or matured leadership concerning democratic processes

1.1 Formulate an understanding of mature leadership. 2 marks

1.2 Identify at least 8 leaders from this documentary that fall within the category of mature leadership (with a concise motivation in each instance). 20 marks

2. Forms of destruction aimed at democratic processes

2.1 What, in your opinion, can be regarded as forms of destruction aimed at preventing progress towards a democracy? 2 marks

2.2 Describe four destructive movements featuring as obstacles that are accentuated in "Miracle Rising". Briefly explain why they are to be regarded as being destructive. 12 marks

3. The role of ordinary people advancing towards democracy

3.1 Outline your understanding of ordinary people from different organisations that supported progress towards democracy. 2 marks

3.2 Identify four ordinary people and/or organisations that contributed to the advance or progress towards democracy Describe in what way they made contributions. 12 marks

Some possible responses to the questions asked in example one (as above) regarding leadership maturity while progressing towards the realisation of democracy in South Africa:

MATURE LEADER ALBIE SACHS

- **Biographical history** can be a task - e.g. Constitutional Court Judge after 1994
- **Some notable sayings by Sachs:**

- "The bomb revived my spirit. I came back."
- "Apartheid robbed white and black people of their dignity."

- **Reasons for being in the mature leadership gallery:**
  - Felt that all injustices committed by security police against innocent people should be overlooked to plan towards a broader goal and reason;
  - Regarded jail as no option; praise for police agents for bringing truth forth at TRC, as their killings were motivated as war situations;
  - Saw the sentencing to life imprisonment of those who acted on commands also as not reasonable or feasible;
  - An eye-for-an-eye approach in the progress towards freedom would amount to reverting to the unacceptable situations of the past.

MATURE LEADER Bishop DESMOND TUTU

- **Biographical history** can be a task, e.g.
  - Chaired the Truth & Reconciliation Commission
  - Always strove after peace (Nobel prize to his credit)
- **Some notable sayings by Tutu** *(as reasons for his also being in the mature leadership gallery):*
  - His TRC introductory remark:
    Our greatness will be enhanced if we say we are sorry, sorry that things went terribly wrong…
  - He also observed: *If we* [the blacks] *had had an opportunity to be the perpetrators we would not have been* [handling the situation] *any different* [from the whites]

MATURE LEADER FW de KLERK

He had to "activate" the NP-government and supporters at the time to make a paradigm shift. For that purpose he had to put his "head on the block", yet Roelf Meyer had his doubts about whether De Klerk would go to those lengths (according to Roelf Meyer);
Prepared to admit that apartheid was morally irresponsible;
Willing to listen to intellectual leaders towards an improved, democratically inclusive way forward;
Committed to peace and abandoning of nuclear weapons;
Committed to change via installed structures.

MATURE LEADER CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

- **Biography history** could be a task, e.g.
  - Chief negotiator: African National Congress, 1991-1996.
- **Some notable sayings by Cyril (to motivate his being in the mature leadership gallery):**
  - His openness an inimitable quality;
  - His introductory remark in the documentary is so true, also for everyday life:

- The hater can be so consumed with hatred that he or she fails to find moments of opportunity where one could actually resolve a problem…

- He also observed:

- Those proposing and outliving apartheid did not even know what they were doing…they also had to be freed from this prison their history had locked them into…

EXAMPLE TWO:

Some notes on election day 1994 by 45 South Africans from a variety of professions, particularly writers, voicing their observations from different legacy stances in South Africa's history. Compiled by Andre P Brink[62]

The memories of some of the election days in April 1994, as selected below, can be efficiently used in assessment tasks as outlined in the discussion earlier:

Tatamkhulu Afrika on "Against all odds, my heart sings", pp. 9-13.

Author, poet, political activist, World War II prisoner of war, founder member of Al-Jihad, member of MK. 1920-2002[63]

I wake. Shortly before dawn…arthritis suddenly in every bone. Only then do I remember it is the Day: that there is a moment to grasp or be shamed, a brick to lay or be damned. I struggle to achieve excitement, anticipation, joy – but at 73, put out to graze, to die…Outside, my "brown" growing into "grey" suburb still sleeps… the queues already long. I stand in it for as long as an hour, fighting off the ennui and irritation that queues always breed in me, but I feel would be unmannerly now…I come away from the station. My mind tells me my cross has helped usher in a new nation, a new land. It also, deep down, slyly warns that even those who made no cross have helped secure these things…I think back to the queue I have just left: the so many different eyes. Self-mocking eyes that questioned their being there, yet stayed… Back home, I brew coffee, slice, butter bread. For the first time I sit down to eat… Drained, I lie down, stare a while at a fly circling the unlit bulb. On the highway, a stone's cast from my door, cars and trucks pass with sometimes shouting voters going to and from the polls. And sometimes exhaust sounds like a shot, reminding me that other violent men are violently about. Later, sun low…I bus into the township shack of my dear love… She is sitting in a corner of one of the two rooms… her crippled leg hidden under the blanket… at the forefront of the rallies in those bitter years… Will this Day heal her leg, restore to her what time and terror so remorselessly have taken away? She reads me, smiles… "It's done," she whispers, "we have walked the last mile!"…Yes, against all odds, my heart sings.

62 AP Brink (compiler/samesteller), *S.A. April 1994 an author's diary * 'n skrywersdagboek* (Kaapstad, Quellerie, 1994), p. 171.

63 Available at http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/tatamkhulu-afrika, as accessed in August 2014.

Questions that could be asked for example Grades 4, 6, 7, 9:

i) *What Day is the author recalling?*
ii) *List two observations by the author that's positive about the Day.*
iii) *List four observations by the author that's negative about the Day.*

[The life and leadership contribution of Tatamkhulu Afrika to change in South Africa could also be explored].

Breyten Breytenbach, on "Joernaal van wending//Journal with a curve", pp. 22-25

Poet, writer, painter and activist. South Africa's most prominent poet of the sixties. 1939[64]

Original Afrikaans version – freely translated into English

…Laatnag ry ek óm die berg middestad [Cape Town] toe om te gaan kyk hoe die een vlag sak en die ander gehys word… Daar is toe nie wafers veel mense in Waalstraat voor die Provinsiale gebou nie… Kort voor middernag begin koggel die mense, duim-afwaarts: 'Down! down! down! Bo op die balkon bewerk 'n stewige kêrel met 'n snor die toue – van hier benede lyk hy kompleet soos pik Botha (hy oorleef ook alle omwentelinge!) – en langsaam styg die nuwe embleem. Die wind wil hom eers nie vat nie. 'Dis die ANC-kleure wat te swaar weeg', spot een toeskouer…Die Stem word doodgesing. Langs my juig Albie Sachs met 'n woes beduidende stompie van de arm wat in 'n motorbomaanslag verpletter is. 'Klap hande vir my ook' sê hy. Maar wat 'n lelike komiteevlag is dit! pure post-semiotiese lappiesgoed soos beding as kompromie deur 'n reklameagentskap! Dit maak nie saak nie (betig ek my), elke vlag is tog net 'n lap geroepe om gedoop te word in drek en bloed. En die volk moet seker 'n nuwe kopdoek kry…Een oud-stryder staan man, vuis omhoog, vir Nkosi sikelela, maar die lied is te omvattend, sy arm word moeg…27 April. In die vroegskemerte kom ons aan by die … Jamestown se stemlokaal. 'n Tou bedeesde, waardige, rustige, vasberade kiesers in Sondagsklere en nuwe kopdoeke wag reeds. My mense… Ek het al dikwels oorsee kon stem maar nooit só 'n kruisie oor my hart getrek nie. Nou word ons oplaas gesnoer in 'n bindende ervaring (al sy dit ook tydelik) – één bevolking van dieselfde land in die uitvoering van 'n gedeelde burgervoorreg…wanneer ons stilhou…in Rondebosch…sak seënende reën uit. Maar die mense staan saam-saam vas – swart en wit en bruin… Mens se hart is seer; hoekom was dit so swaar, hoekom het dit so lank gevat? Mens se hart is bly: niemand gaan hierdie stukkiies toekoms wat die mense vashou weer kan wegneem nie…

... Late at night I drove around the mountain city centre [Cape Town] to go watch a flag being lowered and the other hoisted ... There were but few people in Waal Street in front of the Provincial building ... Shortly before midnight some people, in

64 Available at: http://www.stellenboschwriters.com/breyten.html, as accessed in August 2014.

a teasing mode and thumb-down, shout: 'Down! down! down! Up on the balcony a strong guy with a moustache manages the ropes - from down here he looks just like Pik Botha (he also survived all revolutions!) - and gradually raises the new emblem. The wind at first does not want to allow any movement. "It's the ANC colours that weigh heavily," one spectator jokes ... The singing of the Stem is overpowered. Beside me a cheering Albie Sachs in a frantic motion with his stump of an arm crushed in a motorcar bomb attack. "Clapping for me," he says. But what an ugly committee flag it is! Pure post-semiotic patches ("lappies") as a negotiated compromise by an advertising agency! It does not matter (I reprimand myself), each flag is just a rag called to be baptized in filth and blood. And the people should certainly get a new headscarf... One veteran was standing there, fists raised for Nkosi sikelela, but the song is too comprehensive, his arm gets tired... 27 April. In the early twilight we arrive at the... Jamestown's polling station. A queue – subdued, gracious, tranquil, determined voters in Sunday clothes and new head scarf saree already there, waiting. My people... I have often voted abroad but never drew such a cross over my heart. Now we are finally accorded in a binding experience (though temporarily) - one population of the same country in the implementation of a shared civil privilege... when we stop... in Rondebosch...

the blessing of rain comes down. But the people are standing firmly together - black and white and brown... One's heart aches; why was it so hard, why did it take so long? One's heart rejoices: no one will be able to take away these pieces of the future that people hold...

Questions that could be set for Grades 10-11:

i) Explore the author's mentioning of the following persons and songs and motivate, by means of some historical research, the author's statement with regard to each person:

- *Pik Botha*
- *Albie Sachs*
- *The Stem*
- *Nkosi sikelela*

ii) *To which* "ugly committee flag" *is the author referring? Recall the flag's a) history and symbolic meaning and b) explore via Internet (and Media 24) the feelings of other South Africans about the so-called* "ugly committee flag".

iii) Recall the a) historical development and use of the "Union flag" and to which extent it b) included and/or c) excluded South Africans symbolically?

iv) Briefly explain what Breytenbach meant by uttering the following words:
One's heart aches; why was it so hard, why it took so long?
"Mens se hart is seer; hoekom was dit so swaar, hoekom het dit so lank geneem?"

[Question (iii) mainly fits the Grade 10 curriculum and Question (iv) the Grade 11 curriculum on the Apartheid history]

André P Brink, on "A farm in Africa", pp. 29-34.

South African novelist, playwright, literary critic and academic. 1935[65]

We tumble out of bed when the doorbell rings. it is Atwell, the gardener…Atwell is really Jongibandla Bontsa, but in a market ruled by whites he has chosen the English tag to match the persona he has adopted for his job as a gardener…Atwell loves to start his day with a good conversation, but on this particular morning he doesn't bother to enquire about our trip [to France] or to solicit any comment on the immaculate state of the garden left to his care. All he asks is, "When are we going to vote?" When I return to the bedroom with tea – the joys of being home again – Marésa has already turned on the television. Not an auspicious beginning to the day: the bomb blast at Jan Smuts Airport; chaos at polling booths all over the country… Marésa tackles the first bundle of washing and gets a bredie going; I venture out into the cold grey gloom of the clouds obscuring Table Mountain. "When are we going to vote?" asks Atwell as I open the garage door, not yet having made any attempt to exchange his election outfit for his garden gear. "By midday," I inform him. "The queues are too long right now." Outside the café where I go for papers and some milk and fruit juice (in defiance of reports over the last fortnight about white South Africans cleaning out supermarkets to stock up for an expected siege, we have made no arrangements to make unusual provision for any but our daily needs), a black man in blue overalls is struggling against the gusty Northwester to get a stompie going. Inside, the Muslim owner and his family and a gangly bearded white youth are watching images of the bomb blast on the fly-speckled screen of the TV perched on the cold drinks fridge. "It's these Dutch who are doing it," pronounces the young man with great conviction. "That's why I'll never vote for the National Party." I return home. Both papers have front page reports on the lowering, at midnight, of the old Union flag and the hoisting of the bold and bright new one. The Cape Times carries photographs of both events; Die Burger, of course, features only the demise of the old. We have consulted with friends on the telephone; the polling station closest to our house is reported to have a shorter queue than most others. With a sense of historical fulfilment we set out. When we arrive there, just as the rain begins to come down, there is a formidable queue. This is going to take at least two hours, I tell Atwell. "We go," he says. "Not in this rain," says Marésa. "I'll vote tomorrow." She drops off the two of us with a black umbrella. And so begins a memorable wait which is to last for just over six

65 Available at http://victordlamini.bookslive.co.za/blog/2009/06/03/podcast-with-south-africas-great-homme-des-lettres-andre-brink/, as accessed in August 2014.

hours…throughout the seemingly interminable day I remind myself that in a language like Spanish the word for waiting also means hoping – pools of conversation in the long crowd spill into each other to form one moving river of talk. At one o'clock Marésa arrives with coffee for Atwell and me. Four o' clock and Marésa returns with more coffee and a hamper of biscuits; this time there is enough for twenty or thirty members of the crowd. "Thank you, Mama," they call out after her. Occasionally, the conversations falter and subside; people are really getting exhausted now. But what the hell. Here I've been waiting for six hours: some of these people have been waiting for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty years! The country has been waiting for three and a half centuries…in the course of this day a quiet miracle has been taking place. A mere week ago some people have begun to barricade themselves in their homes, expecting a wave of violence to swamp them today. What is happening here is the opposite. We are discovering, through the basic sharing of this experience, that we are all South Africans…

Questions that could be set for Grades 9-10s:

i) *Identify some general historical pre-election and election day events that the author recalls to express the feelings of ordinary South Africans at the time.*

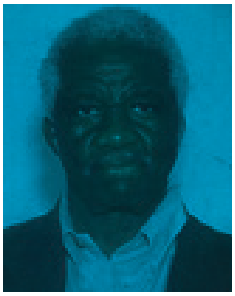
ii) *What airport today (commemorating a new leader) relates to the former Jan Smuts Airport?*

iii) *Explore the "new" leader's (mentioned in ii) contribution to South Africa's progress towards a democratic dispensation in 1994.*

[The leadership vision of General Jan Smuts with regard to South Africa could also be debated].

Mazisi Kunene, pp. 72-76.

Zulu poet laureate and ANC activist. 1930-2006[66]



At first I had no intention of voting: I felt that I had already voted with my life...I could boast of having spent half my life in exile to demonstrate that a South African, born on this continent, had high ideals to live for…The whole idea of going to vote seemed to

66 S Adenekan, "Mazisi Kunene. South African poet laureate and key player in the ANC", *The Guardian*, 17 October 2006.

me too formal. What was needed was simply a big celebration for all South Africans, particularly those who had fought to realise a new and great South Africa. In other words I felt that I was, had been, and will continue to be a committed freedom fighter. What would a mere vote mean? For me, the very idea of democracy had been debased by those who shouted the word and were either dictators or simply inept leaders. I could be forgiven if I shouted, together with many victims, "Oh Democracy, how many crimes have been committed in your name? I was puzzled by the bizarre claim that we were about to enter a paradise of democracy: all we had to do was vote for those we believed would do the job. Hadn't the various peoples of Africa chosen their representatives in the past? What was the difference between the word "vota" and "ukhetho" or "kheta"? Hadn't the dictators and tyrants traditionally been scathingly attacked by the poets and composers and eventually removed? Indeed, what was new in this democracy we were being called upon to celebrate? My thoughts turned to the urgent needs of people, particularly African mothers, living in the streets. How did these people feel as they saw their children shivering in the cold? Where were the husbands? What kind of family life can one live on the street, or in some broken-down shack? It is not Organisations, like political parties, that change things; it is organisation. Suddenly, like a flash of lightning, I realised that my act of voting was not simply physical…it must represent many of those people I knew who would have liked to have voted, but who died in the struggle. I had only five hours to submit my application for citizenship and to obtain my temporary voting card: I had no birth certificate or affidavit, so I was my own parent in the document I signed. I might mention that I was deeply moved by my countrymen and women (white) as they chaperoned me and my wife through all the different points. I felt a great relief and great satisfaction after my voting…

Questions that could be set for Grade 12-HET undergraduate level:

i) How would the author prefer to define "real" democracy?

ii) Recall examples from the histories of human kind where the following statements by the author about the ignorance of democracy (the people's voice) could have applied?:

Hadn't the dictators and tyrants traditionally been scathingly attacked by the poets and composers and eventually removed?

Njabulo S Ndebele on "Elections, mountains, and one voter", pp. 93-95.

Academic, former Vice-Chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town. Known as academic, literary man and a writer of fiction.

Currently the Vice-Chancellor of UJ. 1948[67]

… I do have a peculiar personal trait. It is that I tend to be at my calmest and most deliberate when some remarkable events… [have] made everybody else excited. When I opened my eyes on the morning of 27th April 1994, I sensed immediately the weight of the historical day, but although I felt awed, I registered no ebullient excitement. I already knew that I would not vote at the polling station nearest to me, in Pinelands. I had been informed that voting would take place in the Dutch Reformed Church. I reacted instinctively against that venue. I shied away from a heroic public gesture in preference for a neutral venue where I would participate in the most personal of public events: the election. After all, hadn't I made some powerful emotional concessions at midnight in the centre of Cape Town during the ceremony to lower the old flag and hoist the new one? It was a most joyful moment. As I watched the new flag go up, I felt for the first time in my life that this country was really mine, something I had hated and loved all that once. Now the ambivalence was gone. During that intense moment, my eyes happened upon two white policemen whose faces registered pain, bewilderment and resignation. They were watching the end of all that had given the deepest meaning to their lives. They seemed lost… My heart went out to them. I confirmed something else at that very moment: "It is not the people, but the policies, we had grown to learn. It had been hard to make that distinction. When the voting moment came, it was fast and disarmingly simple, but profoundly intense. As I left the Civic Centre to return home, I noticed that the queue was already going out of the building…

67 Available at http://randomstruik.co.za/us3rd0cs/Author1281519332.jpg; See also "Who's Who Southern Africa" as accessed on http://whoswho.co.za/njabulo-ndebele-1513, as accessed in August 2014.

Questions that could be set for Grades 10-12:

i) Concisely explain what the author means by:

- The weight of the historical day
- "It is not the people but the policies."

ii) Identify a person in your hometown who voted in 1994, and ask him or her about any memories of 27-28 April regarding a) experiences of the people that voted; b) the town; c) the political parties; d) possible involvement in the counting of ballot papers and e) emotions after the announcement of the outcome locally and nationally.

iii) The author refers to "two white policemen whose faces registered pain, bewilderment and resignation. They were watching the end of all that had given the deepest meaning to their lives. They seemed lost. My heart went out to them." When recalling the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (also partially viewed in Miracle Rising®) and the views of some interviewees in Miracle Rising® with regard to the police and forces in the service of the S.A. government, put into words (in one or two paragraphs) your understanding of their observations.

iv) Explain nationalism, as expressed by the AWB, IFP, PAC and CP by 1994.

*Grades 11 and 12 could follow up the following personalities impressions of Apartheid and the Apartheid State:

- Ruth First
- Joe Slovo
- Steve Biko
- Chris Hani
- Miriam Makeba

Albie Sachs on "The banality of good", pp. 110-112.

Director of Research for the Ministry of Justice, Constitutional Court Judge and Author. 1935[68]

68 P Barkham, "Albie Sachs: 'I can't tell my son everything'", *The Guardian*, 8 October 2011.

The most momentous act in my life is the most banal. I've waited forty years and twenty minutes for this moment (twenty minutes because I forgot my ID at home). I have been telling people at quiet little house meetings all over town that this will be the most significant day in my life, that I will walk across a hall, pick up a piece of paper, make a cross, drop it into the box, and, for the first time be a South African, for the first time be a citizen, for the first time do something on an equal basis with the single-parent woman who does my laundry, and the municipal cleaners who take away the rubbish, and the wealthy people who live in the area where I am voting. The last time I got a ballot slip was in 1966, when I was in my second detention, in solitary confinement in Roeland Street Jail, recovering from torture by sleep, deprivation, with a double padlock on my cell-door, and Captain Rossouw of the Security Police holding his hand between the bars of the window with a voting slip in it and telling me: Advocate Sachs, it's a democratic country and you can vote, and I answering: Captain Rossouw, no thank you (you can see where Mandela gets it from, we are polite freedom fighters), I would rather not. With my left hand that writes just as my right hand used to do, I picked up the pencil… I wish I wasn't so tired and tense, my sleep last night crushed by the weight of history, my spirit destabilised by the shock of having arrived at the destination which no longer glimmers but is simply us walking in line, subordinated to the passionless anonymity of two pencil marks…and all TV-watching humanity marvels as we – black and white South Africans – start to discover ourselves and begin to appreciate the full dimension of our country.

Questions that could be set for Grades 9-12:

i) Conduct some additional historical research and then describe, i) the features of elections (going to the ballot) in pre-1994 years; and ii) the difference between the 1994 election and one of yesteryear (the past) as recalled by Sachs;

ii) Do a biographical study of Albie Sachs with regard to his resistance activities in the past to help change the apartheid landscape in South Africa into a more democratic dispensation.

Appendix C: HET-level questions on *Miracle Rising®*

» ***Note that gaining a clear historical understanding of the past process [knowledge] in becoming a democracy is of utmost importance before engaging with task-specific assessments.***

Example of a question: Has South Africa chosen to be on the road towards allowing the "small miracle" to be a long-lasting democratic reality? Provide some intellectual views regarding possible stumbling blocks concerning:

i. Thoughts with regard to democracy; and
ii. "Western" democracy in Africa or in South Africa.

- JC Myers, I*ndirect rule in South Africa. Tradition, Modernity and the costuming of political power* (University of Rochester press, USA, 2008), pp. 1-15;
- D Arowolo, "The effects of Western Civilisation and culture on Africa", *Afro Asian Journal of Sciences*, 1(1), Quarter IV, 2010, pp. 1-13.

The American Indian Civil Rights Movement: A case study in Civil Society Protest

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Abstract

The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) of 2012 focuses on certain aspects of the social upheaval the US experienced during the 1960s and 1970s. Under the heading of "Civil society protests of the 1950s to the 1970s", grade 12 learners examine the American Civil Rights and Black Power movements, the Women's movement, and the various peace movements, of that period. However, most South African educators and students are unfamiliar with another, similar movement of the same time period, the American Indian people's movement for civil rights. Some familiarity with this movement and its historical background may offer the classroom teacher an opportunity for the enrichment of historical study and learning. Knowledge of this movement can provide a broader context for the topics specified by CAPS. The history of the Native American peoples is often neglected in the study of US history. Just as the history of the African people of South Africa has become central to a complete understanding of the development of this country, so a renaissance in the study of American Indian history has become important in history teaching and learning in the United States. In particular American race relations issues are better understood in a context of black-white-Indian issues than in terms of a simple black-white bi-polarity. Furthermore, such awareness introduces the possibility for conducting comparative historical analysis in the South African classroom.

This paper first establishes the historical background of 19th century white-Indian relations. This was a period of intermittent warfare, followed by treaty-making and the confinement of Indian people to reservations. From the 1880s onward, these reservations were all but destroyed by new government policy through the Dawes Act. The 20th century was a period of changed and changing government policy toward the Indian population. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 partially

1 I would like to thank the Gilder-Lehrman Institute of New York City, for selection as one of the participants in the seminar, "Native American History", held at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire (USA), during August 2014. Professor Colin G Calloway, of the College, conducted this seminar and authored the main seminar text. Maura Wynne, the Assistant Principal, Social Studies, at Sheepshead Bay (NY) High School, was the seminar master teacher. Mrs Trish Godlonton, the deputy administrator of Michael Mount Waldorf School has provided me with an academic home, and the opportunity to participate in the SASHT conference at the University of the Witwatersrand, October 2014, where the original version of this paper was first presented.

revived Indian tribal life. However, after the Second World War, further damage to tribal life was caused by the policy of the termination of relations between the government and the tribes. This led to the growing militancy of Indian response, in the 1960s and 1970s. The American Indian Movement (AIM) and other Indian organisations confronted the state and Federal governments, in Indian country and beyond, on reservations and in the US Supreme Court. These confrontations (from the late 1950s to the early 1970s) precisely coincide with the time period specified in CAPS. By the end of this period, the American public image of the Indian peoples had begun to change and a general awareness of Indian problems and issues began to express itself.

Keywords: Civil Rights; Civil Society; Native Americans; (Tribal) Reservations; Self-government; Sovereignty; Assimilation; Activism (Activist).

Interaction between the Native American peoples, and settlers from Europe and their descendants, constituting the white majority of the US population, is often an important but neglected theme in the study of American history. For example, American Indian activist and historian, Vine Deloria, Jr (*Yankton Dakota)* pointed out during the (1992) quincentennial of Columbus's first voyage to the western hemisphere, that what was "missing in this celebration (was)…the indigenous people" (Nabokov, 1991:XVII).

The national Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), of 2012, places the study of the US Civil Rights Movement (Black Freedom Movement) in the South African Grade 12 programme of study. This essay will provide a brief examination of American Indian people's efforts to achieve a greater measure of civil rights with-in, and alongside of, the larger American society. With this further context of American race relations, the South African educator may have the opportunity to somewhat re-orient the study of the 1960s and 1970s, a period of upheaval across the US.

Pre-twentieth century white-Indian relations[2]

The North American Indian struggle for civil rights can be said to have commenced with the arrival of the Spanish under Christopher Columbus in 1492. Columbus captured as many as two dozen *Taino* Indians and took them with him, when he returned to Spain (Brown, 1971: 2; Sale, 1991: 122). Sustained interaction between native peoples and English-speaking settlers began in 1607 with the settlement of the colony of Jamestown, in Virginia. Although some of this early contact was characterised by co-

2 The use of the term "Indian" is not without controversy. In some parts of the United States it is being supplanted by the term "Native American". However, particularly in the American West, it is still the accepted term amongst indigenous people themselves (Calloway, 2012: 11).

operation and mutual support, conflict and open warfare commenced as early as 1610 (Brown, 1971:3-4; Sale, 1991:275, 278) and dominated the period leading up to American independence, in the war of 1775-1783 (Brown, 1971:chapter one; Calloway, 2012:chapters three and four).

The first US treaty with native peoples (the Treaty of Fort Pitt) was concluded in 1778 and created a defensive alliance between the new nation and the *Delaware* Indian people of Pennsylvania (Calloway, 2012:226). Subsequent treaties generally concluded episodes of open hostility between the American government (or the white settlers) and Indian peoples. Such episodes were usually struggles for control of land. The treaties concluding them usually included land cessions by the native peoples concerned (Nabokov, 1991:117-121; Calloway, 2012:286-287). Often, these treaties would be followed by a new outbreak of hostilities as white settlers overflowed the boundaries previously agreed to. This would then be followed by new negotiations and agreements, further reducing Indian control over land. This period lasted until the US Congress ceased to negotiate further Indian treaties in 1871 on the one hand, and until open warfare ended with the "Battle" (or Massacre) of Wounded Knee in 1890, on the other.

During most of the nineteenth-century, US government policy toward the Indian population continued to include a mixture of, forced removal, open warfare, treaty-making, and confinement to reservations. This process was summed up by Buffalo Chief (*Cheyenne*), in 1867, "You [the US government representatives at the Medicine Lodge Treaty conference] give us presents, and then take our land. That produces war" (Nabokov, 1991:117).

The most notorious example of forced Indian removal was the result of the Treaty of New Echota in 1835. The agreement of some tribal leaders led to the so-called "Trail of Tears" of 1837-1838, the expulsion ("the drive-away" as some Indians called it, (Nabokov, 1991:149)) of the *Cherokee* from the south-eastern US to the Indian Territory, west of the Mississippi River, during which about a quarter of the population died of sickness or exposure (Brown, 1971:5-6; Calloway, 2012:291).[3]

Warfare on the Great Plains included a well-known series of wars against the *Sioux* nations (*Dakota* and *Lakota*). These began with "Little Crow's War"

3 The *Cherokee* were one of the so-called "Five Civilized Tribes" of the south-eastern US. They were called this because of their success in adopting European agricultural practices and other adaptations to white culture. Despite this, the US state of Georgia insisted upon, and got, their expulsion to the Indian Territory, west of the Mississippi River. Their overland trek, to this new home, resulted in the deaths of up to 25% of the tribal population (Brown, 1971:7).

in 1862 and included the Battle of the Little Big Horn (or Greasy Grass). This was the so-called "Custer's Last Stand", in which an entire detachment of Federal troops, under the command of US general George Custer, were killed to a man, by a large mixed Indian force of *Cheyenne* and *Sioux.* This period of warfare on the plains finally ended in the "battle" at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1890. Conflict during this period was punctuated by treaty-making, notably by the Medicine Lodge Treaty with the Indians of the southern Plains in 1867 and the Treaty of Fort Laramie 1868, with the *Sioux* of the northern Plains (Calloway, 2012:345, 369-384; Brown, 1971:chapters three, six, 12, 18, 19).

In the south-western desert, warfare with the Apache Indians finally ended with the surrender of the great *Chiricahua* war chief Geronimo in 1886 (Calloway, 2012:351). However, this was after the US Congress ended the policy of treaty-making with the Indian nations and so no treaty with the Apache was ever signed. They were simply assigned to reservations (Brown, 1971:chapters nine, 17).

In each of these cases, Indians were isolated from the white majority of the American people and confined to their designated reservations. The native way of life was viewed as too different and endangered to expect it would long survive in direct competition with the larger, developing (white) American society (Nabokov, 1991:147-148; Calloway, 2012:286-288). Reservation life was viewed by many whites as the only hope for the preservation of the Indian people's traditional ways of life.

However, government policy shifted in the closing decades of the century. From the 1870s onward, the US Federal government gave up the policy of isolation of the various Indian nations on tribal reservations and moved toward the assimilation of Indian peoples into the culture, society and economy of the white majority.

One part of this effort involved the establishment of Indian boarding schools across the US. The purpose of these schools was to inculcate white culture and language in the younger generation of Indians and to create a generation of "Americanized" Indians. Away from their families and off the tribal reservations, Indian children were punished for the use of their mother tongue and learned the ways and means of finding their path through the

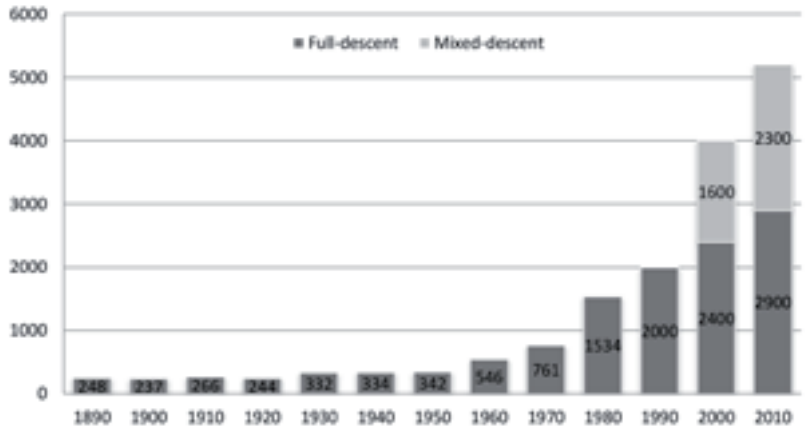
world which the white man had created (Anderson, 2007:44-46, 51-53; Nabokov, 1991:213-217).[4]

This assimilation effort was supported by the passage of the Severalty Act (the Dawes Allotment Act) in 1887. The premise of this act was that the various Indian reservations should be broken up, communal land tenure would be ended, and the land distributed to individual small-holdings. This would encourage the Indian people dwelling there-in to take up settled farming in the manner of the whites, and to give up hunting, as their primary means of sustenance. This Act resulted in a drastic reduction in the amount of Indian-held land and the increased dependence of many Indian people, on government subsidies of various kinds, as promised in the various treaties (Calloway, 2012:420-423; Nabokov, 1991:232-237).

Under these pressures, the Indian population of the US steadily declined. The pre-Columbian native population of North America has been variously estimated at between two and ten million (or more) people. It reached its lowest point in 1900 when approximately 237 000 US inhabitants were identified as Indians (Nabokov, 1991:4).

During the twentieth century, this population was to experience a remarkable recovery.

Tabel 1: Total American Indian Population (in thousands)



Source: Decennial US Census Bureau statistics.

4 One Indian student account records how "We were told never to talk Indian and if caught, we got a strapping with a leather belt" (Lone Wolf [*Blackfoot*], 1972:218). On the other hand, the father of one student at the famous Carlisle Indian School for boarders, was quoted as saying "Here are people trying to teach you. You must try to learn and when you come back home your people will be glad to see you and what you learn will be a benefit to them" (EB Childers, *Creek*, 1882:219).

The twentieth century

This, approximately fifty year long, process of assimilation culminated in the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. This act granted full US citizenship to that portion of the Indian population which had not already received it (through military service or as a result of the Dawes Act land allotments). However, as was the case for Black Americans living in the Jim Crow southern states, at this same time, federal promises of the right to vote could not always be put into practice as state governments often prevented the practical application of these rights (Calloway, 2012:446-447).

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Indian reservation life was renewed in some ways; by the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. The purpose of this Act was to restore an element of self-government to the various reservation populations. It provided for the re-establishment of limited tribal self-government, to be conducted along European lines with written constitutions and elected councils, etc. (Calloway, 2012:487, 488-491). Although this controversial measure was rejected by some (on the grounds that it was imposed by the government in Washington and that it was contrary to Indian tribal traditions of government), (Burnette & Koster, 2012:516-520), its acceptance by most tribes meant that control of most reservations was taken out of the hands of Washington-appointed (and often corrupt) Indian Bureau agents (Nabokov, 1991:324-329).

Following the Second World War, national Indian policy shifted again. Washington sought to "terminate" its official relations with the Indian nations and thus its formal role in Indian affairs. Various explanations have been given for this decision. The new commissioner of Indian affairs, in 1950, Dillon S. Myer, had supervised the detention camps which housed Japanese and Japanese-Americans, during the Second World War. These camps had been likened by many, to the German concentration camp system. Myer then came to see the Indian tribal reservations as a form of "concentration camp" which ought to be done away with (Nabokov, 1991:334). The reservations were seen, by others, as places which refused to adapt to (or rather conform to) the so-called "American Way of Life", which was under Cold War threat from the Soviet Union (Calloway, 2012:495-496). Either way, the reservation came to be seen as an anomaly in the American cultural landscape and as something to be done away with. Termination agreements were sought with tribes which were thought to be capable of sustaining themselves. Their reservations ceased to exist as independent legal entities and they were subsumed into the states

in which they were located (Calloway, 2012:496-498; Nabokov, 1991:344-347).

Related to this was the policy of voluntary re-location. Beginning in 1948, the US Federal government attempted to encourage the voluntary, subsidised transfer of as many American Indian people as possible, from their reservations to urban centres, primarily in the Western part of the US. In this way, the reservations would be gradually de-populated and their people would enter the mainstream of American urban life. Large numbers of Indians moved to cities such as St. Louis, Chicago and Denver, at least temporarily, in the pursuit of employment and a new way of life. However, some of these, disappointed with sub-standard housing conditions and the menial labour jobs available to unskilled workers from rural areas, eventually returned to their traditional reservation homes (Nabokov, 1991:348-351).

Table 2: U.S. Indian urban population (Percentage of total Indian population, living in urban areas)

Year	Percentage of the total Indian population
1890	0
1900	0.4
1910	4.5
1920	6.1
1930	9.9
1940	7.2
1950	13.4
1960	27.9
1970	44.5
1980	49
1990	56
2000	66
2010	70

Sources: Calloway, 2012; Bailey & Sturtevant, 2008; Thornton,1987.

The New Activism of the 1960s and 1970s

The 1960s were a period of rejection of the *status quo* in Indian country as elsewhere.

In June of 1961, the American Indian Chicago Conference drew representatives from 90 tribes and bands. The result was a Declaration of Indian Purpose, sent to the new US president, John F Kennedy. This Declaration contained proposals for new legislation in areas such as economic development, health, welfare, housing, education, and law enforcement. The fundamental principle which underlay these proposals was that of self-determination for the American Indian peoples. The Indian peoples' way of life and culture was to be preserved from absorption by the dominant white American culture (Declaration of Indian Purpose, 1961:4).[5]

Later that same year, the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) was established, under the leadership of, among others, Mel Thom, a young *Paiute* and Clyde Warrior (*Ponca*). The Council was born out of the frustration of youth delegates to the Chicago conference, over the perceived conservatism of the older representatives there. In its earliest period, the Council was particularly concerned to struggle alongside north-western tribes, to preserve fishing rights. It developed a particular interest in environmental issues from that point onward. The Council later supported Martin Luther King's Poor People's Campaign in 1968. Warrior, who is often compared to Malcolm X, participated in the March on Washington in 1963 and was the NIYC representative at Martin Luther King's anti-Viet Nam War march in Chicago in March of 1967 (Fluharty, 2011). Also in 1967, he presented an Indian view of poverty when, testifying before a Presidential Commission, he said that today the Indian peoples "are not free-free in the most basic sense of the word…we do not make choices. Our choices are made for us; we are the poor" (Warrior, 1967:529).

This younger generation of activists distrusted the older generation of tribal leaders, many of whom owed their positions to the structures established by the IRA of 1934 and to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Washington. Condemned as "Uncle Tomahawks", this older generation of Indian leadership were often, as much seen to be the objects of confrontation, as were the Washington-based officials (Calloway, 2012:527).

The early effort to challenge the white power structure, by the NIYC, came in 1964. They supported the *Nisqually* and *Puyallup* Indians as the tribal leaders attempted to re-claim fishing rights along the Columbia and Nisqually Rivers, in the state of Washington, in the American north-west. These rights

5 It is worth noting that the Declaration begins with a "pledge" of loyalty to the American democratic form of government and a rejection of "any alien form of government… (or) ideology". This is clearly a Cold War era statement of the rejection of Soviet communism (Declaration of Indian Purpose, 1961: inside front cover).

were guaranteed by the Medicine Creek Treaty of 1853. However, the state game and fishery officials of Washington sought to impose state laws on the tribal members. This challenge achieved a great deal of publicity (particularly as a result of the participation of the actor, Marlon Brando) through a series of "fish-ins" during which they defied state laws controlling fishing in these rivers (NIYC History; Nabokov, 1991:359, 362-363). Arrests followed, as did some prison sentences, but the local leaders also achieved some court victories (McCloud, 1991:362-366; Calloway, 2012:508). In the *Boldt* decision of 1974, the US District court upheld tribal fishing rights as originally established by treaty. Environmental damage had already reduced the practical effect of this decision, however.

In 1968, US President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Indian Civil Rights Act. This Act was passed in response to revelations of abuses by tribal governments, as raised in US Congressional hearings. The central elements of this Act were intended to apply most of the provisions of the US Bill of Rights of 1791, to American Indian tribe members. Because tribal governments had been recognized via treaties between the US federal government and tribal leaders, courts often held that Bill of Rights provisions did not apply on the reservations under tribal jurisdiction. The Act guaranteed that certain rights as freedom of speech of the press, and of assembly, the right of the accused to be represented by an attorney in criminal cases, protection against "cruel and unusual punishment", and most fundamentally, the right to "equal protection under the law" all would be available to those on, as well as off, the reservation (Northwest Justice Project, 2012:1). The effect of the Act was later somewhat diluted by the US Supreme Court decision *Santa Clara Pueblo vs. Martinez* of 1978, which limited US Federal court oversight of tribal courts.[6]

Nineteen sixty-eight also marked the beginning of the most militant Indian Rights Organisation, the American Indian Movement (AIM), led by Russell Means (*Ogallala Lakota*) and Dennis Banks (*Anishinaabe*). Advocates of "Red Power", Means and Banks, along with other AIM leaders such as Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt (*Chippewa)* became the most generally well known American Indian activist leaders of the 1960s and 1970s, as they borrowed various strategies from the Black Power Movement (Bellecourt, 1973:372-376). In particular, AIM adopted the Black Panther Party tactic of street patrols. In radio equipped cars, they shadowed police vehicles in Indian urban neighbourhoods. They then monitored the treatment of Native youths

6 Gale Encyclopedia of US History 2006, "Indian Civil Rights Act" (available at http://www.answers.com/topic/indian-civil-rights-act, as accessed on 20 November 2014).

arrested by the police, in an effort to curb incidents of excessive force in such arrests.

The 1960s ended with what was probably the most dramatic demonstration of the new Indian activist trend, the illegal occupation of the former federal prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay (Fortunate Eagle, 1991:367-370). This occupation lasted from November 1969 until the removal of the last protestors, by US marshals, in June 1971. During that period, a changing series of both Indian leaders and participants, and government negotiators were involved. During the occupation, the group on the island issued a "Proclamation to the Great White Father and to All 'His' People" (Calloway, 2012:532).

The next decade included several note-worthy demonstrations and other public activities, all intended to bring the needs and demands of the native community before the larger American public.

In 1970, in November, on Thanksgiving Day, at the site of the supposed "first thanksgiving", Plymouth, Massachusetts, Indian activists declared a "National Day of Mourning".

In the autumn of 1972, leaders organised a "Trail of Broken Treaties" to bring together native participants from different parts of the US, to converge on the national capital in Washington. This march led to the unplanned, six-day occupation of the headquarters building of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the presentation of the planned list of demands, the "Twenty Points". In this document, AIM and other activists called for the abolition of the BIA, the review of all treaties, greater protection for Indian culture and a renewed commitment by the Federal government to the restoration of Indian community life, socially and economically (Calloway, 2012:548).

In 1973, the *Ogallala Sioux* (*Lakota*) nation declared its independence from the US in an attempt to re-assert national sovereignty. Before that year was out, the US government was confronted with the most direct challenge to its authority since the end of the military period of US-Indian relations in 1890. Traditional leaders engaged in a challenge to the administration of tribal council president, Richard Wilson. They enlisted the support of AIM who arrived at the Pine Ridge reservation along with about two hundred supporters. They met a force of US federal marshals and FBI agents at Wounded Knee. The resultant stand-off lasted more than two months. Enormous press coverage was generated, but at the cost of several wounded, and two dead

Indian activists (Calloway, 2012:550-551; Crow Dog, 1991:573-575). The end of the siege was finally negotiated after the intervention of a US Senator, and the disputed Wilson tribal administration was later brought to an end (Nabokov, 1991:362).

Issues of women's liberation entered the Indian rights movement as they did the Black freedom movement and the anti-war movement of the same period. In 1974, Women of All Red Nations (WARN) was established. This was partly in response to a degree of marginalisation experienced by Indian women who were part of AIM. Leaders such as Janet McCloud were involved in issues from the north-west Indian fishing rights campaign to the renewal of native spirituality (Trahant, 1999). They took up several issues of particular interest to Indian women, including the sterilisations of native women by the Indian Health Service. This practice was a hold-over from the much earlier era of eugenics activity, but did not entirely end on the reservations, until the 1970s (Johansen, 2011).

Conclusion

One might ask, how did it happen that this American Indian movement for civil rights arose at the same time as the American Black Freedom and other similar movements? It is to be expected that a certain synergy developed amongst the many activist movements of that era, during the 1960s and 1970s in the US. These different movements learned from one another, borrowing tactics and taking advantage of the increasing opportunities for mutual support. The exposure offered by electronic media such as television, made the struggles of women, black Americans and anti-war activists common knowledge in Indian country and beyond. However, American Indian peoples endured unique pressures in post-war America. The disintegration of tribal and reservation life generated first by land allotment, and then by tribal termination, caused the rapid deterioration of many tribal bonds. This was added to the larger social pressure of American society, from which Native Americans were not immune or even isolated. Thus, the question is not, why there was an Indian civil rights struggle in the 1960s and 1970s, but why did it take so long to surface?

The American Indian Civil Rights movement and its historical background are of some relevance to grade 11 learners and their teachers. The study of race and racist thinking in the 19th century may be opened up by an examination

of some aspects of the treatment of American native peoples by the US Federal government. This would be worthy of a further study.

However, this movement has most direct relevance to those in Grade 12 and their instructors. The CAPS document particularly points to the Black Freedom Movement, the Women's movement and the peace movements as the specific, examinable sub-topics under Civil Society Protest.

The American Indian movement will provide the classroom teacher with useful points of comparison to the Black struggle for civil rights. As has been seen, there are some direct points of contact between these movements. Some individual Indian leaders sought to participate, as Indian leaders, in the larger struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, as led by such figures as Martin Luther King, Jr. Others consciously copied the tactics of groups like the Black Panthers. Indian women, like African American women at the same time, began to wrestle with their dual identities as women, and as members of a minority group within a larger, discriminatory society.

It is also worthwhile to address the question of the disparity of response, by the larger American society toward the black freedom struggle, and the seemingly parallel efforts of Native Americans. For several years, the white majority of the US was caught up by the black struggle for social equality, with millions riveted by the images on the nightly television news reports. The Indian Civil Rights Movement never received the support of such a mass audience, however.

This difference may flow from a number of sources. Perhaps the Indian movement's lack of charismatic leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr. or Malcolm X helped to diminish its public profile. Clyde Warrior, for instance, died of alcohol abuse while still in his twenties. Some others, such as Russell Means, moved off the national stage into tribal politics at least for a time. Of course this raises the question, did the lack of media attention itself prevent the rise of such a leader to public prominence? Were such leaders present, but ignored by the mass media; what came first, the media attention, or the leader?

Then there was always a great disparity of numbers between the two campaigns. During the 1960s, black Americans were approximately 10 percent of the total US population. Most white Americans came into contact with some black people, on a daily basis. The 1963 March on Washington numbered nearly a quarter of a million participants (Kenworthy, 1963:12)

while the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan counted only about 500 participants in Washington, in 1972. As has been seen, the American Indian population represented less than one half of one percent during the 1960s. Relatively few whites ever saw an American Indian person beyond a few western states (or apart from a movie theatre, or on television, in a cowboy western). Did the black American liberation struggle represent the efforts of a people who seemed more "real" and known to the majority of Americans, while the Indians seemed more distant and perhaps "fictional"?

Finally, were the two movements different in a way which made the black liberation struggle seem less threatening? At the beginning of their struggle, African American leaders recognised their status as the directors of the movement of a definite minority within American society. They sought co-operation and support, by appealing to the collective conscience of the white majority. This was to change for many white Americans, after the violence of the late 1960s. However, many Indian leaders tended to be more confrontational, from earlier on. They may have been drawing on a centuries' long collective memory of armed struggle by Indian polities and sovereignties against white power structures in North America. As one Indian leader said, "Indian people are nations, not minorities" (Calloway, 2012:640). In their approach to the dominant American society, they insisted on being recognised as such.

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History textbooks facing controversial issues – case study of the Martial law in Poland

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Abstract

Martial law is one of the most controversial periods in the post-WWII history of Poland. Introduced on December 13, 1981 it ended the 16-month-long "festival of Solidarity". Official reasons for its imposition were to prevent further degradation of Poland's economy and social structures, but a threat of Soviet military intervention was also suggested. The opposition activists perceived it as an attempt of the totalitarian regime to save its falling position with the use of most brutal methods, unknown in Poland since the Stalinist period. The article is based on the analysis of contemporary Polish school history textbooks for all levels of education. It aims to present the strategies adopted by the textbook authors to deal with this controversial issue. The author will attempt to find answers to the following questions: Do the text book authors notice the controversies? Do they show one or more points of view? Do they ask students about their own opinions or about the opinions of their friends or relatives? Are the textbooks open for different interpretations or do they, explicitly or implicitly, prefer only one? How emotional is the text and other materials? How have the textbooks changed since the collapse of the communist regime in 1989?

Keywords: Education under communism; Post-communism; Poland; Martial law; History textbooks; Controversies in education; Education reforms.

Introduction

Dealing with controversial issues is a common practice for today's historiography. Reflections on history, memory and historical memory lead to the conclusion that (almost) all reconstructions of the past are questionable and unstable, as they are only reconstructions, based on memories (that themselves may be far from the "truth" about what actually happened) placed in carriers (after selecting what should be remembered and what should be forgotten) that are used by historians as historical sources (interpretation of which can be distorted in multiple ways). As a result, the role of history

(and of a historian) has changed. Its task has shifted from establishing one, "scientifically approved" version of: "what did happen?" to presenting multiple perspectives on: "how can it be remembered and why?" – which obviously involves dealing with different memories and interpretations of the past (Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003:1-21).

The aim of this article is to analyse the changing image of the Martial law of 1981-1983 in the Polish history school textbooks in the last two decades. On the one hand, the Martial law is treated as a case study that reflects general trends of school education reforms in Poland after the collapse of the communist regime. On the other hand, some ways of dealing with the Martial law, taken from the Polish textbooks can serve as examples of good practice in teaching controversial issues in general.

Why the case study of the Martial law?

The Martial law of 1981-1983 is one of the most memorable and at the same time controversial events of contemporary Polish history. According to the opinion polls, more than 70 percent of the adult population recognised the date of 13 December (1981) as an anniversary of its imposition. And most people, at least over twenty years old, have clear judgment about general Jaruzelski's decision to introduce the Martial law. Until recently, more than half of the Poles found it justified, while about 30 percent thought contrarily (Newsweek. Poland, 2011).

What is controversial about the Martial law?

The most important question about the Martial law pertains to reasons and goals: whether it was aimed to save Poland, particularly from the Soviet or the Warsaw Pact intervention, or merely to save the communist system and the privileges of the communist elite. In the opinion polls, the Poles choose also such options as: to prevent the civil war and/or decomposition of the country, to destroy democracy, to destroy "Solidarity", but also to rescue the Polish economy or to move towards a national reconciliation (Gazeta Wyborcza, 2006; Pacewicz, 2007; Newsweek. Poland, 2011).

Researchers who examined the Moscow archives argue that the Soviets had no intention to use their army in Poland and wanted their Polish comrades to

solve the "Solidarity" problem themselves.[1] That would suggest that general Jaruzelski in fact exercised the Soviet will and his intention was to save the regime and his own position both in Poland and in the Soviet Union (otherwise he could have been replaced by another Polish communist, more submissive to Brezhnev's demands), and not to save his country.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski is therefore one controversial figure in the Martial law context. Another one is Colonel Ryszard Kukliński, an officer of the General Staff of the Polish Army who collaborated with the American intelligence since the early 1970s. He provided the Americans with thousands of top-secret documents of the Warsaw Pact, including the plans to introduce the Martial law in Poland. He fled from Warsaw in December 1981 and settled in the United States under the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) protection. A military court in Poland sentenced him to death for treason, in *absentia* in a secret trial. He regarded himself, contrarily, as a Polish patriot who acted to the detriment of the Warsaw Pact and of the Soviet occupant. If I refer to opinion polls again, we will see that the Poles are divided whether he was a traitor or a hero (Kurski, 2005; Rzeczpospolita, 2007).

Another controversy deals with the results of the Martial law: should it be noticed that the bloodshed and persecutions in general were rather limited, or should it be stressed that they should not appear at all in the civilized world. According to the findings of Andrzej Paczkowski (2007:270), about 20 people were victims of the Martial law, most of whom lost their lives in the first days.[2] Paczkowski further enumerates that 2874 people were put into detention centres during the first Martial law night of December 12/13, 1981; 5179 before December 22, and over ten thousand during the whole period between December 1981 and July 1983. Over 11 thousand more were arrested for political crimes, of whom about 5100 were sentenced to imprisonment (1396 by military courts). Almost 140 000 people were sentenced in shortened trials by special boards judging petty offences. Before December 22, 6307 people were asked to sign "loyalty oaths" at the police offices (refusal to sign resulted in detention). Probably about 55 800 employers lost their jobs, many others were degraded at work, among them many members of judicial staff, journalists, teachers and researchers (Paczkowski, 2007:45, 91, 98, 103-109). Statistics obviously omit all those who lost their lives or health not for political reasons, but due to Martial law regulations when e.g. ambulances could not

1 This was proclaimed already in 1990s as one of the conclusions of the research made in the Moscow archives in 1992 by Vladimir Bukovsky (1999). According to this materials, it was Jaruzelski who asked for the Soviet aid if the Polish forces failed, and not the Soviet leaders who offered it.

2 Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (2006) gives higher estimates.

come in emergency, because telephones did not work.

Why in the textbooks?

First, textbooks in Poland, like in many other countries, have been for a long time a dominating "pedagogical tool", used every day by virtually all teachers and students. Hence, those books have a huge impact on the teaching process (Johnsen, 1993:164), but also on society in general,[3] and in case of history textbooks – impact on collective memory (Johnsen, 1993:173).

Second, textbooks become a powerful tool of educational policy for those who control them (Johnsen,1993:69,106) and of the "politics of memory" in case of historical textbooks (Karlsson, 2007:18). They can tell us if and how the authorities tried to "weave a national historical narrative" (Rodgers, 2008:88). In the countries where textbooks are state-controlled, they have a status of an official, detailed interpretation of school curricula, and of the whole world as seen by the policymakers. Therefore textbooks can be regarded as documents of the policymakers' intentions.[4]

Third, at the same time (not always deliberately) they reflect the real world in which they were created and that can be found hidden behind those intentional, official, "ideal" elements. This is how they become a historical source of their times (Sénécheau, 2006; Johnsen, 1993:114,118,133; Shapiro, 1997; Landau-Czajka, 2002:6-9).

How can school education present controversial issues?

There are two major ways of dealing with controversial historical problems at school. According to the traditional one, that dominated under the communist regime, historical education should avoid controversial subjects and concentrate on proven facts and interpretations. Once it chooses them, they should be presented in the "objective" manner, with no doubts or alternative versions, using the authority of scholar achievements (Majorek, 1994:291).

In modern concepts of historical education much more attention is paid to familiarizing students with the ways how the past is reconstructed and with

3 "Textbooks made Japanese", states Galan (2008, 191). He also admits that "Japanese pupils rather than learning by means of their textbooks, have learned the textbooks, themselves". To certain extent it might be true also in case of Poland. See also Johnsen (1993:132-134) and Galan (2008:195).

4 This concept was the basis of the research on propaganda on primary school textbooks in the People's Poland by Wojdon (2000). Cf. Liskovskaya & Karpov (1999, 524) and Rodden (2005).

all the aforementioned nuances and multiperspectivity (Stradling, 2003). Historians' authority is used to show the effective means of reconstructing the past rather than to make pupils accept certain interpretations.

Passing from the former to the latter vision of school history corresponded with political changes in Poland. It can be best illustrated on the conceptual level, by the changes in school curricula. A section about the collapse of the Roman Empire in the 1977 curriculum (Instytut Programów Szkolnych, 1997:280) enumerated issues to be presented: "Internal decomposition of the empire. Eastern and Western Empires. Migration Period. Border defense. Barbarian invasions", while in 2008 (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, 2008) it expects that a learner will "present the main historiographical concepts regarding the reasons of the collapse of the Roman Empire".

How were the reforms of 1989-1999 implemented into textbook practice?

Before 1989 there was only one officially approved set of history textbooks for each level of education, published by one publishing house, and usually by one author for several years. The Martial law appeared only in the chronological appendix to the primary school textbook, and all a pupil could learn about it was: "1981: Imposition of the Martial law. Economic sanctions of the Western countries against Poland ... 1983: The Martial law revoked. Amnesty for the underground activists" (Szcześniak, 1984:398-399).[5] The main text of this book ended in July 1981, which was anyway much further than in the secondary school where, in accordance with the national curriculum (Instytut Programów Szkolnych, 1984:34-39), the closing date was set a decade earlier.

After the collapse of the communist regime in Poland in 1989, some old textbooks were re-written, omitting most striking propaganda accents. Only a few new books were published.[6] Neither school history nor education in general underwent revolutionary changes after the collapse of the communist regime in Poland. There were no actions like in post-WWII Japan where pupils tore out textbook pages with politically incorrect elements (Galan, 2008:189-191). One should keep in mind that the end of the communist rule in Poland was a result of the compromise between the communist and opposition leaders. This is why in many areas (including education) old solutions were

5 In the next edition of this book (Szcześniak, 1986), the Martial law is presented exactly in the same way.

6 Parker (2003:163-164) points to economical reasons for such a situation: Reprinting old textbooks with some minor changes was much cheaper for the publishers who had to struggle on the newly-opened free market, with state subsidies withdrawn.

not condemned or discontinued immediately.[7]

New interpretations of the past events were the first to be introduced, before any revolutionary changes of the concept or system of education. In a 1990 edition of a secondary school textbook (Pankowicz, 1990:278), a pupil could read that "at the night of December 12/13 the State Council, 'according to art. 33, point 2 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland' [my emphasis], introduced the Martial law on the entire territory of Poland. Military Council of National Liberation was established, under the chairmanship of general Wojciech Jaruzelski". If he repeated the class, the following year he would learn (from a book by the same author (Pankowicz, 1991:298-299) that 'at the night of December 12/13 Military Council of National Liberation gained control over entire territory of Poland. With general Wojciech Jaruzelski in charge, "it was an unconstitutional and therefore self-appointed body". Although the interpretations differed significantly, both were presented as the only possible ones: with no sign of doubts and without mentioning the changes that were introduced. The only slight reference to possible different interpretations was a list of four or five recommended additional readings – with only one book common for both editions.

Another secondary school textbook (Tusiewicz, 1994:283) adopted more open an attitude. Already in an introduction to a chapter entitled "'Solidarity' and the Martial law" it was mentioned that the Martial law is a controversial issue. Nine "problems for discussion" were presented at the end of the unit (Tusiewicz, 1994:323). More than a half of them dealt somehow with the Martial law controversies. The following problem statements were posed: 'What important mistakes did the "Solidarity" trade union make in 1981? Was it possible to avoid them? Try to judge the decision about introduction, of the Martial law. Consider the circumstances and consequences of this decision. Compare the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968-1969 and in Poland between August 1980 and July 1983. Present the attitude of the Catholic Church in the period of 1980-1983. Prepare a balance of economical phenomena that appeared or developed at the beginning of 1980s.

Only after ten years, in 1999, a large-scale reform of education was introduced by the right-centrist government of Jerzy Buzek. It went far beyond corrections of wording in school textbooks (Parker, 2003).

7 Poland is not an exception in a difficult process of settling with the past and building democracy simultaneously. May (2005, 226) points to the examples of Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Mexico, Salvador, Guatemala, Panama and Haiti. South Africa can also be mentioned here.

First, the new organizational system of education was introduced, with primary schooling shortened from eight to six years, a three-year long lower secondary level introduced for the pupils aged between thirteen and sixteen, and the duration of upper secondary education shortened from four to three years.

Second, national exams were set after each level of education, with uniform requirements, standards and procedures for the whole country. History was a part of a general test after primary school and of the "humanities" section after lower secondary level – compulsory in both cases. At the upper secondary level it was an optional, yet separate, examination subject.

Third, the system of textbooks approval changed.[8] Teachers could use any books they wanted during their lessons (or could use no books at all). However, the status of an "officially approved" textbook prevailed. The Ministry of Education placed a book on the official list when it received three positive reviews from professional historians and specialists in methodology of teaching history, and another one from a linguistic expert (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, 1999).[9]

Fourth, new national curricula for all the school subjects were introduced. They reflected a completely new philosophy of education and were much less detailed than the ones developed under the communist regime. They provided only general guidance concerning the goals of education, with emphasis put on developing skills rather than instilling knowledge and gave a lot of autonomy to textbook developers and to the teachers who were supposed to adjust them to the schoolchildren's capabilities and needs.

History education after the reform and the controversies regarding the Martial law

History was to be taught on all levels of education. An introductory course started at the 4th grade (addressed to 10 year-olds). At primary school, history was combined into one subject with civic education, taught one or two lessons a week[10] which did not leave too much time for an in-depth analysis

8 Similar changes were introduced in other post-communist states (Kovacs, 2000; Rodgers, 2008, 90;), while in the western Europe, according to Cajani (2009), the textbook policy is even more liberal, and a system of officially approved textbooks has been abandoned by many countries.

9 Today, it is the Ministry that chooses the experts from the list and that pays their honoraria (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, 2009).

10 Four hours during three years, which meant any combination of 1 lesson in the 4th grade, 2 in the 5th, 1 in the 6th, or 1+1+2, or 2+1+1 respectively.

of historical events. The national curriculum formulated very few compulsory historical facts to be mentioned, not necessarily in the chronological order. That is why one of the analysed primary school textbooks did not mention the Martial law at all (curriculum did not require it), other did not devote more than one whole page to this topic. Unlike under communism, however, there were plenty of books to choose from that varied significantly in their content, structure and layout.

It was the lower secondary school where pupils were supposed to learn the first systematic, chronological course of history (taught as a separate subject, twice a week), starting with pre-historic times and ending with the most recent events. Textbooks covering the period of 1980s were assigned to the third grade, of sixteen-year-olds.

The authors usually devoted some space between a half and five pages to the Martial law and more willingly noticed divergent points of view – usually referring to memories of different participants of the events.

Two textbooks presented the memoirs of the 1981 events written by communist and opposition activists. Thus, some lower secondary school textbooks made pupils aware that different people may recall different aspects of the Martial law. An interesting method to show that one's viewpoint may depend on his occupation was an exercise with a photograph of a police unit ready for action. A pupil's task was to decide what title the photo could have if it appeared in an official, underground or foreign newspaper. This undoubtedly would be more exciting and at the same time beneficial for learners than simply putting the same picture with a description "police unit before action", as it appeared in two other books.

Another textbook encouraged pupils to collect memories of their relatives and other older people and to draw a comic about the Martial law in their village/town/city. An indirect way of using divergent memories was discussions among pupils on some aspects of the Martial law. The subjects for discussions proposed in the textbooks usually concentrated on the universal issues of the moral aspects of politics: whether authorities have the right to sacrifice civic freedoms in order to defend the country as a whole or what the effects of the Martial law were. A 'what-if' question that appeared in one of the books is worth noticing: what if the plans of limited military operations presented by Jaruzelski failed (would he give up or rather use more severe methods, hence who should be praised for the relatively low numbers of casualties: the regime that limited the military operations or the people who chose peaceful methods

of resistance). It is the only question of this type in the analysed texts, and the only reflection on the level of bloodshed beyond the bare statement about several people who were killed during the Martial law.

The upper secondary school history course, taught during two lessons a week, was supposed to be based on the knowledge acquired at the lower levels. Upper secondary school textbooks depicted the Martial law in the most sophisticated way. They provided pupils with many more factual details, dates, numbers and other data, and traced the road to the Martial law from at least autumn 1980. They also used much more different sources of divergent opinions.

Interviews with parents, other relatives or with any people old enough to remember the Martial law were often set as students' tasks. Subjective, personal dimensions of history was therefore shown. One step further, if compared to lower secondary schools, was to ask pupils to reflect on the quality of such sources (Radziwiłł & Roszkowski, 2002:298) which – under the teacher's guidance – could result in more general reflections on history and memory.

Other dilemmas of historians dealing with controversial material that may lead to divergent conclusions were also presented. The authors suggested, for example, that historians in general are (and probably will be) unable to solve the Martial law puzzle – especially the question of the Soviet threat, but also of the real intentions of the people in charge of the Polish United Workers' Party and of the Polish state. They showed the problems of the quality and availability of the sources, some of which were destroyed or ill-prepared from the very beginning. There was an exercise with putting pupils into someone's shoes: a simulation of the decision-making process of the authorities, whether or not to introduce the Martial law, using a decision-tree.

Debates on morality and politics were also proposed, like the judgment of general Jaruzelski's or the Catholic Church's attitude in 1981 and 1982, or can the 1989 compromise with the opposition excuse the communists' sins of the past. Not only the communists' deeds of 1980s were a subject of discussion and assessment, but also those performed by "Solidarity", especially regarding its rhetoric, more and more radical and targeting not only the Polish society, but also the working class of other Eastern European states. Didn't it provoke the oppressive reaction of the regime?

One thing that was almost completely missing in the picture of the Martial law in the analysed textbooks was the emotions – while teaching, and history

teaching in particular, is not a only rational process, but also an emotional one.[11] Using emotions in the teaching-learning process helps engage students and develops their emotional intelligence (Historical Association, 2007:8). Emotions could probably be present in the interviews and during the class debates, but textbooks were just factual, while the events of 13 December 1981 had been indeed dramatic.

In 2008 the project of a new educational reform was adopted by the Polish parliament. The most important change in history education was moving the post-1918 period from the last grade of lower to the first grade of upper secondary school. As a result, the Martial law is taught twice: at primary school to 12 year-olds, and in secondary school to 16 year-olds.

Little has changed in primary school textbooks regarding their presentation of the Martial law. They are as authoritarian in style as before, but more critical about the communist regime. Secondary school textbooks have changed significantly. Only two out of five analysed books published after 2010 mention any existing controversies. Others, like in the "very old school", provide students with just one interpretation, critical about Jaruzelski and his military junta. No questions are asked that could raise any discussion and no emotions appear. Colonel Kukliński is mentioned more often than before, but only to inform readers that he passed the regime's plans on to CIA. Nobody asks if it is good to collaborate with the foreign secret service. No textbook mentions any debates about him.

Of the two textbooks that present controversies about the Martial law, one does it in a form of a fictional Internet forum where one of the participants is mentioning the notion of the Martial law as a 'lesser evil' that saved Poland from the Soviet invasion (Brzozowski, 2012:249). The reply message argues that historians have proved that there were no plans of the Soviet invasion and therefore this argument is groundless. It is doubtful that such a form of presenting contradictory opinions may evoke real discussion. Only the book by Dariusz Stola (2012:204) tries to help pupils understand the arguments of supporters of the Martial law.[12] Moreover, it is the only one that refers to external sources of information. Students are asked to enumerate arguments for and against the Martial law raised in the public debate.

11 I wish to thank John Hamer for this remark.

12 In another textbook they are presented in a way that does not leave any room for doubts or discussion, like in the task: "Present the official and real reasons of introducing the Martial law" (Dolecki, Gutowski & Smoleński, 2012:364).

Conclusions and other comments on the textbooks

Educational reforms, new textbook policy and the development of the market economy in Poland after 1989 brought tens of history textbooks available for each grade (by today the offer is smaller as only four to five large publishing houses have survived on the market). Interpretation of the past (including controversial events) varied between the authors. The influence of a single textbook apparently diminished if compared to the communist times. So, did the interference of the state in the teaching process. On the other hand, the role of a teacher grew significantly and his/her position changed: from a "propagandist" whose task was to transfer the only official textbook version of the past to the masses – to an independent creator of the teaching-learning process who can freely choose sources, interpretations and teaching methods.[13]

Transformation from the communist dictatorship to democracy in Poland meant the adoption of many elements of the western model(s) of education. They included multitude of textbooks, freedom of teacher's choice, emphasis on developing learners' skills and on critical analysis of different sources of information. Growing popularity of active methods of learning followed that was also reflected in the new examination procedures.

However, the most recent reform of education seems to step back from some of these achievements. Inclusion of the recent findings of historiography in the most recent school textbooks, that discredit the regime's arguments in support of the Martial law, should be appreciated. On the other hand, the new texts are more authoritarian in style than they used to be in the previous decade. Whether it is due to the younger age of the readers, the more detailed curriculum or less space in textbooks, from the didactical point of view it is a regression.

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13 Recent surveys prove that Polish teachers generally approve freedom of choosing textbooks although some would prefer if the choice was limited to three to four publishers (Pańko & Wojdon, 2010:93-130).

14 A number of other school textbooks were analysed that are not cited in this reference list. Only the ones that are cited in the main text are mentioned. Readers are welcome to contact the author if they seek more information on these sources.

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Hands-on articles

Inpsiring History learners: Getting the recipe right in the History classroom

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Abstract

History teachers work on techniques and methods to inspire learners. If the teacher gets the recipe right in the classroom, history learners will enjoy and apply themselves to the subject, their understanding of content will increase, and they will acquire the necessary skills to achieve results. A technique used to inspire learners beyond the confines of the covers of a textbook, will be shared. The technique includes inviting outside speakers to share their curriculum-relevant personal stories and experiences with learners in the classroom. It will be argued that the value of introducing other 'voices' into the history classroom to enrich teaching and learning is only effective if underpinned by an ethos which advocates active citizenship, reinforced by a passionate teacher with subject specific knowledge, in a classroom structured to facilitate critical conversation.

Keywords: Techniques and methods; History teaching; Curriculum; Outside speakers; Ethos, classroom layout; Subject-specific knowledge; History learners.

Get the context right first

If a teacher gets the "recipe right" in applying techniques and methods to inspire history learners, it will translate into learners applying themselves to the subject, understanding of content will increase, as will their grasp of the required skills the subject teaches. This will impact positively on assessment results. Buy-in for the subject will increase as the inspired students become the most influential marketing agent for the subject. This holds true especially with the teaching of History.

Weber (1982, as cited in Smith & Laslett, 2002:25) uses two useful concepts to analyse the milieu / environment within which relationships develop and in which learners are actively engaged in learning, namely "encouragement" and "momentum". He defines "encouragement" as an affirmation of belief in the learner's potential and capacity to do better, and which is demonstrated by the enthusiasm which permeates the teachers planning and presentation. It combines the ability to transmit a personal fascination with the subject being taught and a genuine enjoyment of the company of the learners to whom it is being taught. "Momentum" he defines as the learner's realisation of an ability to cope and capacity to achieve in a subject, promoted by a teacher's skill in ensuring that all learners have sufficient experience of success to generate self-motivation.

The application of these two concepts is what defines an effective teacher, effective classroom management, and results in an effective classroom milieu. It is not a single attribute which a teacher either has or does not have, but is a product of a combination of skills, knowledge and understanding (Smith & Laslett, 2002:iii). The most important aspects in creating a good classroom milieu/environment, where teaching and learning are enhanced, can be found embedded in the concepts of encouragement and momentum engendered by an effective history teacher.

Sharing personal stories, inviting outside speakers into the classroom

A technique used to inspire learners and their interest in history as a subject, is to invite outside speakers into the classroom to share their curriculum-relevant personal stories with the class. In some respects this technique exposes the learners to a form of "Oral History". It does not matter that the individual teacher may evidence all the highly effective "traits" of a teacher (McEwan, 2002), the learners in the class still love nothing better than to hear a different voice.

However, introducing other voices into the history classroom to enrich teaching and learning, is only effective if underpinned by an ethos which advocates active citizenship, reinforced by a passionate teacher with subject specific knowledge, in a classroom structured to facilitate critical conversation.

Active agency is informed by an ethos

A history teacher is not an island unto him/herself, but should be an agent of influence and change to enhance teaching and learning. This active agency is informed by an ethos. The ethos, for South African history teachers, is underpinned by the constitutional imperative to affirm the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom, and to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the Bill of Rights (Chapter Two, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108, 1996). Emerging from this constitutional imperative, and part of the ethos, is subject specific policy and pedagogic imperatives. With respect to History as a subject, the continuing work reflected in the *Manifesto On Values, Education and Democracy* (2001:4) argues that "putting History back into the curriculum is a means of nurturing critical inquiry and forming an historical consciousness", stressing that promoting a strong study of the past is a particular educational imperative in a country like South Africa, which is itself consciously remaking its current history (Brookbanks, 2013). The *Manifesto On Values, Education and Democracy*, which serves to underpin education reform in South Africa post 1994, concludes that, when taught by imaginative teachers, the richness of History has a bigger capacity than any other discipline, to promote reconciliation and reciprocal respect of a meaningful kind, because it encourages a knowledge of the other, the unknown and the different. It is History in this modern sense that Williams (1976, as cited in Brookbanks, 2013) had in mind when he emphasised that, in different hands, it teaches or shows one most kinds of knowable past and almost every kind of imaginable future.

At a macro level, legislative, policy and pedagogic imperatives underpin the ethos of a teacher in a classroom. They are further defined at a micro level, by the Mission Statement and Motto of individual schools. By illustration, the mission statement of the school at which the writer is employed, states *inter alia*: "Our mission is to be a South African public co-educational high school providing education … contributing to the ongoing development of our country". The Mission Statement claims further:

> *We are committed to ... An atmosphere where each members from such diverse backgrounds feels equally part of the school ... A multi-cultural community characterized by mutual respect, inclusivity and tolerance … providing equal opportunities for boys and girls.*

It commits to an education which:

> *Recognises and develops the unique potential of each individual to the fullest, encourages an open, analytical and questioning approach to life ... Engenders a balance between rights and responsibilities … and, provides for the fullest possible all-round, balanced development of each learner.*

The *motto* of the school is Nil Nisis Optimum, which means "Nothing but the best" (Westerford, 2014).

The conscious and practical implementation of this ethos, by a history teacher, will impact on all aspects of inter-personal engagement between teacher and learners. Jansen (as cited in Heystek, 2008:66) argues "schools have a culture – it is a collection of attitudes, values and (therefore) behaviour (of teachers and learners) that define and distinguish productive schools (and therefore classroom environments)". According to Brown and Desmond (as cited in Heystek, 2008:66), this collection of attitudes, values and behaviour which often operate unconsciously, fashion an organisation's view of itself, and its environment. It is the underpinning ethos. Manipulating the argument by Heystek (2008:90), learners in action during the process of learning should increasingly be conscious of values, principles and moral purpose in the classroom and should operate as an orchestra playing harmoniously to the tune of the conductor, the teacher. The musical score, through which the conductor guides the individual and collective instrumentalists, is the ethos.

Passion, enthusiasm and subject-specific knowledge of the history teacher

An aspect of creating a good classroom milieu/environment "within which relationships develop" (Smith & Laslett, 2002:14), is the subject-specific knowledge and passion for the subject exhibited by the teacher. Weber (1982), in defining the concept "encouragement", refers to the enthusiasm which permeates the teacher's planning and presentation. It combines the ability to transmit a personal fascination with the subject being taught. Infused with a definable ethos, the cement which binds together all aspects of a good classroom environment is the enthusiasm for the subject being engaged with. The enthusiasm the teacher brings into the classroom supports learning and shows both knowledge and passion. This falls within the distinct category of "intellectual traits that demonstrate knowledge, curiosity and reflection" for effective teachers, identified by McEwan (2002:3).

It is a travesty, for a multiplicity of reasons which are not the subject of this

analysis, that many teachers do not evidence subject-related knowledge or a passion for the subject they teach. Some teachers may have subject-related knowledge, but do not have the ability to impart such knowledge. Coe *et al.* (2014:2), in their recent study of what makes great teaching, argue there is strong evidence that where effective teachers have deep knowledge of the subjects they teach, this has an impact on learner outcomes. In the case of a History classroom, the deep subject-related knowledge should be underpinned with passion for the subject. It is an unfortunate reality, in both the formal schooling environment and at tertiary institutions, that some employed to teach have great intellectual capacity and subject knowledge, but little ability to impart such evident knowledge in either an understandable or inspiring manner. There are also examples of teachers who are passionate about their subject, but are not adequately knowledgeable in the subject they teach.

To maintain a classroom environment that supports learning, subject-specific knowledge and passion for the subject have to be shown by the teacher. Referring back to Weber's (1982) concept of "encouragement", how does this concept permeate the teacher's planning and presentation and combine the ability of the teacher to transmit a personal fascination with the subject, unless the teacher has both a subject-specific knowledge "and" passion for the subject? It is the combination of the two, knowledge and passion, which enables a teacher to inspire learners so that valuable learning takes place within the classroom environment. This is alluded to by Badenhorst (1987:94) when he argues that a teacher must stimulate the (learners) and inspire the (learners) in a creative way. Ryan (cited in Badenhorst, 1987) identifies qualities which characterise effective teachers such as their being stimulating and creative, as against dull and monotonous. This resonates with personal traits referred to by McEwan (2002) that signify characteristics of effective teachers.

The output of the classroom milieu/environment is learning, which is an experience which goes far beyond the confines of either a textbook or the explicit content of the curriculum. It is the teacher's knowledge and passion for the subject which facilitates the engagement with learning as well as ability to communicate with, or "get" learners. This is supported by Badenhorst (1987:94) when he argues that for a teacher to lead and accompany learners on an intellectual journey, the teacher will "have to master extensive knowledge of the … subject that he teaches". This acquisition of knowledge is not a once-off development, but an ongoing process of active learning by the teacher. In this context, a culture of mediocrity should not be accepted in a school where

excellence and quality in education are the vision (Heystek, *et al.*, 2008:59). Heystek further argues that teachers, with subject knowledge and passion, need to strive to be great, rather than good, to be at the cutting edge of service delivery in teaching and learning in an effective classroom environment.

Classroom layout

A further aspect of creating a good classroom milieu/environment "within which relationships develop" (Smith & Laslett, 2002:14) is the classroom layout and the walls which contain it. The "cocoon" within which learning takes place differs from primary to high schools. The subject of this analysis is a high school, more specifically a History classroom in a high school, in which the size of each class averages 34 students.

Good and Brophy (as cited in Smith & Laslett, 2002:21) argue that in a traditionally laid out classroom for whole class teaching, in which desks are in rows, the teacher's attention tends to focus on a limited "action zone" in the front and middle rows. This, they further argue, limits the visibility of learners outside the central area, where the quiet and reserved child fades into anonymity. The traditional layout of desks in rows is not conducive to active and engaged learning in a History classroom, in which learners are encouraged to express their opinions, hear and interact with ideas and understandings expressed by their peers, and engage with information provided in many different forms by the teacher. Desks in rows results in voices being silenced, due to the consequence of addressing the backs of others heads.

Waterhouse (as cited in Smith & Laslett, 2002:23) refers to the layout of desks in a U-shape, as a "peripheral system". The learners' desks or tables are placed around three edges of the classroom. This serves to ensure that, in most cases, learners are able to look their peers in the eye when listening and engaging in discussion. This is however, for practical reasons, not an absolute. In a class with 34 learners, adopting the "peripheral system" of desks in a U-shape results in two rows of desks along each side wall of the classroom, and three shorter rows at the back. The teacher then teaches from within the U, being able to constantly scan the entire class, facilitate interaction between learners, and, when necessary, direct the attention of the learners to the front of the class, when either information on the chalkboard and/or whiteboard is being engaged with. The U-shaped peripheral system opens towards the front of the classroom, enabling the teacher to constantly move from within the

U-shape, where facilitating of interaction and learning takes place, to the front of the class where a lecturing mode of teaching takes place. Without having to adapt the classroom layout of desks, the "peripheral system" enables a smooth transition between whole class lectures, small group tasks, individual study, and intra class engagement within any one lesson. All of this is facilitated by the active teacher.

The "cocoon" is not limited to the layout of desks in the classroom, but includes the containing walls of the classroom. What is placed on the walls should enhance and stimulate the learning and teaching taking place, by contributing to the conversation in the classroom as visual cues. In the case of a History classroom in a high school, the visual cues can include maps, political cartoons, and curriculum-relevant propaganda posters or storyboards, all of which can be regularly updated. At any particular time during the lesson, the teacher can draw the learners' attention to a visual cue on the wall to illustrate a particular point relevant to the lesson. Therefore, by adopting the "peripheral system" for the layout of desks, the teacher is able to move from within the U-shape to the front of the classroom during a lesson, and also direct the learners' attention to surrounding cues all of which serve to create, implement, and maintain a classroom environment that supports learning.

Outside speakers

When a classroom is underpinned by an ethos which advocates active citizenship, is reinforced by a teacher with subject specific knowledge in a classroom structured to facilitate critical conversation, other voices can be introduced to enrich teaching and learning.

The approach adopted to identify outside speakers whose personal story will help to unpack aspects of the curriculum, takes different forms on the part of the organising teacher.

When a political commentator addressing an issue which shows an in-depth understanding of a curriculum-relevant issue is read in a newspaper, invite the political commentator to come and share their insights with the class. The political commentator could be an academic, a journalist or a political cartoonist.

In the case of political cartoonists, Cape Town is host to a number of renown political cartoonists whose work appear regularly in both daily and

weekly newspapers. Some of whom are, or were parents of learners at our school which makes them an invaluable resource to draw on. What this does illustrate is that the teacher must know their own parent body so they are able to draw on the accessible resource. In the study of history, political cartoons are regularly used as primary sources. Learners learn the background context which they then use to enable them to interpret the intended message of the political cartoonist. Overtime, particularly in relation to South African history, it is possible to develop a "library" of iconic political cartoons which appeared in newspapers addressing issues and incidents in the 1980s, early 1990s (the period of negotiations in South Africa), and the period after our first democratic elections in 1994 – all of which are thematic areas of focus in the Grade 12 South African history syllabus.

A few of these political cartoons can be enlarged as posters, which should be on the wall of the classroom. As the class works through the relevant section of work, draw the class's attention to the related political cartoon as a teaching aid, and engage with them as to how to unpack the visual metaphor of the cartoon. Having an actual political cartoonist then come into the classroom to share their "craft" with the class, enables the learners to develop a deeper understanding as to how and why the political cartoonist constructs the visual metaphor using caricatures, irony, and satire to communicate his/her opinion in relation to an incident or issue. Learners are taught how to interpret political cartoons, but the experience of hearing and seeing a political cartoonist in action develops a far deeper appreciation and ability to interpret primary sources.

A further resource to draw on, are people living in our own country, some of whom are refugees, who have been victims and survivors of discrimination, racism, xenophobia, or genocide. Having a victim and survivor of such traumatic experiences visit the classroom, does require of the teacher having done preparatory work with the learners before the visit. The learners must have studied the relevant section of work so they have a level of appreciation of what the "outside speaker" will be referring to when sharing their personal story.

An example could be in preparation for a visit by a survivor of the Rwandan Genocide (1994), the class need to have a background to events which led up to the Rwandan Genocide and the course and consequences of the genocide itself. Probably more importantly, the onus is on the teacher to prepare the learners about the necessity for sensitivity and empathy in engaging, face-

to-face, with a survivor of such traumatic experiences. It cannot be expected of them to necessarily have the insight and level of emotional maturity to engage with such a survivor, despite learners having been taught the "lessons for humanity" we derive from studying both Holocaust History and the Rwandan Genocide.

In most instances, the survivor, as a refugee, will have what to the learners' ear is a strange accent in that they are not necessarily English speaking. Learners need to be prepared for this to ensure they respond sensitively, appreciatively and appropriately. Accessing of survivors, and approaching them to assist in the teaching and learning within the classroom can be done through different forums. The teacher can make an initial request through United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) office or Refugee Centers. We are privileged to have the Cape Town Holocaust Centre (CTHC) in close proximity, and so we network with their office to organise hosting visiting survivors at our school when they are invited to Cape Town by the CTHC.

An immediately accessible source is the schools own parent body. We have many parents, as with most schools in South Africa, who are themselves victims and survivors of Apartheid's race-based policies. They are able to talk to the experience for their families of being forcibly removed from their homes as residential areas were declared "White only". They share their trauma, confusion and shame as young children being unable to enter facilities declared "White only" or being spoken to in a derogatory and racist manner. They share their experience of being young adults who developed a political consciousness and activism in various anti-apartheid formations, both extra-parliamentary and underground during the 1980s and early 1990s. Hearing these voices is a privilege in that some parents have not shared the experience of their past with their own children, let alone a classroom of learners. We have parents who themselves were part of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and are able to speak as primary sources to the process involved, which is part of both our Grade 9 and Grade 12 history syllabus. All of which serves to enrich the learners understanding of curriculum-relevant issues and events.

Inviting these outside speakers is particularly useful in preparing Grade 9 students to undertake research for their "Oral History" assignment.

In the 20 years which have followed South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, a number of people who were intimately involved in various parts of the struggle against and for Apartheid, particularly those who were part of

the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s, the "underground" of the African National Congress (ANC) in exile (banned in 1960), South African Communist Party (SACP, banned in 1950), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC, banned in 1960), or Apartheid state functionaries shave begun to document their personal memoirs. Some have featured in full feature movies or documentaries. When such memoirs, movies or documentaries are released, the author involved or subjects who feature serve as very insightful primary sources to engage with learners in the classroom.

Examples of some of these outside speakers invited to share their stories in the classroom are the following.

Having completed the teaching of the late 1960s and '70s South African history of the Black Consciousness Movement leading up to the Soweto Uprising of 1976 in terms of content, and having engaged with various primary and secondary sources, Dr Mamphela Ramphele was invited to share her story of the period of history with our learners. She began her story by immersing the learners in the nature of segregated Apartheid South Africa by explaining she arrived as a "politically naive" person at University in 1967, as the only "token black on a permit" allowed to study at the University. She then took the learners on her personal journey of developing a political consciousness and organisational involvement, as one of the 15 founding members of both the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and what became known in 1972 as the Black People's Convention (BPC). She discussed the various forms of Black Consciousness (BC)-inspired organisations which unfolded, increasing state repression, and events associated with the Soweto Uprising (1976), culminating in thousands of students going into exile (referred to as the Soweto Generation), the banning of BC individuals and organisations, and the detention and murder of Steve Biko in 1977.

During the question and answer session which followed her talk, the learners were interested to hear her take on the character who portrayed her in the movie depiction of *Cry Freedom*, and which they all knew from the full feature movie adaptation of Donald Woods' book. She was also able to explain the historical context of the need, at the time, for Black Consciousness to the learners. When asked whether she still supports Black Consciousness, she said that today, she has and believes in a South African Consciousness.

When studying South African history of the 1980s different role-players who articulate distinctly different perspectives have been invited to share their experience and stories with our learners. We have had Barry Gilder share his

experience of being in exile. Gilder left South Africa in the mid-1970s, and initially got involved with the anti-Apartheid Movement in the Netherlands before joining the ANC which sent him to Angola and the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) for training as an armed combatant of their military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (meaning "Spear of the Nation"). Gilder's discussion with the students included an explanation of his being deployed by the ANC to Gaborone, Botswana where he was targeted for attack by the South African security forces in the 1980s. He was also in a position to share some of his experiences of returning to South Africa after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, and his involvement in the process of arriving at a negotiated settlement for South Africa between 1990 and 1994.

Another "voice" which our learners have heard from the *Umkhoto we Sizwe* underground, who was recruited and operated within South Africa as distinct from being in exile, has been that of Jeremy Vearey. Vearey shared his story of developing a class consciousness through the influence of his parents who were trade unionists, qualifying as a teacher in the early 1980s when he got involved in local community anti-apartheid structures and activities in working class communities of the Cape Peninsula, and being recruited into the ANC's underground through which he got involved in a cell which undertook acts of sabotage. Vearey shared his experience of being arrested in 1987, interrogated and tortured, convicted of sabotage and sentenced to imprisonment on Robben Island. He was in a position to explain to the learners how his political education developed on Robben Island.

After Vearey's release from Robben Island after the unbanning of the ANC, his involvement with the ANC's Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS) during the period of negotiations in South Africa from 1990 to 1994 was explained to the learners. His experience during this period gave great insight into some of the massacres which took place in South Africa during the negotiation period and which had the potential to derail attempts to reach a settlement. He elaborated on the Boipatong and Bisho Massacres, the violent conflict in Kwa-Zulu Natal, as well as his interpretation of a "Third Force" which attempted to further ignite violent confrontation.

A further "voice" shared with our learners was that of Anthony Turton. Turton was able to share and explain his involvement with the Chief Directorate Covert Operations of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) in the 1980s by providing insight into amongst other activities, his covert involvement with RENAMO (Resistência National Moçambicana) in Mozambique as well

as his experience of monitoring developments in Soviet Satellite countries during the revolutions of 1989.

To develop the learners understanding of attempts to subvert the process of negotiation between 1990 and 1994, as well as the extent of violence in the country at the time, we have also invited a member of a non-governmental organisation involved in conflict resolution in the Western Cape Province at the time, Stef Snel, to share his insights with the learners. Snel was able to share his understanding of sites of violence which existed, the role of the "Peace Committees" which developed in an attempt to defuse tensions, and his involvement in binding state security and ANC DIS personnel into a process of engagement to resolve the sites of violence.

Another person invited to share his insights into the 1993 acts of sabotage undertaken by a unit of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in Cape Town, which took place at both St James Church in Kenilworth and the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, was one of the investigators into both incidents, Schalk Visagie. Visage was a member of the former Security Branch of the South African Police (SAP) and, in 1993, a member of the task team which investigated violent incidents such as the APLA attacks.

A further aspect of the course content for our Grade 12 learners of South African history in the 1980s, is related to the informal and secret negotiations which were facilitated through business interests in London, between a delegation from the ANC in exile (led by former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki) and a Stellenbosch University academic, who represented the Apartheid state. The academic, Dr Willie Esterhuyse, was "guided" in the negotiation process by the Director General of the very secretive National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard. This initiative unfolded at the same time as secret negotiations were unfolding between the then still imprisoned Nelson Mandela and both South Africa's then Minister of Justice, Cobie Coetzee, and Dr Neil Barnard. To assist the learners in appreciating the extent of mistrust which existed in the second half of the 1980s, between key protagonists to South Africa's crisis at the time, and resultant subterfuge involved in the "secret negotiations" which took place, we have shown our Grade 12 classes the full feature movie *Endgame*, based on the similarly tilted book written by Esterhuyse.

To develop a deeper sense of the issues at stake, we wanted our learners to engage in conversation directly with either Thabo Mbeki or Dr Neil Barnard. To date we have not been successful in getting Thabo Mbeki to visit our

classroom. In recent years when we get to that particular part of our curriculum, Mbeki has been out of South Africa due to his ongoing involvement in conflict mediation between Sudan and South Sudan. However, we did manage to host Dr Neil Barnard in what took the form of a question and answer session with our learners. It was an interesting engagement between Barnard, the *Spy Master*, and our learners. Not surprisingly in retrospect, after the conversation one of our more astute learners commented that he could remember all the questions posed to Barnard, but could not remember the answers provided!

Sensitive history teachers make the difference

It may seem obvious and not warranting of comment, that teachers should like learners. Why, otherwise, would they choose a profession which results in their spending the greater proportion of their working day with learners? Not only do they spend hours each day in the classroom environment, but they also spend hours extramurally with learners on sports fields in the afternoons, in halls with music ensembles, or on the stage with play rehearsals, to name but a few forms of interaction between teachers and learners. Through this engagement relationships are also developed. In discussing *four rules* of classroom management, Smith and Laslett (2002:10) prioritise rule four as "Get on with them". In the context of a classroom environment, they argue that teachers develop good relationships with their learners by fostering mutual trust and respect and suggest that teachers need to be aware of each child as an individual and be sensitive to the mood of the class as a whole.

Liking the learners and experiencing a genuine enjoyment of the company of the learners being taught, is more than merely "Get(ting) on with them". Where a history teacher likes the learners and enjoys the company of the learners, and where the teacher's subject-specific knowledge and passion is evident, and an effective classroom layout and resourced walls are all synthesised, mutual trust and respect will evolve. In no sense is it suggested that the relationship between teacher and learner should be that of a "friend". However, where a teacher does like the learners, and does experience a genuine enjoyment of the company of the learners being taught, the relationship which develops is friendly. This is an aspect of the concept "encouragement", as suggested by Weber (1982, cited in Smith & Laslett, 2002), which is necessary in creating a good classroom environment, where teaching and learning is enhanced.

The sad reality is that a number of teachers do not like all learners. While

they may get on with them, showing appropriate respect for learners and being quite capable of creating a classroom environment within which teaching and learning does take place, this does not translate into "liking learners" and "enjoying the company of the learners". It becomes apparent when a deviation from the rules is met with disproportionate punishment in terms of inane writing out and detention, and where the extent of the sanction, which is retributive in purpose, proves a teacher's need to exert authority and gain control, as opposed to having the purpose of "consequences" leading to learning. In this context, such teachers need to be reminded that the meaning of discipline is found in the word disciple. A disciple is a person who follows a teacher or guide, not through coercion, and therefore discipline cannot be retributive in character. Furthermore, many teachers can be heard looking forward to a free period, a break, or the end of the week, while very few are heard expressing excitement about getting into the classroom. The teachers may be "get(ting) on with them" when they enter the classroom, but they most definitely do not enjoy the company of learners. It is important for teachers to know that learners can, and do, discern the difference between the two.

Getting the recipe right

The two concepts which define an effective teacher as suggest by Weber (1982), "encouragement" and "momentum" are applied if the teacher gets the recipe right. The recipe in a History classroom includes introducing other "voices" to enrich teaching and learning, in a milieu underpinned by an ethos which advocates active citizenship, reinforced by a passionate teacher with subject specific knowledge, and where the classroom is structured to facilitate critical conversation.

It is imaginative teachers which make the difference, such that learners enjoy and apply themselves to the subject, and both their understanding of content and acquisition of required skills is increased immeasurably. We as History teachers should be constantly reminded that ultimately, as suggested by Coe *et al.* (2014:2), learner progress is the yardstick by which teacher quality should be assessed.

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Achieving results in History and the role of the teacher: A learner's perspective

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Abstract

Matriculating in December 2013 from a co-educational government school in the Western Cape, the writer was the top student in the National Senior Certificate examinations for History in the Province. She shares her personal experience, by providing insight from a learner's perspective, on the importance of studying history. She further shares her opinion on how a learner's achievement can be directly affected by a teacher's input and method of teaching. Based on her experience, she comments on the traits present in a superior teacher, teaching methods and techniques which she found effective in her learning experience, and what aspects of teaching contributed to her academic success, passion for history and its utility, and development as a person.

Keywords: Matric results; History learner; Methods and techniques; History teaching; Traits; History teacher.

Introduction

I, like thousands of other South African learners, wrote the final National Senior Certificate (NSC) exams towards the end of 2013 and waited anxiously for the day on which our results would be released. On receiving them, I was shocked to hear that I was the top History learner in the Western Cape Province in the NSC exams. Achieving the seemingly impossible made me reflect on all that which had contributed to my result in History.

My interest in history and subsequent achievement in the subject can be largely attributed to the instruction of my teachers. I believe that interest in a subject is motivated by two factors: how well a learner performs in the subject and the teacher who teaches them the subject. The two are closely related more often than not. A teacher can educate in a manner that either encourages the learner's interest and confidence to flourish, or in a manner

that slowly chips away at the interest until the learner eventually despises the subject. My personal experience was that of me having a general interest in history that was cultivated by exceptional history teachers, over a period of five years. This ultimately developed into a deep appreciation for the subject and a skill-set that groomed me for success.

When looking at the ten traits of highly effective teachers as identified by McEwan (2002), I find there are few areas where my most effective history teachers were lacking in traits. McEwan categorises the ten traits of highly effective teachers into personal, teaching and intellectual traits. I will illustrate in what way I found my most effective history teachers to have reflected these traits, and what few traits I found them to be lacking in, so as to provide a theoretical framework for what I think is a highly effective teacher who achieves results despite demographics (McEwan, 2002). In this article, I am going to discuss what I interpret the importance of studying history to be, so as to provide a context in which I can focus on specific techniques I believe are effective in teaching history. Some of these specific techniques are techniques which I personally experienced as effective, which I will include under the broader concepts of personal, teaching and intellectual traits to which they link.

The importance of studying History

I believe history is one of the most important subjects that a learner can choose and the benefits of studying this subject have proved themselves to me time and time again. The valuable essay writing skills and critical analytical thinking that I have learnt from History has aided my performance in other subjects while having a widespread knowledge of the world and the society in which I am placed provides the necessary awareness I need to form my own identity. Our history forms part of our incredibly important heritage, without which we cannot contextualise ourselves within society nor make educated and informed decisions.

Upon leaving the protective bubble that was my school environment, my foundation in history was the most beneficial of all my subjects. While travelling to the United States on my gap year I realised that without having studied history, I would have been uninformed about a number of important topics of discussion, past world events or even events in my own country. If taught effectively, History can transcend the prescribed curriculum and cultivate an interest in the world, politics, current affairs and social issues.

There is again debate in South Africa as to whether history should be a compulsory subject in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase of schooling, as opposed to it being an elective subject, which it is at present. This debate around history being taught as a compulsory subject is a very important discussion to have as it directly challenges the importance of History as a subject. The concern expressed by advocates against History as a compulsory subject is that History has the potential to be taught as a means of promoting a kind of "patriotic nationalism", in the mould of Christian Nationalism under Apartheid policy. This in no way resonates with my experience as a learner of history. The curriculum I studied during high school was, in my opinion, incredibly balanced between different aspects of South African history and world history. This enabled me to learn how South Africa, in turn, was affected by world politics and world events. The future generation of politicians, teachers and leaders need to be taught this broad context, so that they develop a deeper understanding of the consequences of globalisation. Similarly, we need to learn about our South African past so that we can understand our heritage and the role we play within that context. As long as history is being taught in a non-biased manner where the learner can critically assess events and issues, History as a compulsory subject can only benefit learners. My view is to an extent subjective, in that it is informed by my own experience of the history classroom. My time spent in America gave me the opportunity to assess the high school history curriculum in the USA and compare it to our own. I think that what I learnt was one of the most well put together, comprehensive curriculums that can be taught under the one umbrella of History over five years. It has given me a fundamental understanding of the context our world and societies find themselves in today.

Personal traits

McEwan's understanding of a teacher's effective personal traits refers to traits that indicate character and personality. These are described as a teacher being passionate, positive and authentic whilst demonstrating care, respect and fairness in their relationships with learners. An effective teacher also possesses a trait whereby their leadership qualities positively affect their learners (McEwan, 2002).

I experienced that my most effective history teachers had a genuine connection with their students, and an air of authority and leadership that demanded a level of respect. The history teachers with whom I had a

friendly, relaxed and honest connection towards were the teachers I was most comfortable to engage with. I felt I could participate in class discussions, ask questions or clarify information that I was confused about as well as approach them one-on-one about a mark I received on an essay or if I needed some advice. Creating this kind of environment for learners is important because when a learner does not feel comfortable enough to engage, it inhibits them from reaching their full potential. I was intimidated by teachers who were overly formal or impatient and I would thus hesitate to take full advantage of the opportunities to clarify areas where I was confused or to engage in class discussions. By making sure that a learner never feels that he/she have asked a stupid question or feels afraid to speak up in class, a history teacher will start to cultivate a genuine connection with their learners. Being approachable, supportive and encouraging is a sure way to achieve this.

There is a delicate balance between having authority over a class and being authoritarian. A history teacher should cultivate a classroom environment which encourages debate and discussion, where learners can have fun and enjoy the learning experience, but not an environment that becomes disruptive and is counterproductive. I have experienced both environments in a history classroom and have thoroughly enjoyed the excitement that can grow out of an interesting and heated debate but have also experienced how considerably more difficult it can be to learn effectively in an unruly class. Teachers should not have to shout or lose their temper on a regular basis to assert their authority in the class. The majority of learners will follow instructions and take the work seriously when it is time to do so if they respect their teacher. If a history teacher does not take his or her work seriously, neither will their learners. If a history teacher is unprepared, does not respect their learners or is in any way hypocritical, it is unlikely they will be respected by their learners in the way that is necessary for a productive class environment. Additionally, the passion that a history teacher has for their profession and the subsequent amount of effort that they put into their teaching can be sensed by the learners they teach. This, I believe, gives momentum to a learners' subsequent performance and, in my case, helped me excel in history.

Teaching traits

According to McEwan (2002), the teaching traits are the traits most likely to get results. They are what a teacher does in an effort to improve the results of their learners. The teaching traits are described as a teacher's ability to

effectively manage time and organise the classroom, their unique style in teaching and their instructional effectiveness (McEwan, 2002). The following traits and techniques are some practical efforts I experienced as being effective in teaching history and eventually leading to improved results.

Time management

I think the most effective teaching traits are a history teacher's time management in covering the curriculum and their ability to return marked assessments and projects in a timeous manner. The reason why I think this trait is more important than one might originally assume is that I have encountered teachers who do not manage time properly. They get side-tracked too often, spend time disproportionately on different sections that then results in the teacher neglecting content later on, or rushing to complete certain sections. This lack of effective time management causes undue stress on learners. By staying on top of the work and returning assignments promptly, a history teacher gives comprehensive instruction on the curriculum and allows the learners to cope better with the work load, as well as understand the work better. My most effective history teachers were quick to return assessments and were more often than not able to provide time for revision, having managed their time properly. These traits in my history teachers significantly lowered my stress with regards to being assessed in history.

Style of teaching

Another effective teaching trait I regard as being beneficial is a history teacher's unique style of lecturing and instructing the class. The ability to engage learners in class discussions or to get them to listen to large amounts of information is determined by each history teacher's individual style of communication and teaching. As identified by McEwan (2002), incorporating humour into lessons and being visibly passionate about teaching are effective teaching techniques. Along with these techniques, my most effective history teacher's made use of personal anecdotes and incentives for learners, all contributing to their unique style of teaching.

Teaching techniques

I believe history teachers need to have a certain amount of tenacity when teaching a class of learners with varying abilities and interests. A history teacher needs to reinforce an idea more than once in order for all of the learners in the class to conceptualise it. Thus it is very important that a history teacher provide enough time for revision before assessments. A particularly useful tool in revising content, and to place it in context when first introducing a new section, is to use a timeline to visually conceptualise events chronologically over a period of time. This helps broaden the picture and shows learners visually how certain events are linked. I think learners are often concerned with covering the necessary content that they will be assessed on, and therefore feel comforted by having a consolidated source from which to study. Summarised notes, mind maps and timelines were useful as a foundation upon which I based my studying.

Incorporation of media sources to enhance learning

Visual media sources such as dramatised films on history, documentaries, illustrations and political cartoons can effectively enhance learning in the classroom. Films like *Schindler's List* help develop an understanding of the holocaust both intellectually and emotionally. Zapiro cartoons are excellent depictions of the political and social climate in South Africa and are useful to use in history lessons, for example, in understanding the changing responses to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission process as it unfolded. I was once shown an animated PowerPoint presentation depicting the events of World War II upon first learning about it. It stood out for me because it helped me comprehend the links between the superpowers, the geographical locations and how the war was fought. It gave me a visual image to later recall certain facts. Various forms of media are able to summarise and display often complex or detailed concepts in a relatively shorter period of time, whilst also displaying the content in a way that is easier to conceptualise, and reinforces the work being studied, either chronologically or in a more abstract manner. I do not think history teachers should become dependent on media as their primary resource to teach but should use it as an aid to enhance understanding and as an extended teaching and learning tool to keep learners engaged. In a study by education psychologist Salomon (1979) he concludes that when presented with both verbal and visual forms, students are able to more easily learn new and abstract concepts. This supports my belief that by

displaying the same information in many different ways via visual media and in conjunction with explanations from history teachers, learners are more likely to understand and remember it. My experience is that this exposure to many different perceptions of historiography, as well as the emotional nature that is synonymous with certain types of media, cultivates a more poignant connection and real understanding of events.

Another example of this benefit was being exposed to media interpretations of Apartheid, such as documentaries on actual Truth and Reconciliation Commission trials and how South Africa transitioned from Apartheid into a democratic country. This signified a turning point in my true understanding of apartheid. What was once a "concept" and theoretical idea, became a real human experience after hearing about personal accounts of hardships, wrongdoings and violence brought on by Apartheid. The current generation being taught history were born into a democratic South Africa and have no first-hand experience of Apartheid. Thus the exposure to various media sources applies to all of history being taught, as the theory and words on a page need to be contextualised as a human experience. Furthermore, I think this exposure creates a culture of empathy, sensitivity, understanding and a better ability to judge bias. The use of different media sources in the classroom can benefit both learners and history teachers as it keeps learners more engaged in the topic and makes the learning experience at times more fun and diverse experience. I believe that media is an incredibly powerful tool that can be used in a positive way to enhance the learning process. I also believe my exposure to media sources whilst being taught history prepared me to skilfully interpret the source-based questions during my final NSC history examinations.

Instruction and assessment of essay writing

I think that an emphasis on writing essays should be started as early in the teaching and learning process as possible. At my high school, we were introduced to the construction of written arguments in paragraph form in Grade 8, and started constructing extended written pieces, in the form of essays, in Grade 9. Being able to crack the essay was a decisive moment in my studies. For the majority of learners, writing essays for assessment is a daunting task. The success of an essay relies as much on its construction and argument as it does on recalling the content. Making sure that learners are

able to execute essays as a kind of second nature will dramatically improve a learner's achievements.

I think it is important that history teachers be consistent and fair in marking essays across the history department. Despite the use of a marking matrix for assessing essays, the subjective influences in teachers assessing essays can be discouraging for some learners whose marks on their essays fluctuate. Many learners are competitive and thus do compare the marks they obtain for assessments, including their essays, with their peers. I think this type of formative reflection and competitiveness can be productive because learners are able to see what skills they are lacking in conveying a certain answer that they thought they had answered sufficiently. For example, learners can compare how their argument weakened their essay despite the content being present. However, it is also frustrating for some learners when comparing the marks given on essays by what the learners may perceive as being a lenient marker versus a stricter marker which translates into a lower average for essay marks. My school experience led me to believe that the form of moderation taking place did not seem to translate into all history teachers marking with the same rigour. Learners would benefit more from a form of moderation that is done more frequently and reflects a more fair and realistic assessment of essays across the board.

Impact of overseas history excursion

I was lucky enough to be part of a history tour to Eastern Europe in June 2012. The trip focused mainly on World War II, the Holocaust, the aftermath of both, and the Cold War – all of which, especially the latter, were significant for my final NSC History exam. In retrospect the experience of the tour and all of the knowledge that I would not have gained had I not been a part of it, truly strengthened both my love for history and my understanding of it. To see the infinite depth of history as well as all that I had yet to learn was humbling. The immensely fun journey of travelling through eight different countries on another continent with fifty of my peers was juxtaposed by the incredibly sobering and emotionally jarring experience of visiting Sachsenhausen, Terezín and Auschwitz-Birkenau. No textbook can even begin to convey the reality of such an incomprehensible event such as the Holocaust in comparison to standing in an actual gas chamber or on the ground where its victims once stood. I believe this tour helped broaden my

view and aided my ability to understand and therefore write on the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR's effect on South Africa in the final NSC exams. I would encourage any history teacher to embark on similar expeditions of a field trip nature with their learners as it creates interest in the subject and broadens the horizons of the learners.

Structure of the layout of a History classroom

Reflecting on my five years as a History learner, the majority of them were spent in classrooms where there were desks placed in a peripheral format (U-shaped), and I think this made a contribution to the effectiveness of the classes. In comparison to a traditional layout, this U-shaped layout of the class is better for use in a History classroom. The students have a good view of the teacher and the front of the class whilst also being able to face each other. As a result, the class feels more like a history group as there are fewer separations by rows. This layout creates more of an open environment and thus is more conducive to creating a climate for critical discussion and debate amongst the class. This physical change in layout can be seen as a kind of resource for history teachers in creating a better environment in which to teach.

Intellectual traits

According to McEwan (2002), intellectual traits demonstrate a teacher's knowledge, curiosity and awareness, and are described as the way in which a teacher thinks. Effective teachers poses comprehensive knowledge of their subject's content and an ability to assess what is expected of learners within their instructional setting. Their intellectual traits enable them to teach their learners strategically, reflect on their personal teaching methods and adapt to the changing landscape of their profession (McEwan, 2002).

Intellectual traits are, in my opinion, also significantly important in getting results. My history teachers who had extensive knowledge of the content they taught, which was above and beyond the textbook content, influenced me in a way that made me more likely to achieve better results. The more information and context I was given, the more I could understand and remember the work. This kind of comprehension is also vital in constructing a powerful essay. A learner is less likely to have flaws or mistakes in their essays, or will be better able to understand and interpret an abstract source, such as a political

cartoon, if they have a wider knowledge of the subject. Understandably, with limited time to teach a set amount of work, a history teacher's choice of what additional information, anecdotes and narratives to include is subjective. More experienced or knowledgeable history teachers have a natural instinct for choosing what extra information is relevant and will aid their learners in better understanding the work. I think that history teachers who have many years of experience are familiar with the curriculum, have nuanced strategies and plans to teach it and are effective in preparing learners for exams. They are also able to teach them the necessary skills and content to the point where success in the exam is inevitable. Novice teachers should therefore make use of opportunities to learn from experienced colleagues.

The Pygmalion effect

I believe an important intellectual trait for a history teacher to have in order for them to be an effective teacher is their awareness of the impact they have on their learners. One of the many ways in which a teacher has a significant impact on the success of a student is revealed by Rosenthal in *Pygmalion in the Classroom (1968).* Rosenthal performs a psychological systematic study to gauge the influence of a teacher's expectations on a learner's success. Rosenthal gave a class of learners a standardised IQ test, but misled the learners and teachers to believe that it was a special Harvard test of "Inflected Acquisition" that would be able to determine if a learner was on the verge of an 'intellectual boom'. Rosenthal then selected a portion of the learners at random and told the teacher that these selected few were expected to have a sudden growth in IQ. The study showed that over a period of two years, the learners who were expected to have a growth in IQ, did in fact have an increase in IQ when given the same standardised test. Through more research Rosenthal noticed differences in the teacher's moment-to-moment interactions with the learners that affected a learner's progress overall. Essentially he proved that positive expectations yielded higher achievement, and lower or negative expectations yielded worse results. He named this phenomenon the *Pygmalion effect*: "When we expect certain behaviours of others, we are likely to act in ways that make the expected behaviour more likely to occur" (Rosenthal & Babad, 1985:36).

The fact that a teacher's expectation of a learner can actually manifest into better results, or potentially worse, is astounding. It shows the significant influence that a teacher can have on a student and the subsequent responsibility

that this places on a teacher. If a teacher sends positive expectation messages, their learners will be more likely to engage and succeed (Tauber, 1999). Knowing this, it is important for history teachers to be aware that if they have preconceived notions of whether or a not learner can or will succeed, it can negatively impact a learner. Even if a learner has not excelled in the past, a teacher's role in actively having positive expectations could improve the learner's performance. I believe the action based on this knowledge lies with a history teacher's metacognitive, communicative and reflective abilities, as described by McEwan (2002).

According to McLeod (1995), the *Pygmalion effect* does have repercussions in a classroom. Teachers' low expectations cultivate a negative environment that prevents them from expecting higher standards from learners. Teachers should avoid complaining or expressing grievances to each other about individual learners or groups of learners, as this culture of failure becomes the prevailing attitude amongst the teachers (McLeod, 1955). Having low expectations can also effect actual teaching, as teachers are less inclined to challenge learners or pose complex questions if they feel their learners are not clever enough to respond. They anticipate simple answers and get low performance in return (Rhem, 1999). The clear correlation between expectations of learners and their results indicates how effective high expectations can be and the influence a teacher has in inspiring students to succeed. In my experience, I believe that my history teachers' tangible belief in me contributed to my success in the subject. The acts of encouraging me, spending additional time answering my questions or advising me, acknowledging the high standard of work that I did and then still motivating me when I was not meeting my full potential, all affirmed my history teachers' belief and confidence in me. The expectation for me to succeed surpassed my own expectation and led me to perform in a way that I believe I would not have been motivated to do had I been expected to perform poorly by my history teachers and peers.

Conclusion

After reflecting on what influenced my interest in History, I can greatly appreciate that without the effective teaching as reflected in the theoretical framework of McEwan's traits for a highly effective teacher, including the positive expectations of my history teachers, their knowledge and experience in exposing me to relevant media forms and excellent instruction in constructing source-based answers and essays, I would not have achieved the success that I

did. I believe that because my history teachers were in most instances able to satisfy the traits set by McEwan, I was able to obtain the top mark for History in the Western Cape for the NSC exams. My history teachers educated me in a manner that made my interest and confidence in history flourish, giving me the skill set I needed to achieve what were to me unimaginable results.

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The value of tours around heritage sites with Melville Koppies as an example

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Abstract

Tours enrich and reinforce textbook and classroom history, inspire further study, and promote an appreciation of past cultures. This paper discusses the value of guided tours on Melville Koppies, a Nature Reserve and Johannesburg Heritage Site. Melville Koppies offers evidence of man-made structures and artefacts reflecting Pre-History from Early Stone Age to Iron Age in this undeveloped pristine reserve where the natural sciences and social sciences meet. The site includes evidence of gold mining attempts, the Second Anglo-Boer War and modern history up to present times. The panoramic view from the top ridges of the Koppies encompasses places of rich historical interest, of which many, such as Sophiatown and Northcliff Ridge, were affected by apartheid. Guided tours are tailored to educators' requirements and the age of students. These educators usually set their own pre- or post-tour tasks. The logistical challenges for educators of organising such three-hour tours are discussed. History, if part of a life-time awareness, is not confined to primary, secondary or tertiary learners. Further education for visitors of all ages on guided tours is also discussed.

Keywords: Wealth of evidence; Social and natural sciences meet; Guided tours; Enrichment.

Introduction

The content of even the most dynamic History lectures may be forgotten in time. However, if lectures are followed up by tours to relevant heritage sites that complement the lectures, this reinforces and enriches the learning experience. Heritage sites trigger interest, stimulate thinking and encourage further study. The condition of the site and its management can make a lasting impression, positive or negative, on school learners and students. Memories of a tour may linger for many years, particularly if the tours engage the senses or hold special memories of the visit, such as the fun of an impromptu game of soccer with local kids during a tour to the Blood River battle site, delicious cream scones at Smuts House, the lush leafy orangery at Melrose House (now

a restaurant) in Pretoria or the tap-tap-tap of a woodpecker in the forested section of Melville Koppies. Tours are much enhanced by the added input of knowledgeable and enthusiastic site guides, e.g. a guide is needed to point out ripple marks on rocks, evidence of the ancient inland sea at Melville Koppies.

Tours at Melville Koppies are very flexible and can be adapted to educators' requirements and the age of the learners/students. The focus could be on History (of a particular period or a general survey), Human Evolution, Geology, Geography, Ecology, Tourism, Art and even Life Orientation (experiencing exercise in a healthy environment). The presentation of information depends on the age of the learners and students. All tours allow for an easy integration of the social and natural sciences in this amazing outdoor classroom. A hike through the Koppies is also part of the experience and this makes learning fun.

Although this study emphasises heritage sites, visits to non-heritage sites can also stimulate thought. I regularly took my senior History pupils to a foundry in Springs to illustrate the modern process of iron manufacture when we were studying the Industrial Revolution, so tying up the past with the present. They were horrified at the noise and heat of this industrial working environment. The long-term commercial importance of the Discovery of Diamonds was emphasised by a visit to Debid where industrial diamonds are made. A visit to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) made them more aware of the machinations leading to the Wall Street Crash of 1929 and the resultant Great Depression. The JSE was a very exciting place to visit when trading was still done from the floor with dealers shouting up at a man, walking on a narrow platform, who updated the latest prices on a huge chalkboard.

Where Melville Koppies is situated

Melville Koppies Nature Reserve and Heritage site lies between the suburbs of Melville and the Johannesburg Botanical Gardens in Emmarentia. The co-ordinates of the main entrance in Judith Road, Emmarentia, are 26^0 09' 11, 4" S and 28^0 00' 15, 8" E. The Koppies are a mere five km as the crow flies from the Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) and about 35 kilometers from the Cradle of Humankind to the north-west.

What Melville Koppies offers – cultural heritage

Ancient history

Melville Koppies has an archaeological excavation site with primary evidence of Stone and Iron Age cultures.

In 1963, Revil Mason, Head of the Archaeological Research Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), discovered the rim of what he realised was part of an Iron Age furnace at Melville Koppies. His excavations at site 7/63 revealed the remains of a furnace, subsequently dated at over 500 years old. Further excavations (site 9/70) around the furnace area uncovered Early, Middle and Late Stone Age tools. These deeper excavations were subsequently filled in for safety reasons, leaving just the exposed furnace of site 7/63. The furnace is protected by a metal cage with shatterproof glass, a roof and paved surrounds. The site was given national monument status in 1968 and then changed to the wider concept of 'heritage' status in 2000. All the original excavated artefacts and bones are in a provenance collection at Wits. The Stone Age tools on display around the furnace are examples taken from various other areas. Mason's students continued with excavations at The Cave, site 9/65, uncovering bones of wild creatures which once roamed the Koppies, and in the topmost layers, bones of domestic animals of more recent pastoral inhabitants. An exciting find was the link shaft of a Bushman arrow. Mason surmised that the many unearthed broken pottery sherds are evidence of rituals carried here. Modern man still practises rituals under the rocky shelter of the overhang which forms the cave. Another furnace, dated to the 1820s, excavated at site 28/64 on Melville Koppies, was totally vandalised in 1998.

Mason mapped out traces of Iron Age stonewalling at Melville Koppies. Many of the rocks from these walls were removed before the Koppies were declared a nature reserve in 1959. Some of these rocks were used to build the retaining wall of Emmarentia Dam, built in 1905, or for residents' rockeries. The hiking trails at the reserve include some of these remaining traces of homestead walling. One such site, revealed after a burn and now kept clear of high vegetation, has distinct outlines of individual huts. Hundreds of these homesteads once stretched north from Melville Koppies to the distant Magaliesberg. The only stone walling at Melville Koppies to have been reconstructed is that of the cattle kraal near the excavated furnace and Lecture Hut. Revil Mason also spent several hours assisting me with information for a PowerPoint CD I made of the 'Archaeology and History of Melville Koppies".

Recorded History

Mzilikazi moved into the area after fleeing from Shaka in the 1820s. He displaced the local people, until he in turn was displaced by trekkers under Andries Potgieter at the battle of Vegkop in 1836. Mzilikazi migrated west and then north to present-day Zimbabwe where his Ndebele people met the local Shona in what came to be known as Matabeleland.

A wave of trekkers crossed the Vaal River northwards after the British annexation of Natal in 1843 and Transoranjia in 1848. Among them was one Gerrit Bezuidenhout who was granted title of the farm Braamfontein, an extensive area of 3500 ha which incorporated Melville Koppies. On receiving title to the farm, he transferred it to his brother FJ Bezuidenhout who then subdivided the farm into three sections. The section which includes Melville Koppies was bought by Lourens Geldenhuys in 1886, in the belief that the quartzite ridges contained gold. Blast holes, from the unsuccessful gold-prospecting attempts of his sons Frans and Louw, can be still seen on the Koppies. The Geldenhuys family left their mark on the area. Marks Park clubhouse in Judith Road, was originally Frans Geldenhuys' home. Judith Road is named after Frans' wife. The Council bought Frans' section of the farm in the 1840s for a park and cemetery, and by default Melville Koppies with it. Louw Geldenhuys' home, now a heritage site, is at 14 Greenhill Road. The suburb of Emmarentia is named after his wife. Louw, a politician, was part of the Volksraad that sent the ultimatum to Britain in 1899. Both brothers served in the Krugersdorp Commando in the subsequent war. A high vantage point on Melville Koppies is the site of a British gun emplacement during this war. Richard Hall, who spent many years caring for Melville Koppies, also researched many of its aspects for training for future guides. His History eco-module can be found on www.mk.org.za.

Panoramic view of notable landmarks and their history

Many of the landmarks, visible from the top ridge of Melville Koppies, have been adversely affected by apartheid.

In the south, the tall police flats looming over Sophiatown are a stark reminder of the forced removals and destruction of the freehold township in the 1950s. The Rand Afrikaans University, now the University of Johannesburg, was set up in the 1970s to counter the liberal influence of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). The white Tower of Light, visible in

the Central Business District, marks the location of Wits' West Campus. J.G. Stijdom Hospital was renamed after the anti-apartheid activist, Helen Joseph. The tall SABC building continues to a be a controversial communications centre, with the flanking Hillbrow Tower and Brixton Tower part of the broadcasting platform for political ideologies. In the same area, sulphurous fumes were spewed out by the gasometers of the old gas works in Cottesloe until production stopped in 1964.

In the north, West Park Cemetery has many graves of South African history-makers. The elaborate 2014 official memorial to apartheid critic, dominee Beyers Naude, is prominent at the entrance. Here, in other sections at West Park Cemetery, also rest Herman Charles Bosman, whose short stories highlighted and ridiculed racial attitudes of rural Afrikaners; Helen Suzman, who fought a lone anti-apartheid struggle in parliament for many years; and a few young men who fought in the controversial Border War. In the distant east, in a different power context, the cooling towers of the re-commissioned coal-fired Kelvin Power Station can be seen on a clear day.

What Melville Koppies offers – Natural heritage

The ridges of Melville Koppies are part of the 2.9 billion-year-old Witwatersrand Supergroup, the West Rand Group, Hospital Hill Subgroup and Orange Grove Formation with quartzite and shale beds. The rocky ridges are composed of quartzite, metamorphic rocks which slowly erode to thin acidic soils. The valleys are more fertile as their softer sedimentary shale weathers more easily. Flora is adapted to the harsh conditions of the Highveld. Over 500 species of indigenous plants, collected from Melville Koppies, are in the Moss Herbarium at Wits. Fauna that survive at the Koppies are mostly small nocturnal creatures such as mongooses, hedgehogs, mole-rats, field mice and some reptiles. Over 200 birds have been recorded. The veld is alive with insects. Sadly, larger animals were killed and eaten many years ago and it would be unwise to introduce new game.

How did Stone and Iron Age Man survive at Melville Koppies?

On a guided walk around the Koppies, learners/students are encouraged to look at the natural resources and think about how Stone Age and Iron Age people survived in this living environment. This makes for an easy integration

of the social and natural sciences.

Guides arouse interest with appropriate leading questions.

- What materials do you think Iron Age huts were made of? (*Huts were made of grass, mud, saplings and rocks*).
- Where did people obtain water? (*They obtained water from the Westdene Spruit*).
- Why was the cattle kraal in the centre of the homestead? (*It provided better protection for the valuable cattle resource*).
- What grasses did cattle eat? (*They grazed on Rooigras {Themeda triandra} and other palatable grasses on the lower slopes*).
- What natural foods could people eat? (*They collected assorted berries such as Bloubos {Diospyros lycioides}, Wild apricots {Ancylobotrys capensis}, Stamvrug {Englerophytum magalismontanum}, nectar from flowers, edible roots and leaves*).
- What medicinal plants were used? (*They collected Fever tea bush {Lippia javanica}, Wilde Als {Artemisia afra} a cure-all for everything and Wild dagga {Leonurus leonotis} for snake bites, etc.).*
- Where and what crops were planted? (*Sorghum, millet, maize, leafy vegetables, melons and legumes were planted on the lower more fertile slopes*).
- How were animal hides cleaned and preserved? (*They were cleaned of flesh with a stone scraper and rubbed with tannin-rich leaves*).
- Why did the cattle dung smell sweet in early times? (C*attle were not fed fishmeal or antibiotics*).
- What were the uses of dung? (*Dung was used to smear floors and line grain pots because methane gas from dung kills insects*).
- What did children do to help their parents? (*Girls planted, hoed, made food and beer and looked after siblings while boys looked after cattle and went hunting with their fathers*).
- What sort of skills would boys and girls learn? (*They leant skills* of *tracking, hunting, fighting, farming, food preservation and preparation*).
- What sort of pets would they have? (*Their pets were young wild creatures such as tortoises, terrestrial birds, buck, etc*.).
- What materials were tools, arrow heads, spears and hoes made of? *(The process of napping, iron smelting and forging is explained by guides*).
- How was charcoal made by the iron-makers? (*A burning tree was smothered with soil to exclude oxygen*).
- Did they understand the chemistry of iron-making?
- How did they acquire this knowledge and skill?
- Who made the rules for homestead living? (*The Elders made rules*).
- What sorts of punishments were meted out?
- What are the pros and cons of lobola, now often replaced by an electronic transfer of funds equivalent to the cost of an appropriate number of cows?
- Were these civilised societies?

- What is civilisation?
- Why did this way of life disappear?

Visual aids are also used to aid understanding for younger learners/students and these include posters; large photos; models of a furnace, an Iron Age hut and the archaeological dig; and assorted artefacts (original and replicas). Learners/students can use original grindstones on site to prepare sorghum and maize for hypothetical porridge and beer. This hands-on experience is extremely popular and kids could grind away for hours. Some learners/students remark rather excitedly that their grannies use such grindstones in the rural areas, thus making history come alive.

The influence of the Melville Koppies on attitudes to early cultures

Younger learners are usually very enthusiastic about relating what they have learned in class to what they see at the Koppies, or to what their elders have told them. However, we have noticed the attitudes of some older students slowly changing from embarrassment at what they perceive to be the culture of rural country bumpkins to one of respect for these ordered societies. Their technology may appear primitive to us, but the iron tools they produced were of very high quality. This astounds the students.

Preserving heritage sites

School learners and students need to be encouraged to think about the preservation of heritage sites for the future. The condition of a heritage site can influence perceptions of the past. Well-cared for sites encourage a more positive appreciation of the importance of the heritage. Heritage sites in sensitive areas such as nature reserves need careful management for their preservation while still promoting and accommodating sustainable tours. Any heritage relics excavated by archaeologists need structures to protect them from the elements and from vandalism. Learners and students need to think about the costs of managing such sites and the source of funding. What sort of job opportunities could heritage sites offer?

How can the natural environment be protected?

At Melville Koppies, damage to the sensitive natural heritage environment is kept to a minimum by controlled access for educational tours, research, field work and sustainable activities such a group hikes. Braais, picnics, large parties and functions are not allowed. There is no electricity which is an additional desirable limiting factor. The existing ecologically hardened areas, restricted to three small areas, are well maintained. Further structural development is strongly discouraged. Any potential upgrading would need an environmental impact assessment to proceed. Guides explain the rules of walking in a reserve before the start of a tour, e.g. walk in single file behind the guide on the natural contour-accommodating paths. The possibility of meeting snakes in the veld helps to enforce this instruction. No souvenirs, except birds' feathers, may be taken. Only limited numbers of plant or insects specimens may be gathered for research. A mantra common to green spaces is, 'Take photos, leave only footprints'.

Managing ecotourism

Mass ecotourism is not sustainable in sensitive natural heritage areas unless it is very carefully controlled. A Geopark in China has a shrine which thousands of people visit daily. At a Geopark conference, a presenter explained that management of this Geopark has built a path with barriers to channel visitors in a one-way direction past the shrine. On a visit to Australia, I was impressed with the raised boardwalks of either wood or expanded metal which keep the thousands of tourists off the fragile undergrowth of the thousand-year-old towering rain forests. These boardwalks enable tourists to experience the magnificence of the forests in a sustainable way. According to Dr Melanie Duval-Massaloux, in a lecture at Origins Centre on the 11th February 2011, the rock art paintings in the Chauvet Cave in France were being damaged by hordes of visitors passing through. Unfortunately the cave is situated right next to a river very popular for water sports and the cave is an additional attraction. To save the cave, the authorities closed it and constructed an exact replica nearby for the masses of visitors to marvel at. This is not quite the real thing but a rather innovative compromise to protect the site.

In the Kruger National Park, the number of daily visitors entering the park is restricted to keep it a pleasurable experience, particularly when something interesting is spotted and cars swarm like bees around a honey pot. Mass

tourism is not a factor at Melville Koppies. Management controls access on organised guided tours and hikes, research and field work.

Funding heritage sites

When tourism is a major income generator, more funds can theoretically be spent on heritage areas. In a nature and culture heritage site, funding is needed for the conservation of the natural flora, maintenance of structures, maintenance materials, marketing, research, security, guides, training and salaries. A small sensitive urban reserve like Melville Koppies which cannot sustain mass tourism or large recreational crowds, is of necessity a low-impact attraction. Consequently, it receives little Council funding for maintenance because available funds in South Africa are generally spent on areas like manicured parks that can accommodate thousands of visitors. Since 1959, when Melville Koppies first became a protected area, volunteers have been closely involved in all aspects of management, including fund-raising – resulting in a well-maintained site. This trend of volunteers conserving natural heritage is not restricted to Melville Koppies or South Africa, as volunteers are active in such endeavours world-wide. Volunteers who are committed, passionate and knowledgeable about the value of their heritage make a significant contribution to both maintaining, preserving and promoting heritage sites. Melville Koppies is fortunate to have had a succession of such volunteers.

Learner and student projects

During tours, Melville Koppies guides discourage the completion of worksheets as school learners/students spend too much time filling in the gaps instead of looking, thinking and learning. Melville Koppies lends itself to a wide range of possible follow-up projects by educators. These include essays/debates/posters/brochures/plays/worksheets on topics such as the need for responsible management and preservation of such sites, tourism potential, the way of life of early cultures, Grade 10 Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) heritage assignments and local history assignments for primary schools, the influence of gold on the environment, etc. Some educators assign specific projects for school learners and students to do at the Koppies, e.g. the Geology of the Koppies; designing hypothetical structures

for such an environment; art projects with details of flora or whole landscapes; designing a publicity brochure, etc. Learners and students on such focussed tours make notes, take photos and videos, and ask many pertinent questions.

Logistics of arranging tours

Tours take a lot of organising. Ideally, a tour should take place just after the appropriate material relating to a tour is formally taught at school so that learners can gain maximum benefit on the tour. The tour date has to fit in with the school/university timetable and colleagues' lessons. The number of learners/students able to be accommodated on a tour needs to be arranged with tour guides. Buses need to be booked. Costs include transport and a donation per child for the maintenance of Melville Koppies by the volunteer committee. The Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) requires four schedules to be completed by government schools before tours. The first schedule is for permission for the tour from the GDE. When this has been given, two more schedules need to be submitted about giving medical information of each pupil and parental consent. After the tour, another schedule requires a report on the tour. In addition, Melville Koppies must obtain parental/guardian consent on an indemnity form for every student prior to the tour. The liability forms are e-mailed to the institution as soon as a date is finalised. Tours at Melville Koppies usually take three hours which fit easily into school hours.

After all the arrangements have been finalised, the weather may play havoc on the day and the tour has to be postponed.

Scheduled tours and special tours

History should be part of a life-time learning experience. When people visit the Koppies on scheduled or special tours, they wonder how this pristine reserve manages to exist in the middle of Johannesburg. Learning about past cultures in a natural environment is often a totally new experience for visitors. Volunteer guides introduce local and foreign visitors to all aspects of this heritage site and also share snippets of information and anecdotes about significant landmarks seen from the top ridges. In this way, guides create an awareness of history, encouraging people to think about past cultures and the importance of preserving this unique natural treasure for future generations.

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Historic Environment Education – Vaal River tunnels: The forgotten history of the early days of coal in the Vereeniging area

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Abstract

This article describes a part of the history of coal in the Vereeniging area which has, as far as could be determined, not been documented in detail before. Information was obtained from written primary and secondary as well as oral sources. In the article it is also explained how this content can be integrated into Social Sciences, History and Geography teaching as part of historic environment education.

Keywords: Historic environment; GW Stow; Tunnels; Discovery of coal; Time travel; Vaal River.

Introduction

The historic environment is an important teaching source that is often not integrated well enough in the teaching of history. According to Westergren (2006), the historic environment comprises of everything in the environment created by man. These historical sites could be 10 000, 1000, 100 or even one year old. Historic environment education is about life and societies of yesterday, today and in the future.

Local environment and local heritage are the starting points for historic environment education. Studying historic places and heritage gives learners a historic dimension and historic perspective. Teaching at historic sites gives a feeling of genuineness that heightens the experience (Westergren, 2006).

In the Vaal Triangle there are numerous places of historical interest and importance. This article discuss the tunnels that ran underneath the Vaal River in the Vereeniging area. This part of the history covers the period 1878 – 1914 (Leigh, 1968:16).

Early years of coal in the Vereeniging region

1. After the discovery of diamonds in the Kimberley region in 1866 the demand for coal increased. At first wood from the indigenous thorn trees in the region was used but this source was soon depleted. The Republic of the Orange Free State appointed George William Stow to search for coal (Smith, 1967:62). Stow discovered coal south of the Vaal River in 1878 (Leigh, 1968:112) in the region of the confluence of Taaiboschspruit and the Vaal River but the government of the Orange Free State did not regard it as valuable (Prinsloo, 1992:59). Samuel Marks, a prosperous Kimberley diamond magnate, heard of Stow's mineral investigations and discovery of coal in the Northern Orange Free State and adjoining Transvaal. This resulted in a meeting between them and the formation of a company called "De Zuid-Afrikaansche en Oranje Vrijstaatse Kolen en Mineralen Vereeniging". Stow was rewarded with shares in the company. The name of the company was too long and it was referred to as " De Vereeniging" by the man in the street and in 1892 the town was officially registered as Vereeniging (Smith, 1967:65). On behalf of the company Stow bought the farm Leeukuil in 1880 and Klipplaatdrift in 1881 (Leigh, 1968:21).

Image 1: The monument in the honour of George William Stow on the northern side of the banquet hall on Constitution Square in Vereeniging

Source: J Strauss, 2014.

Marks wanted to transport the coal to Kimberley by means of flat bottomed boats (barges) on the Vaal River (Leigh, 1968:17). Coal was transported from the Central mine (See map number 1) to Kimberley and from 1892 by ox wagon to Johannesburg after the discovery of gold (1886). The first railway bridge across the Vaal River was built in 1892 and up till then ox wagons had to cross the Vaal River at the drifts. The best known of these drifts was Viljoensdrift. The first bridge across the Vaal River to link the Orange Free State with Transvaal was a wooden bridge that was opened by presidents Kruger (Transvaal) and Brandt (Orange Free State) on 20 May 1892. This also created a road from the Cape to Johannesburg. In November 1892 this bridge was replaced by a steel bridge (Centenary Brochure, 1992:7).

These two bridges were situated just north east of the current F W de Klerk bridge. Toll had to be paid to use the bridges which resulted in the transport of coal becoming expensive. After 1892 many transport drivers still transported coal from the Orange Free State to Transvaal (Gauteng) through the drifts (Centenary Brochure, 1992:4).

There were also other drifts through the Vaal River and other tunnels underneath the river. A local farmer had his own pont that could be used by transport drivers at a fee. The same farmer later dug a tunnel underneath the Vaal River but that collapsed (Milani, 2013). According to Leigh (1968:115) there were also tunnels underneath the Vaal River before the South African

War (1899 – 1902) in the vicinity of the Viljoensdrift crossing, as well as one in 1905. Little information is available on the tunnels except that they were used to bring coal to the Transvaal side.

The width of the Vaal River varied according to the season and as a result it was more difficult to cross the river during the rainy summer season. During the winter months the width was approximately 15 meters and the depth less than 0.3 meters which made it possible to cross it by ox wagon (Centenary Brochure, 1992:4-7). During summer it was wider and deeper. According to statistics the width was between 70-80 meters at times and the depth two meters and even deeper at times (Leigh, 1968:28-29). A pont (26°42,28'S & 27°54,85'E) was also in use but once again the toll made the transport cost expensive. Viljoensdrift was situated at approximately 26°42,3'S & 27°55,2'E (Centenary Brochure, 1992:4).

The drift was just south of the present dumping site and approximately 3,2 km north of Viljoensdrift station, in other words very close to the Central coal mine. When the Vaal River Barrage Reservoir was built in 1923 the width of the river expanded (Roodt, 1982:9). Infiltration of water also increased due to the wider river. At present the width of the river is approximately 150 meters where it crosses the original tunnel (Google Earth, 2014).

The tunnels

When the above-mentioned facts are taken into consideration, the digging of the tunnels makes sense. The first tunnel, built by the mining companies in 1913 started at the old Betty shaft of the Central East Coal mine (See map number 2). The entrance of the tunnel, known as Camp Pit (Leigh, 1968:116) was on the property of the "Brick and Tile Company or Vereeniging Refractories". The area now belongs to Meds Distribution (Cosmos). Camp Pit had one inlet but underground it divided into two. One tunnel let air in and out whilst the other tunnel transported coal from the Cornelia mine (Orange Free State) to Transvaal underneath the river by means of coco pans on a rail (See image 2).

The coordinates of the tunnel inlet or incline shaft (Betty shaft) is 26°41, 7'S & 27°55,5'E, just east of the current building of the Camp Pit substation (See image 2 & image 1). Approximately 90 meters from the entrance of the incline shaft the tunnel split into two. The two tunnels split at an angle of 55°. The eastern tunnel served as air tunnel. The tunnel stretched for approximately

0,5 kilometers in an east-south-easterly direction underneath the Vaal River where it connected with the underground works of the Cornelia mine in the Orange Free State. The eastern tunnel crossed the Vaal River approximately 250m downstream of the present-day railway bridge. The coordinates of the tunnel-river crossing is approximately 26°41,8'S & 27°55,9'E (See map number 2)(RSA National Geo-spatial Information, 2010 & Knapton, 2014).

Image 2: Location of the tunnel inlet

Source: Google Earth 2014.

Coal from the Cornelia mine in the Orange Free State was transported via the southern tunnel underneath the Vaal River to the Central East Mine by coco pans on a rail (Knapton, 2014). The main reasons for transporting the coal via the tunnels to the Transvaal side were apparently the following:

ii. the high cost of toll;

iii. approximately 200 ton coal was needed every week for the gold mines in Johannesburg (Willemse,1999:32);

iv. the Central East mine was already exhausted in 1910 (Smith, 1967:66), and

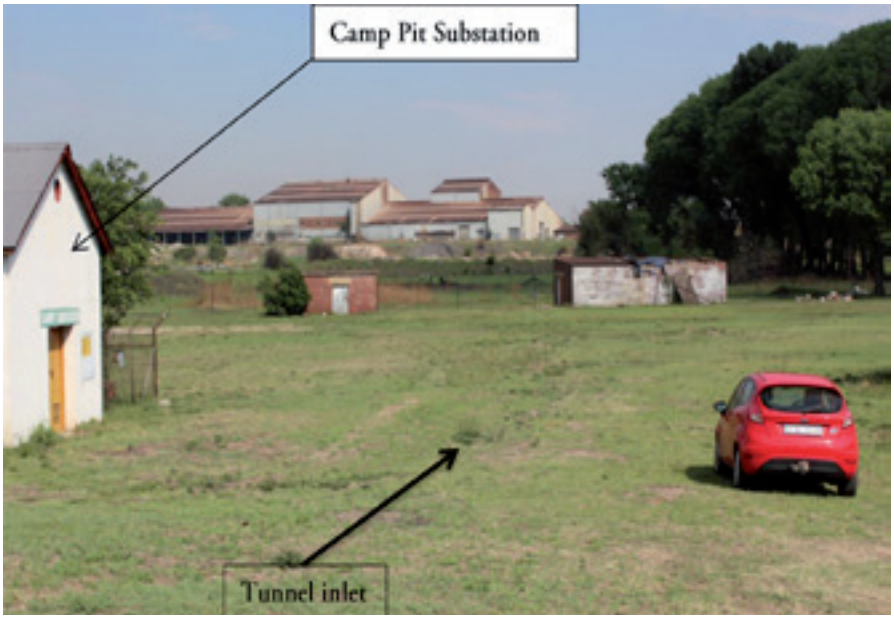
v. the low quality of coal from the Central and Central East mines (Leigh,1968:116).

In 1913 Camp Pit was started in the immediate vicinity of the exploited Central East coal mine (Smith,1967:69). The entrance today is filled up and the original location of Camp Pit can be seen in image 2. The building to the west of the tunnel inlet as indicated on image 2 is today known as the Camp Pit substation (Dickerson, 2014).

General characteristics of the southern tunnel through which the coal was transported:

- Length – 991 meters.
- Width: at the entrance approximately 2,5 meters but deeper in 3,3 meters.
- Height: 2 meters and at the entrance 2,5 meters (Leigh,1968:116, confirmed by Knapton, Dickerson, Black & Grimbeeck, 2014).
- The tunnel was approximately 30 meters underneath the Vaal River (Leigh, 1968:116).
- Gradient: according to Smith (1967:77) coal layer ONE was mined in the Cornelia mine in the Orange Free State at a depth of 67 meters. The average gradient of the tunnel was thus 1:15. It therefore seems that the part of the tunnel closer to the entrance of Camp Pit/Central East coal mine was steeper than closer to the works section of the Cornelia mine (See image 3).

Image 3: Indication where tunnel inlet used to be



Source: J Strauss, 2014.

The tunnels were lined with cement and bricks to strengthen it and make it more waterproof. The tunnels later filled up with seepage of river water as well as flood water. In 1986 the tunnel was filled up with different kinds of material as a safety measure by Vereeniging Refractories (Knapton, 2014). Just before the closing of the tunnel the water level was about 30 m from the entrance. The content of the lime in the water was higher than that of the Vaal River but mr. Grimbeeck who tested the water on a regular basis, claimed that the water was in general cleaner than that of the Vaal River before the tunnel was closed. This could perhaps have been because of the seepage. Grimbeek also confirmed that the water level differed very little from one season to another.

Time travel to the tunnels as part of local history

Time travel can effectively be done in the Social Sciences, History and Geography classes. According to the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) of the Department of Basic Education (DBE), the specific aims of History are to create:

- an interest in and enjoyment of the past;
- the ability to undertake a process of historical enquiry based on skills, and
- an understanding of historical concepts, including historical sources and evidence (Department of Basic Education (DBE) 2011a).

One of the specific aims for Geography according to the DBE (2011b) is to understand the interaction between society and the natural environment.

Specific content topics related to this study for Social Sciences, according to the DBE (2011c), could be the following:

- Social Sciences, History, grade 5, *A heritage trail through the provinces of South Africa*;
- Social Sciences, History, Grade 8, *The Mineral revolution in South Africa and*
- Social Sciences, Geography, grade 5, *Minerals and mining in South Africa.*

By doing time travel in an historic environment, history and geography can become "alive" resulting in deeper insight, understanding and enjoyment. Places of historical importance in the Vaal Triangle are amongst others the Block House situated on the R59 north of Meyerton, rock art (Redan), the Vaal Teknorama museum, Constitution Square in the Vereeniging CBD, the

Sharpeville memorial, the remainder of the tree trunk where the conditions for peace were negotiated after the second South African War, the sand stone kerbs in the Vereeniging CBD, Maccauvlei with the remaining pillars of the second bridge across the Vaal as well as a cemetery with the graves of the Australian and New Zealand soldiers who died in the second South African War, the bridge that was built in 1921 and is not used any more and the concentration camp cemetery. For this specific task only the tunnels that were used for the transportation of coal will be researched and the following steps will be applied:

- the theoretical part of the history will be dealt with in class;
- a complete assignment of the discovery of coal will be expected from the learners. Part of this assignment will be to arrange and conduct oral interviews with employees of the former "Brick and Tile Company or Vereeniging Refractories". The area now belongs to Meds Distribution (Cosmos);
- learners will be accompanied by the teachers on an excursion. Arrangements will be made to visit the following historical sites:

i. the local museum (Vaal Teknorama), to study the exhibition on the discovery of coal in the Vereeniging area; a representative of the museum will explain certain aspects and answer questions;

ii. the area where Vereeniging refractories was situated;

iii. Viljoensdrift where the pont used to be, and

iv. a brief stop will be made at the monument of George William Stow which is situated next to the banquet hall on Constitution Square.

It will be expected from learners to take photos as technology is freely available and also to make notes. This, together with the information obtained from the interviews will enable them to submit and present a complete assignment on the role played by the Vaal River tunnels in the history of coal in the Vereeniging area. In conclusion the learners will be requested to evaluate the significance of the insight and creativity of the people of the time.

Conclusion

Time travel is an innovative and creative way of implementing the curriculum. It is envisaged that the learners will not only experience this "forgotten" part of environment history first hand, but it will enable them to make a link between theory and practice. It provides historic perspectives and it is fun.

History will become alive and that is, according to the authors, the essence of history teaching. The assignments of the learners will contribute to the data of tunnels underneath the Vaal River and as a result this history will not be forgotten.

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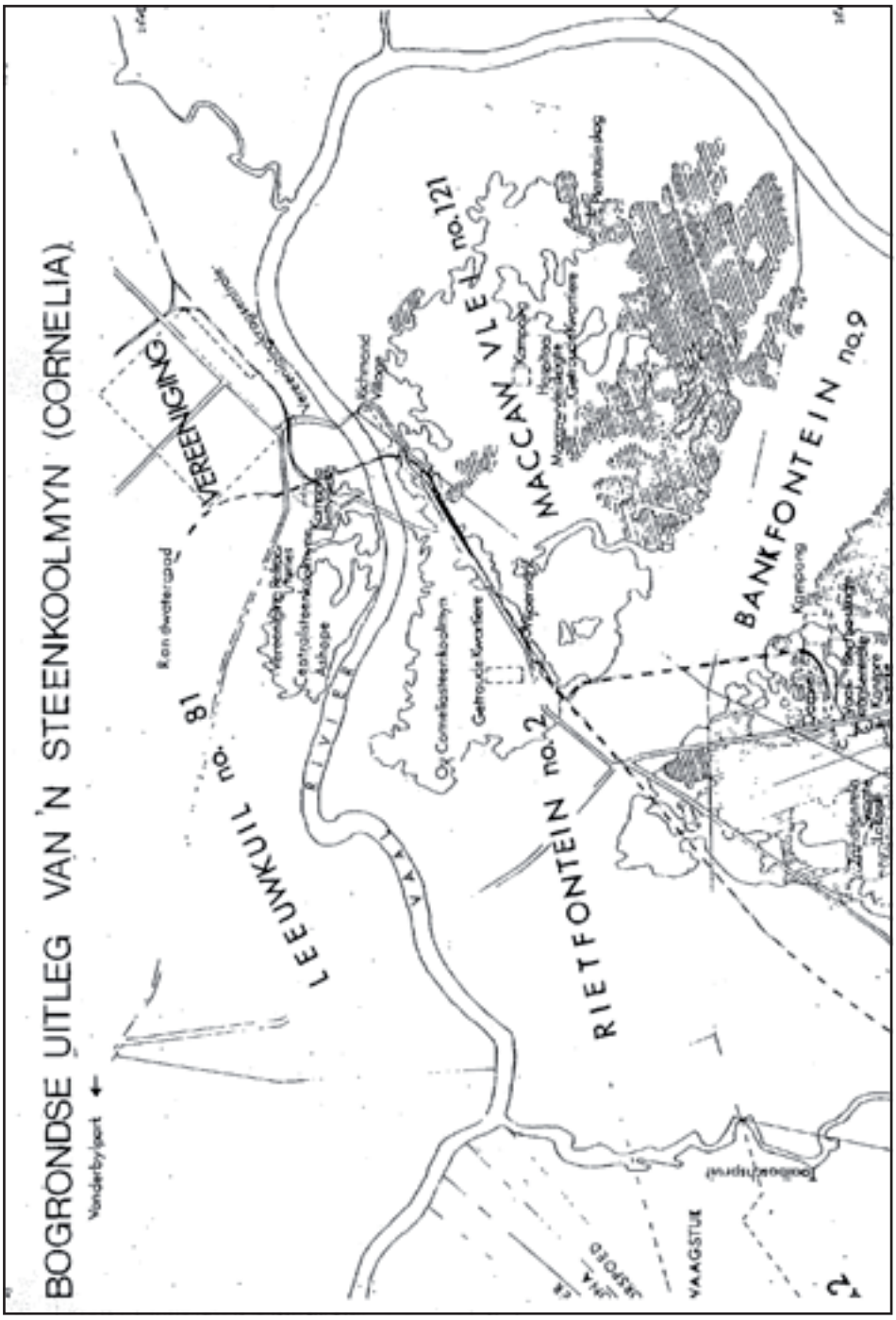
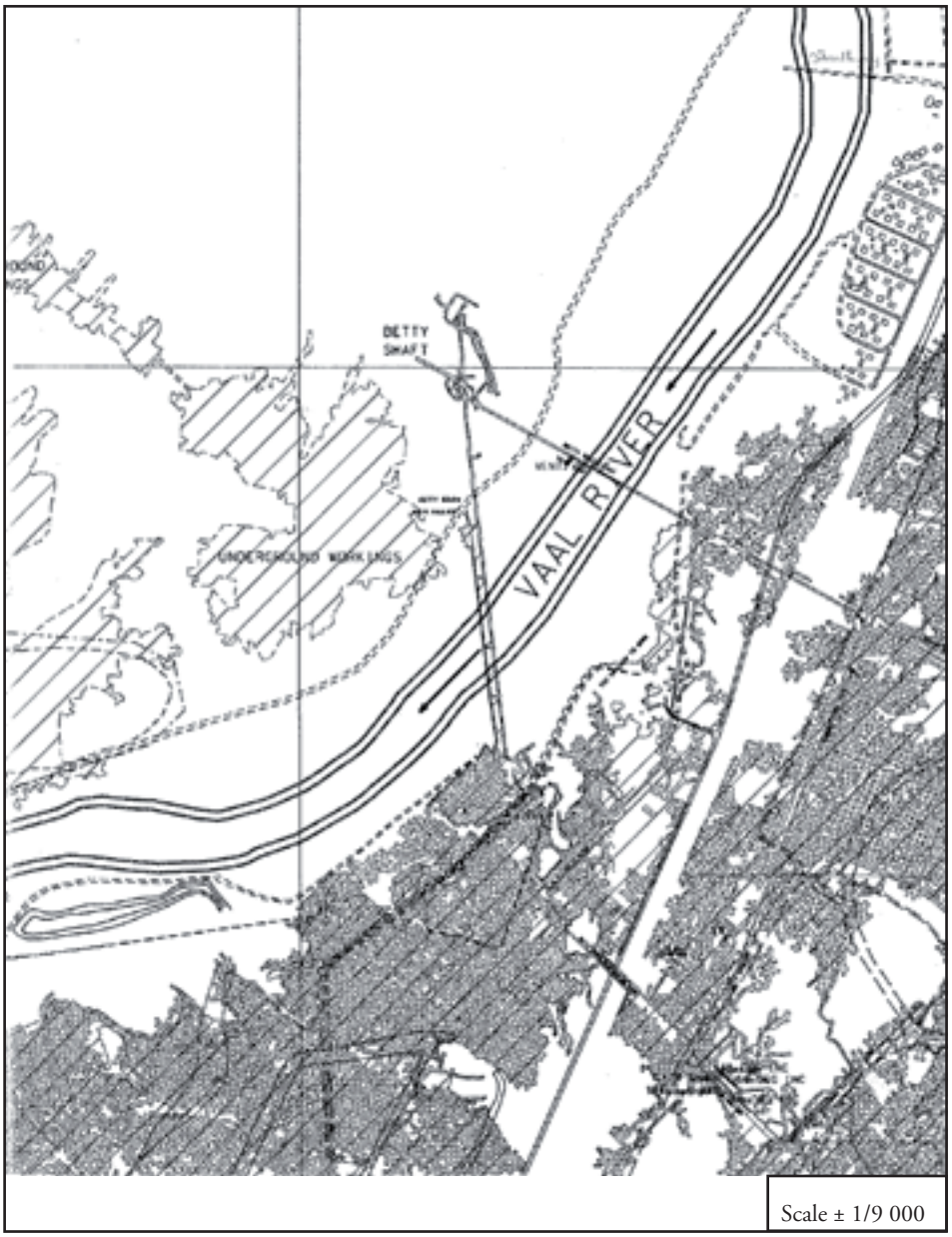
Map 1: The location of the tunnel across the Vaal River



Source: Smith, 1967:51.

Map 2: The location of the tunnels across the Vaal River



Source: New Vaal Collieries, 2009.

Book Reviews

Valleys of silence into the Rwandan genocide

(Rosebank, Sunday Times Books, 2014, not paginated, e-ISBN (Epub) 978-1-928216-22-3.)

Hamilton Wende

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The valleys of silence into the Rwandan genocide is a narrative on the Rwandan tragedy in a journalistic style. Wende, the author went to Rwanda during the genocide to work on a documentary for the BBC's Panorama programme on Rwanda, a country which was almost unknown from Western media at that time. In an attractive style, he takes the reader from his city of Johannesburg, South Africa to the Rwandan darkness of 1994. He keeps leading the reader through the historical and horrendous events mixed with topographical description of different places he crossed to deflect attention of that tragedy on that beautiful place of the African Great Lakes region.

What lies behind dreadful choices that people in Rwanda made in 1994? The first reason for this critical question the author was searching, he found that in part it was history and choices made by politicians and their consequences. Three "tribes", Hutu, Tutsi and Twa started moving and settled in the region between 1000AD and 1400s. Although they were living peacefully, a brutal "feudal system" was forced on majority Hutu who were obliged to work for Tutsi "overlords". The Belgians exploited the historical difference between the two groups, ruling through the Tutsi *Mwami* (king) and his "lords". The author condemns the Belgians who classified people by "ethnicity" and requested people to carry identity cards with ethnic classifications. He disapproves these humiliating and ridiculous categorizations in as much they were based on facial features, length of the nose, the number of cattle owned and argues that this division was done in the Belgian interests in order to exploit the people and the land.

According to the author, the generally accepted version of Rwanda's history is that when the Hutu started their uprising in the 1950s, after the King Mutara Rudahigwa's death and the murder of Hutu chiefs, Belgians supported Hutu due to the increasingly nationalistic, anti-Belgian Tutsi stand. Independence was achieved after Tutsi massacres by Hutu and others fleeing to Uganda and neighbouring countries. Internal Tutsi became politically impotent and discriminated. When militant Tutsi attacked Rwanda from outside, innocent internal Tutsi were massacred and this 'ethnic' cleansing led others into exile. It is this generation of these refugees who would later form the nucleus of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) based in Uganda.

The author wonders why after independence Hutu continued the system of "ethnic" classification. His view is that, first, they would have been influenced by myths showing Tutsi domination over Hutu and secondly Hutu leaders were seeking support from their majority group and to keep considering Tutsi as scapegoat of all problems. He also mentions problem of land in Rwanda whereby the density was 262 people per square kilometre, added to high birth rates with an average of 8.6 children per woman. For the author, "Rwanda was in part a Malthusian apocalypse – real nightmare of what an overpopulated world could face". When the presidential jet was grounded, the killings started by targeting people on hit lists mainly Hutu and Tutsi politicians. The author notes that "most analysts are convinced that the missile that brought the plane down came from the nearby barracks of the Presidential Guard." Some people argued that Tutsi were killed because RPF had killed their President. In the meanwhile, "the UN had been forced to stop its efforts to preserve civilians in Kigali because of the increased fighting there." Its soldiers witnessed the holocaust and did nothing because of the decision taken by their superior.

Wende visited different places with tangible evidence of Tutsi extermination such as Nyarubuye in the Eastern region of Rwanda where approximately 4, 000 Tutsi gathered to seek refuge resisted to Interahamwe, but one day later they were almost all killed due to the intervention of the army. In addition to this extermination, the effects were enormous and horrendous including the difficult life of Tutsi refugees, many orphans and some of them were mutilated. The effects that he identifies include the deflation of infrastructure by RPG rockets, psychological trauma, massive migration of Rwandan refugees into neighbouring countries, and the devastation of the country by the uncontrolled RPF soldiers who killed religious leaders in Kabgayi. Some of the evidence in the book includes pictures taken by journalists showing, for

instance, orphans, the weapons that were used during killings, census forms with ethnic classification, genocide memorial, Tutsi survivors protected by the UN troops, refugee camps in Tanzania which give valuable information on the genocide and its consequences.

A striking aspect of this book is the role played by Sylvain Nsabimana, the then Prefect of Butare, who managed to protect orphans who were in Ecole Sociale de Karubanda and escorted them till Burundian border. Another group of Tutsi was protected near his office by a group of army officers. By asking the important question about how everyone would have reacted during the tragedy, the book not only shows the challenges of being an activist against evil but also is an interpellation for everybody to question his/her decision. It gives an opportunity to teachers and students to think about the role of learning genocide. In fact, it is not only to know the sequences of events but also to understand how to resist propaganda of hatred and become human rights activists by protecting others' lives as was done by Sylvain Nsabimana even if he did not manage to do it consistently during the whole crisis.

The book raises other information such as the high number of Tutsi killed in Butare, the description of threatening Interahamwe on their roadblocks, some comparison of the Rwandan case with examples from the Holocaust and the South African case. It points out the importance of breaking silence and telling the truth for true reconciliation as a way of healing Rwanda.

By analysing the roots of Rwandan tragedy, the *Valleys of Silence into the Rwandan genocide* is a good teaching aid for young learners who want to know what happened in Rwanda in 1994 in a journalistic text easy to read and understand. However, the use of some terms in this book is problematic. For example, in some places, the word massacre was chosen instead of genocide. The author preferred to use the term "Rwandan genocide" instead of "genocide against Tutsi". The term "Rwandan genocide" was first used by the UN and implies that all Rwandans were targeted. In reality, with the exception of the beginning when political leaders were killed, for the rest of the period, the Tutsi were the victims.

Furthermore, medieval terms such as lord or feudal do not describe exactly the Rwandan clientship system where the patron and client had a voluntary contract. Another term, tribe, used for Hutu, Twa and Tutsi is itself contentious and seems also displaced for Rwandan case. Some researchers prefer to use social groups/classes because a person could shift from one class to another due to different factors. The Tutsi domination mentioned in the

book seems to undermine the participation of other social groups in the ruling of the country during the pre-colonial period as at the top of one district there were three chiefs from all social groups. The identification of the actors in the grounding of the presidential jet also remains a controversial issue, even though the author was careful not to mention anyone.

With regard to migrations which peopled Rwanda, the author seems to accept the settlement of the population according to phases, which is also rejected by some historians basing on archaeological findings and lack of evidence of migrations in "ethnic" terms. The whole document which is not paginated does not give any bibliographical information. In this regard, different statistics mentioned are questionable. It is the case of 100,000 Tutsi killed in Rwanda in 1959 upheaval comparatively to low statistics given by other sources. The author also mentions the killing of several Hutu leaders in 1959 as an immediate cause of the upheaval while, in fact, only one was beaten. Neither does he show his sources for the number of Tutsi killed in Butare (even though the number 250, 000is not very questionable) or the population density in the 1980s. Surprisingly, the information given by people he met from time to time corroborates some written documents. One may be tempted to think that they were either constructed by the author or his informants were trained to answer in that way. Despite the mentioned gaps, Wende made an effort to identify some key issues behind dreadful choices that people in Rwanda have made in 1994. This book can help both teachers and learners to understand the complexity of the Rwandan situation and more importantly for teachers to help their learners to think about the choices they make in life.

Understanding and Teaching the Vietnam War (The Harvey Goldberg Series)

(Madison Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2013, 334 pp., ISBN 978-0-299-29414-4 (pbk.), 978-0-299-29413-7 (e-book))

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Harvey Goldberg was a well-respected lecturer and teacher of history at the University of Wisconsin and at Ohio State University, in the United States of America. In honour of him, the University of Wisconsin Press has begun publishing the Harvey Goldberg Series for Understanding and Teaching History, of which this volume, on the Vietnam War, is the first instalment. Consisting of an introduction and eighteen essays, this guide to understanding and teaching the war brings together much of the most recent scholarship on the war and a collection of strategies for teaching about it, at several levels.

The introductory essay by the editors, presents a summary of many of the most recent debates about the war. This essay helpfully traces the history of the interpretation of the war and summarises its historiography. They begin with the first sceptical scholarly writing about the war by such authors as the French writer Bernard B. Fall (who was killed on a Vietnamese battlefield in 1967), and then examine the so-called orthodox interpretation of unnecessary US involvement, or indeed, of US aggression, by such historians of the "Wisconsin School" as William Appleman Williams and Lloyd C. Gardner (an undergraduate lecturer of this reviewer). They then move on to the revisionist historiography of the 1980s and later, which defended American motives in entering the war, and was critical of political interference in the military conduct of the struggle. They conclude this section by evaluating the revisionist project as a failure and the current consensus as being dubious about the motives and outcome of the war. They also take account of recent historiographical trends which expand the traditional America-centred focus of historical writing and teaching. These include a politico-geographical extension of interest, to balance US coverage with more information about, and interpretation of Vietnamese (both communist North and anti-communist South) motives and actions, before, during, and after the war. Also of greater recent concern are the French colonial roots of the later "American" war. This essay helpfully sets the stage for later chapters, about the role of communism and nationalism in the war, the French antecedents of the American effort, and the Vietnamese side of what was, after all, the *Vietnam* War.

This is then followed by two essays of reflection on long careers of teaching about the war, at university level. One of these is by George Herring, the author of one of the standard texts on the war, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975.* Herring's career spans many of the historiographical transitions mentioned earlier, and he demonstrates how this new material and these new approaches affected and moulded his teaching at

the University of Kentucky.

The second part of the book is a series of essays on methods and strategies of teaching about the war, including the use of movies, music, literature, the Internet, and other materials. Many useful approaches are discussed in these chapters. Kevin O' Reilly's ideas about placing students in the position of the US decision-makers, to better understand their thinking, and Mitchell B. Lerner's contribution on the use of the so-called White House tapes, are suitable for advanced undergraduate or post-graduate students. Hugo B Keesing, on Vietnam era music, Scott Laderman, on movies about Vietnam, and Richard Hune Werking and Brian C Etheridge, writing about the use of the Internet, all provide a wealth of resources which are useful in secondary, as well as undergraduate classrooms.

The final section of this book covers specific topics of content which may be the focus of classroom teaching at any appropriate level. These include the place of the war in the Cold War, the role of nationalism and colonialism in the development of the war, the Vietnamese side of the war, and the Tet Offensive in the classroom and lecture theatre. The essay on the anti-war movement is less useful than it might have been, due to the author's seeming personal concern to vindicate the movement against recent criticism.

The concluding essay "Teaching the Vietnam War in Secondary Schools and Survey Classrooms" by Stephen Armstrong, an experienced high school teacher and university lecturer, presents useful approaches for instructors at any pre-graduate level of teaching. While some of this essay will be of little interest to the South African high school teacher (he gives a measure of attention to American standards for teaching the subject of the war), much of the essay is devoted to the development and application of ideas presented in the earlier chapters. Here the classroom teacher will find more specific strategies and suggestions about the use of music and films, both documentary and theatrical, and textbooks, in the high school classroom.

As with all such anthologies, the lecturer and teacher will find the quality and usefulness of these essays uneven. Taken together however, this collection will serve to update South African educators about recent issues and debate surrounding the Vietnam War and will stimulate their thinking about how best to teach this topic. High school educators, in particular, will want to consult this volume before the Vietnam War becomes a focus of their grade 12 teaching about the Cold War, in 2016.

"HISTORY MAKES YOU THINK!"

Wits School of Education and the Wits History Workshop, in conjunction with the South African History Archive, are proud to host the 28th annual conference of the South African Society for History Teaching: 10 and 11 October 2014

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Thursday 9 October:

15:30 - 16:30	Meeting *Yesterday&Today* Editorial Members	Pieter Warnich	Sunnyside Park Hotel
Tea/Coffee			
17:00-18:00	Meeting SASHT-regional representatives	Henriette Lubbe	Sunnyside Park Hotel
18:00 -19:30	SASHT-Executive meeting	Elize van Eeden	Sunnyside Park Hotel
19:30-	Dinner for SASHT Executive and regional representatives		Sunnyside Park Hotel

Friday 10 October:

08:30	**Registration** (for conference at conference desk) // **SASHT membership** (at subscription desk)			
09:00-09.30	**Welcome and introductions: Helen Ludlow** **Prof Jean Baxen, Head of Wits School of Education**			
Venue: Staff Room	**SESSION 1: 09:30 - 11:00**			**Venue: Room 001**
09:30	**History in the Classroom: Practical** **Chair: Sonja Schoeman**		**History and Morality** **Chair: Siobhan Glanvill-Miller**	
09:35 - 09:55	Debbie Joubert *(Pietermaritzburg Girls' High School)*	How has the SS Mendi been commemorated in South African history and abroad?	Barry Firth *(Crestway High School)*	Diluting history in the quest for social justice
09:55-10:15	Robert Faltermeier *(Jeppe High School for Boys)*	Using technology with primary & secondary sources: World War 1 case study	Marj Brown *(Roedean School)*	History teachers as activists

10:15-10:35	Kevin Garcia *(Michael Mount Waldorf School)*	The American Indian Civil Rights Movement: A case study in civil society protest	Marshall Maposa *(University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood)*	Moral judgments in the history classroom: Thoughts of selected novice history teachers
10:35-11:00	Discussion		Discussion	
11:00 - 11:20	Tea			**SASHT membership (at subscription desk)**
Venue: Staff Room		**SESSION 2: 11:20 - 13:10**		**Venue: Room 001**
11:20 - 11:25	**Curriculum Issues** **Chair: Michelle Friedman**		**History out of the Classroom** **Chair: Henriette Lubbe**	
11:25 - 11:45	John Wright (*Research Institute, University of the Witwatersrand*) & Cynthia Kros *(University of the Witwatersrand)*	Working with South Africa's pasts, 1500 – 1880s	Wendy Carstens	The value of tours around heritage sites, with Melville Koppies as an example
11:45 - 12:05	Simon Haw *(Retired subject advisor, KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education)*	Thinking about the history curriculum: An international perspective	HR Paterson *(Ditsong National Museum of Military History)*	The best teaching aid in the world: Ditsong National Museum of Military History and the First World War, Second World War and Cold War
12:05 - 12:25	Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo *(University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal)*	Dealing with some missing links in high school history education Filling the gaps for a progressive and effective history curriculum	Gordon Brooldbanks *(Westerford High School)*	Techniques to inspire learners – getting the recipe right
12:25 - 12:45	Monnapule Mosiane and Boitumelo Moteeng *(University of the Free State)*	Enhancing parental involvement in the teaching of Social Sciences: A transformative pedagogical approach	Nomonde Sibusiu *(University of Venda)*	Taking history beyond the classroom boundaries during the 21st century
10:15 - 10:35	Dylan Wray *(Shikaya)*	Starting the conversation	Marian Baker *(Wits University)*	Representations of the 7th Frontier War 1846 – 1847
10:35 - 10:55	Jean Leonard Buhigiro and Johan Wassermann *(University of KwaZulu-Natal)*	Understanding the views of Rwandan History teachers on the teaching of the genocide against Tutsi through their drawings	Susan Bester *(North-West University)*	On the cutting edge - The Retief-Dingaan Tractate and landclaims
10:55 - 11:15	Laura Efron *(University of Buenos Aires)*	Rethinking recent history teaching: Some approaches and contributions from the Argentinian case	Gilbert Nxumalo *(University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal)*	Young African women and Umhlanga ceremony: A case study in historical consciousness

11:15 - 11: 35	Reville Nussey *(University of the Free State)*	From history lecture room to classroom: Possibilities and pitfalls of a reconciliatory pedagogy using oral history	Raymond van Diemel *(The SA Military Academy)*	'The Maties who caused all the trouble': The controversial 1989 Matie visit to Windhoek &Lusaka
11:35 - 11:55	Boitumelo Moreeng *(University of the Free State)*	Beyond blame and victimhood: Confronting the binaries of apartheid in the classroom	Francois Cleophas *(University of Stellenbosch)*	Running in and away from the archives
11:55 - 12:15	Discussion		Discussion	
12:15 - 13:00	Lunch			

Venues: B47	SESSION 4: WORKSHOPS Room 001	Room B46	Room	Staff Room	
13:00 - 14:30	Workshop 1: Michelle Friedman *(University of the Witwatersrand)* Teaching the TRC	Workshop 2: Lauren Dison and Lauren Rembach *(University of the Witwatersrand)* Using assessment rubrics, Gr 12-undergraduate history	Workshop 3: Elize van Eeden (North-West University) *The Miracle Arising** as source for teaching History: Theoretical and practical considerations	Workshop 4: *Wits History Workshop* Noor Nieftagodien (chair) Tshepo Meloi Arianna Lissoni *(Wits History Workshop)*	Oral history: Love and revolution: The affective world of the ANC in exile in Tanzania
14:30 - 15:30	**Panel and Discussion: Should History be Compulsory in South African Schools? Chair: Noor Nieftagodien** Panelists – Johan Wasserman *(UKZN)*, Mumsy Malinga *(St Mary's School)* and Paul Maluleke *(Wits History Education Hons student)*				
15:30 - 16:00	Review: Elize van Eeden Closing of conference				
16:00	Tea				

The 2014 SASHT Conference summary

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Conference theme: *History makes you **think!***

And so 10-11 October 2014 came and went. Approximately 120 to 130 scholars of History, nationally and internationally, attended the conference of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) hosted by the Wits School of Education. Although statistics may most of the time not be a true reflection of reality, it nevertheless provides some understanding thereof. For those who were not able to attend the conference, the following statistical demography of the Conference should be most informative:

• 38 papers were presented (including three 90 minutes workshops).

• 41 sessions (including the excursions) in a matter of 22 hours … and for some it was a few more hours!

• One poster session. Congratulations to Chantelle Naude for the funky poster entitled, "The flipped teacher – The changing profession", in which she demonstrated the value of embracing new technology in a new Century.

• 27 South African scholars from six provinces presented papers, namely the Free State Province (two papers), Gauteng Province (11 papers), KwaZulu-Natal Province (six papers), Limpopo Province (two papers), North-West Province (three papers), and the Western Cape Province (four papers).

• The paper presentations were facilitated by 15 scholars from various universities/tertiary institutions, eight educators from GET and FET schools, and four representatives from museums (n=2) and the Department of Education (n=2) respectively.

A happy variety indeed – and it was also this diversity from various professional environments that allowed for the most interesting ways of approaching the challenging conference theme of *History makes you think!* For me the theme provided several ways of scrutinizing all opportunities related to the question: "What was it possible to 'think' of?"

• **Think** about the past (historical knowledge and exchange) – three papers.

Debbie Joubert on the SS Mendi; Kevin Garcia on American Indian Civil rights; and Arianna Lissoni on the affective world of the ANC members in exile.

• **Think** of ways in how to think and remember the past (teaching methods) – 12 papers.

Monnapule Mosifane and Boitumelo Moreeng on parental involvement in teaching the social sciences; Anke Hoffstadt on the dimensions of sites in cultures; Sean Brokensha on war and music; The two museum visits (the Ditsong National Museum of Military History and the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory); Siobhan Glanvill on telling stories or engaging in historical thinking?; Sonja Schoeman on the historical literacy of FET learners; Jake Manenzhe on History as thought; Marj Brown on teaching History through thinking maps; Maryke Bailey on classroom pedagogy and problem-solving; Pieter Warnich and Claire Gordon on utilising cell phone technology to support the teaching and learning of history; Reville Nussey on using oral history in reconciliatory pedagogy; and Francois Cleophas on the running in and away from the archives.

• **Think** about how to teach a certain past – 11 papers.

Robert Faltermeier on using technology with primary and secondary sources from WW1; Marj Brown on teachers as activists; Wendy Carstens on the value of tours to the Melville Koppies heritage site; HR Patterson on the Ditsong National Museum of Military History focusing on different war time eras; Christina Kgari-Masondo on IKS and land from an IKS perspective; Gordon Brookbanks on how to inspire learners through excursions on for example specific topics; Jean Leonard on understanding views of Rwandan history teachers on teaching the genocide against the Tutsi by means of drawings; Marian Baker on representations of the 7th Frontier War, 1846-1847; Susan Bester on the Retief-Dingane tractate and present-day land claims; Michelle Friedman on teaching the TRC; Elize van Eeden on the years running up to the 1994-election and how to use "Miracle Rising" as historical documentary.

• **Think**ing about needs for (always) reinterpreting the past as "refreshed" knowledge and research – three papers.

John Wright and Cynthia Kros on working with the South African pasts (1500-1880s), with special reference to stereotypes; Laura Efron with Rethinking recent History teaching: Some approaches and contributions from the Argentinian case; and Gilbert Nxumalo on The Umhlanga women and historical consciousness.

• Respond/act (with the assistance of learners and fellow colleagues) to **think**ing about History in the general domain which may provoke the principles and methodology the subject and discipline stands for – two papers.

Barry Firth on diluting History in the quest for social justice and Julius Simiyu on History makes you act, not just think.

• Research on **thoughts** about ethical and moral matters in History – one paper.

Marshall Maposa focused on Moral judgements in History teaching through the eyes of novice teachers.

• **Thoughts** about the diversity of peoples and perspectives embedded in the past, and ways to do justice to diversity in thematic or/and phenomenon engagements.

A few papers contained elements of this category, but it could also have been considered more in most of the presented themes and timeframes. It may also be of great value in the teaching of controversial themes too!

• **Think** about how the other/each other thinks about one another – two papers.

Simon Haw on thinking about the History curriculum: An international perspective and Boitumelo Moreeng on confronting the binaries of apartheid in the classroom.

Although most of the papers were presented in the above Categories 2 and 3, almost all of the presenters tried to do justice to at least an aspect of the conference theme. This was very much appreciated. Because of the above, the emphasis of the conference was much more on the "how to", or the teaching and learning methodology. Yet, there may be a question about the occasional absence of critical questioning in favour of a quasi-historical approach which tends to rather serve political agendas and/or particular moments in history. Research and ways of addressing traumatic and sensitive topics also received substantial attention. The ideal will always be to explore sufficient methods in dealing with sensitive past events, rather than shying away from these particular histories. More attention was also given to teaching and learning guidelines and support on the GET and HET-levels, and not primarily on the FET-level.

The value and necessity for sound historical knowledge on every historical moment *per se*, combined with efficient teaching methodology and assessment procedures, could perhaps have received more attention in many of the papers. This is an important aspect that the SASHT should nurture more in future conferences. To make space for discussing possibilities of how to think about and educationally approach particular trends in History, and reflections on the

historiography of teaching History in South Africa is long overdue (for example, certain themes in the curriculum such as colonialism, racism, apartheid, or how to teach "Topic … X" as curriculum theme should include aspects such sources, methodology, technology, and excursion possibilities).

As a last observation – to say that we as educators of History cannot teach our learners everything, but we can engage them to think, enjoy, and with our maturity and responsibility as implemented in the classroom, learn them to respect the past and the peoples of yesteryear. We perhaps should reconsider our actions when we sometimes so easily tend to one-sidedly comment on issues (maybe as a result of the ahistorical dimension (side) of the discipline often supported by our conscious and/or unconscious assistance).

Personally, I have enjoyed this well-organised conference very much! I want to convey a few words of appreciation to each and every presenter, as well as to every organising committee member of the Wits School of Education who has made this conference possible.

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SASHT REGIONAL REPORT (2014)

Henriëtte Lubbe
Deputy Chairperson: SASHT

During 2014 the Executive Committee of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) continued with its efforts to stimulate interest in History and History teaching in the various provinces of South Africa. Except for the Eastern Cape, the SASHT currently has regional representation in all the provinces including the Northern Cape (where Sunet Swanepoel of the McGregor Museum in Kimberley recently joined our ranks) and Mpumalanga, where Keneilwe Mosala (History Subject Advisor in the Nkangala District, Mpumalanga) kindly offered her services to the Society.

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

Some regional representatives have been quite active during the year although many of their activities were not necessarily organised under the auspices of the SASHT. However, the events that they organised provided them with an opportunity to bring the SASHT to the attention of a relevant wider audience. In at least some cases, for example in Limpopo Province, such activities inspired new members to join the Society and motivated existing members to make themselves available for election to the SASHT Executive Committee. The SASHT Executive sincerely appreciates all the hard work that has been done in promoting the historical discipline at ground level.

For the first time in the history of the Society, readers of Yesterday & Today could read about regional activities in a mid-year report published in the July 2014 edition of the journal. Regional news, including photographs and video clips, were also posted on the SASHT website, and it is the intention to continue communicating regional news in order to keep SASHT members informed of discipline-related developments throughout the country.

There is, however, room for further improvement. Firstly, the Society needs to find a regional representative for the Eastern Cape. Members are therefore invited to make suggestions for an appropriate appointment. Secondly, the levels of commitment among regional representatives remain uneven and it is hoped that this will change in 2015.

What follows below is a brief overview (in alphabetical order) of the activities that have been taking place in the provinces during 2014:

Eastern Cape

The Eastern Cape does not have an active SASHT regional representative and therefore no news has been received from this province.

Free State

Unfortunately it is impossible to report on History-related activities in the Free State other than the workshops I personally presented in Welkom, as no feedback was received from the current SASHT regional representative in that province.

My own involvement in the Free State entailed two continuing professional development workshops for History and Social Science teachers in the Lejweleputswa District. These workshops (which took place during January and July respectively) formed part of a personal community engagement initiative which is now supported financially by the Unisa College of Human Sciences.

The first two-day workshop (January 2014), which is discussed in some depth on pages 168-169 of the July 2014 issue of Yesterday & Today, developed a whole range of research, teaching, writing, presentation and assessment skills structured around photographs of street name changes in Pretoria/City of Tshwane, as well as Grade-appropriate sample assignments, teacher guidelines and assessment rubrics. On Day 2 of the workshop participants engaged in compiling an asset map of their group strengths and considered how asset mapping as a research technique could be translated into a teaching tool in the classroom.

The second two-day workshop (July 2014) shared visually attractive and effective ways of teaching paragraph and essay writing in the classroom. It also assessed the views of the participants on the value of the Unisa skills training interventions over a period of several years by means of newly developed data collection techniques and encouraged teachers to apply some of these techniques to their own teaching, either as a way to assess learner perceptions of the quality of their teaching, or as teaching tools to ensure full participation of every learner in the learning process.

Gauteng

History educators in Gauteng have clearly been working hard to promote the discipline both inside and outside the classroom.

SASHT Conference (2014)

The main event for the year on the SASHT calendar was the 28th annual conference of the SASHT which was held at the Wits School of Education on10 and 11 October 2014. The conference, with the stimulating theme 'History Makes You Think', was ably organised by SASHT Regional Representative for Gauteng, Siobhan Glenvill-Miller, together with Dr Helen Ludlow (Chair of the Conference Planning Committee) and her team from the Wits School of Education, the Wits History Workshop, the South African History Archive, the Ditsong National Museum of Military History, and a few practising History educators. Not surprisingly, this well publicised conference was attended by about 120 delegates from across South Africa as well as some international guests.

Dr Ludlow reports that the theme of the conference attracted 38 thought-provoking offerings from primary, secondary and tertiary educators. Three workshops engaged delegates with teaching the TRC, applying the SOLO taxonomy to assessment, and using The Miracle Rising as a source for History teaching. There were also two poster presentations and a final panel discussion on whether History should be made compulsory in South African secondary schools. Throughout the conference the quality of presentations was high, participation from the floor lively, and discussions around issues such as teaching painful pasts, whether reconciliation should be a goal of education, and how historical thinking can be taught in the current educational dispensation, captivating.

The keynote speaker, Anke Hoffstadt of the Heinrich-Heine University in Dusseldorf, made an absorbing visual presentation which encouraged the audience to think deeply about issues of commemoration and remembering at a time when the memorialisation of the First World War is being considered.

The conference programme also included tours to the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and the Military History Museum, interesting book displays by several prominent publishers, and a powerful presentation by Sean Brokensha on 'War and Music', followed by a delicious conference dinner at the National Museum of Military History on the first evening of the conference.

History Europe Tour 2014

Other activities of note include the 11-day overseas tour to Europe for 40 senior History learners from Jeppe High School for Girls in Johannesburg, organised by Dee Gillespie of the SASHT. This tour took the learners to Prague, Krakow, Berlin, Paris and Amsterdam, where the group visited, among other things, various World War II heritage sites.

Although this overseas tour was not a regional activity as such, it may inspire other History teachers in the various provinces of South Africa to organise something similar for their learners. To learn more about the life-changing experiences of both the organiser and her learners, as well as the potential challenges of such a tour, read Dee's article titled 'Turning a Dream into a Reality: The History Europe Tour 2014', below.

KwaZulu-Natal

Still recovering from the hard work attached to organising the 2013 SASHT conference in Pietermaritzburg, Mathew Marwick of Maritzburg College had some catching up to do in terms of his teaching and was therefore unable to organise any specific SASHT-related event in KwaZulu-Natal this year. We look forward to another exciting Regional History Quiz or similar event in 2015!

Limpopo

Good news from Limpopo is that History teaching is alive and well, and that History teachers are eager to improve their knowledge and teaching skills. This became clear during at least two interventions in 2014, the first of which was a two-day workshop in July, presented by myself as an extension of my community-based research project in the Free State. SASHT Regional Representative for Limpopo, Jake Manenzhe, was instrumental in organising the workshop at Hope and Glory Special School in Seshego, Polokwane.

This workshop aimed at developing a whole range of research, teaching, writing, presentation and assessment skills structured around photographs of street name changes in Pretoria/City of Tshwane and Grade-appropriate sample assignments, teacher guidelines and assessment rubrics. Assignments included oral investigation, poster-making, argumentative essay writing and the creation of book covers and pamphlets. Similar to their Free State colleagues, participants clearly enjoyed the practical group work session during which they were expected to create visually attractive book covers and pamphlets, and present these products to the whole group. Several mentioned how executing the task themselves had given them a better understanding of how their learners would experience and respond to the challenges posed by such an activity.

The second event was a very successful Limpopo Provincial History Conference held on Friday 08 August 2014 at Nivarna Primary School in Polokwane. This conference, with the theme 'Approaches to Teaching History', was again organised by Jake Manenzhe and his organising committee and the keynote

speaker was Professor Harry Nenngwekhulu from the University of South Africa.

This conference was used, among other things, to honour the best performing teachers for 2013. Fifteen teachers (the top three in each of the five districts) were awarded certificates for best performance, while three teachers received recognition for being the top three history educators in the province as a whole. One of the best performing teachers was included in the programme to share good practices with other delegates.

With 249 delegates attending the Limpopo Provincial History Conference, the event provided an ideal opportunity to publicise the SASHT and its many activities. Delegates were also encouraged to attend the 2015 SASHT Conference which will be hosted in Limpopo Province on 8 to 9 October 2015.

Mpumalanga

Keneilwe Mosala joined the SASHT only very recently as Regional Representative for Mpumalanga. She reports that the Mpumalanga Education Department has four districts: Bohlabela (former Bushbuckridge), Ehlanzeni (the Lowveld area), Gert Sibande (South East Highveld bordering KZN Province) and Nkangala (West of the Highveld bordering Gauteng Province), where she is based.

Ms Mosala reports that the History pass rate in Mpumalanga improved to 87.1% in 2013, with a further improvement to 97% envisaged for 2014. In addition to the normal CAPS training interventions conducted by the provincial Education Department, she organised a one-day special subject improvement workshop together with five Grade 12 teachers. This workshop which took place on 16 August 2014, was attended by all the Grade 12 candidates in the Steve Tshwete Municipality. The content covered included 'The Background to the Cold War', 'Vietnam', 'Civil Society Protest in America', 'The Black Power Movement', 'Civil Resistance in SA: Black Consciousness', 'The Crisis of Apartheid in the 1980s, and 'The Coming of Democracy in SA' and coming to terms with the past. Additional materials compiled by the presenters, were sent to individual teachers to use for the preliminary examination and final exam revision. Moreover, the presenters, who have been NSC markers for the past few years, shared valuable examination tips with the learners.

Lessons learnt from this workshop suggest that more time should be allocated to the planning of such an event; that outside experts need to be invited to participate in the workshop; and that funding is required to ensure the success of a similar effort in 2015.

More generally, Mpumalanga History teachers face several challenges, the most prominent of which is the lack of historical writing skills. Learners, es-

pecially those with language barriers, struggle to write a coherent essay and construct an effective introduction and conclusion. They also battle with paragraph writing and tend to simply rewrite the sources. Furthermore, learners fail to ascertain the usefulness, bias and the degree of fairness of source material.

If learner performance is weak, some schools use the phasing out of the subject as a solution to a high failure rate. On the other hand, when learners – especially those who do not have a language barrier – do well in the examination, they get entry into higher education to study subjects such as Law and Journalism. The Department of Education's strong encouragement to study Natural Science, and the availability of bursaries for students enrolling for Mathematics and Science, also make History learners to feel left out.

Northern Cape

Another newly recruited regional representative, Sunet Swanepoel, reports that the McGregor Museum in Kimberley hosted three significant displays this year to which schools were invited: the 'Separate is not Equal: The Struggle against Segregated Schooling in America' travelling exhibition (March 2014) in collaboration with the United States Embassy and the Apartheid Museum; a poster display on '20 Years of Democracy' (April 2014); and the 'First World War Centenary' exhibition (August 2014).

A number of schools have requested guided tours of the McGregor Museum as well as the Magersfontein Battlefield Museum and Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Museum, while students from the new Sol Plaatje University Bachelor of Education Department visited the museum for a guided tour of the 'Journey to Democracy' display.

The Museum's oral historian, Sephai Mngqolo, assisted with a project titled 'The Galeshewe Memorial Project' which focused on the history of the 1980s unrest in Kimberley's Galeshewe Township. Three Kimberley high schools (Tshireleco, St. Boniface and Thabane) took part in this project.

Last but not least, the Museum yearly assists the Nelson Mandela Museum in Mthatha with identifying learners to attend their annual youth camp at Qunu. This year learners from St. Cyprian and St. Boniface High Schools in Kimberley will attend.

The McGregor Museum also faces certain challenges. It receives very few visits from Northern Cape schools and is visited mostly by North West and Free State schools which receive funding for such outings. Moreover, teachers seldom inform the Museum's education officer in advance of assignments given to learners, causing problems when learners just pitch up with numerous questions and requests.

North West Province

Here SASHT regional representative Dr Pieter Warnich, supported by Dr Susan Bester and Mr Philly Modisakeng, presented a very successful short course for subject advisors in North-West Province at the Potchefstroom campus of North-West University on 21 to 23 May 2014. Geared towards the intermediate phase, this short course focused on the planning and compilation of an oral history project, the interpretation of primary and secondary historical evidence, and the application of different methodologies in the presentation of selected historical content.

Dr Warnich was also a guest speaker on the television programme, 'Dagbreek', on Channel 144 on 23 July 2014. In this programme, he shared his views on the possibility of the Minister of Basic Education introducing History as a compulsory school subject. The video can be viewed on YouTube at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ubsij6LgeI

Western Cape

In the Western Cape, SASHT regional representative Barry Firth organised a well-attended, half-day History workshop with the theme 'Opening the textbooks' on 7 June 2014. The purpose of this workshop, which is covered in more detail on pages 170-175 of the July 2014 issue of Yesterday & Today, was to demystify the process of textbook writing; explore how teachers were using textbooks in their classes; create connections between the various Higher Education institutions in the Western Cape; strengthen the footprint of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT); reach those SASHT members who do not regularly attend the annual conference; and recruit new members, especially teachers and PGCE students, who could benefit from joining the SASHT.

Themes that were covered at the workshop included the arduous process of textbook writing and the various levels of control that shape the final product; the constraints under which textbook writers operate; the effect of the profit motive on the selection and layout of textbooks; and the various ways in which teachers were using textbooks in their classes. Textbook writers of the current FET CAPS compliant history textbooks were also asked to prepare a chapter from a textbook which they had written and share with teachers how they would have taught it in the classroom.

This workshop proved to be so successful that participants requested similar meetings on a more regular basis in the future.

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On behalf of the Executive of the SASHT, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the regional representatives for their commitment and hard work in promoting the historical discipline in the various provinces of South Africa. We look back on a year filled with exciting developments, and we look forward to an equally if not more active 2015.

Turning a dream into a reality: The History Europe Tour 2014

Dee Gillespie
Jeppe High School for Girls

I have always been passionate about my teaching. Teaching History really offers great opportunities to inspire learners beyond the walls of the classroom and confines of the covers of a text book, and experience grade and curriculum relevant excursions. Due to perceived organisational hurdles, departmental obstacles, and the consequences of an educator's *in loco parentis* responsibility, many educators would not consider excursions as an option, let alone overseas excursions. However, a group of Jeppe High School teachers (Miss Pugin, Mrs Bloem, Miss Smithers and Miss Naidoo), my husband and I decided to live by the Jeppe Motto – 'Nothing is too difficult for the brave' – and take 40 senior History learners to Europe for 11 days (29 June to 9 July 2014).

Turning a personal and class 'dream' into a reality started with my 'converting' from being a Maths and Biology teacher for 19 years to being a high school History teacher in 2007. I realised how important it was for me and my learners to really hear the voices of the past, and to try to see and feel events from different points of view. During my History teaching, I have always tried to take the learners to all the local museums in order to give them a deeper understanding of various historical events.

For example, we have been to the National Museum of Military History in Parktown, Johannesburg, and have seen the development of weapons of war; we have visited Constitution Hill and learnt how the 'hopes for the future are built on the pain of the past'; we have climbed Isandlwana and marvelled at the immensity of Zululand; and we have slept in the wagons at Blood River to understand Afrikaner Nationalism. We have also explored Pretoria visiting Heritage sites such as the Voortrekker Museum, Fort Schanskop, Sammy Marks House, Melrose House, Kruger House and the Union Buildings. In 2013, we walked in the steps of the 1976 Uprisings in Soweto. In addition, we have ventured to Kimberley and discovered more about the history of diamonds; travelled to Cape Town where we stood at the tip of South Africa, went up Table Mountain and sailed to Robben Island.

Each excursion taught me something new about organising trips. Finally, after three years, I was ready to start planning a 'grander' trip that I had only dreamt about! I suggested that we visit Auschwitz so that we could develop a deeper understanding of the lessons for humanity which we derive from studying Holocaust History. The learners did not forget the suggestion and the following year, while studying the 'French Revolution' in the Grade 10 curriculum, they asked 'When are we going overseas?'.

Being true to my word, I decided to give *Travel and Sport* a call and see how we could 'see and feel' our History curriculum. And so the dream slowly became a reality over the next two years.

The first huge task we faced was planning the overseas history tour. The GDE application forms have to be submitted six months before departure. While waiting for a response, one has to continue collecting money and essential documents even though the trip may be cancelled for various reasons. Obtaining unabridged birth certificates, divorce papers and other essential documentation such as study permits for foreign learners provided a rather steep learning curve. Application for visas through Capargo and the French Embassy was a full two-day job. Fund raising tasks over two years involved the daily sales of popcorn, a very successful Spur evening and a Golf day. We undertook the tour during the July 2014 holidays. The curriculum-based focus of what subsequently became our maiden 'history tour' was a mixed bag of French Revolution, Holocaust, and Cold War History.

An overseas History tour allows learners to enjoy the inevitable benefit of personal growth through exposure to foreign cultures, and learn important life skills. Many learners have never been on an aeroplane, let alone travelled outside the borders of South Africa, so their working with passports, boarding passes, foreign currencies, itineraries, street maps, various forms of transport and different languages and food develops an independence and appreciation of other cultures. Other life skills that had to be dealt with included dealing with homesickness, restricted shopping time and having flu away from home! The added benefit was that the learners' understanding of what they were learning in the classroom was enriched immeasurably.

Our very full History tour itinerary began with a flight to Amsterdam and then a connecting flight to a rather wet Prague in the Czech Republic. After a brief afternoon rest we embarked on our walking tour of the ancient city of Prague. We visited the Jewish cemetery and the huge Prague castle. In the evening we caught a sleeper train to Krakow in Poland.

Krakow should be on everyone's bucket list! We were given the opportunity to 'walk a few steps' (which actually meant about 3 km at a time!) and explore this magnificent city. We had the opportunity to experience the true meaning of History when we visited Oskar Schindler's factory museum, as well as the fantastic unplanned opportunity to visit the spectacular Wielicka Salt mine. This mine is over 600 years old and is still operational. It ranks as one of UNESCO's best heritage sites. Our last day in Krakow was spent at the infamous Auschwitz Concentration and Extermination Camp. The immensity of the Nazi's 'Final Solution' was finally really felt by all of us.

In the evening, we boarded a train to Berlin. We were expected to arrive at the Berlin Hauptbahnhof at about 23h00. Little did we know that we were expected to get off at the central Hauptbahnhof station and not the East Hauptbahnhof station. We therefore arrived in Berlin at 23h00 two stations too early. With the help of two young police officers we caught another train to the correct station, but we had by then missed our bus. Thus began the 'Jeppe Girls Amazing Race'. To the clickety clack of suitcase wheels, we had to walk through this incredible German city at 23h30 to our hotel – and we did it! We found our hostel, and after a few minutes, we had all checked in and fell into our beds exhausted.

Berlin is the most extraordinary city to see, and one can experience both Holocaust and Cold War History around every corner. Our hot day began with a visit to the Typography of Terror site, the former Head Quarters of the Gestapo, and the thought provoking Jewish Memorial, made up of hundreds of marble columns of various heights, symbolising how one can get 'lost in life'. On the eve of the semi-finals of the Soccer World Cup with Germany facing the Netherlands, the Brandenburg gate and Reichstaggebaude was alive with patriotic Germans. We then moved on to the Cold War historical sites. We drove through the notorious Check Point Charlie. The group was able to walk along parts of the Berlin wall that are still intact, and visit sites where people had tried to escape from East Berlin and were killed.

Next was a train ride to Paris. However, our overnight train came to an abrupt halt at 03h00 as the railway strike began. We were given 10 minutes to get off our original sleeper train and board a coach. Once again, Jeppe Girls did it in one synchronized movement, the terror of being left behind perhaps being the main driving force! Instead of arriving well rested and all 'dolled up' for Paris, we arrived in an overcast Paris exhausted, in our pyjamas and far from looking our best! However, as our bus drove up to the Eiffel Tower, we soon forgot all the inconveniences and challenges and in true Jeppe spirit ('Nothing is too difficult for the brave'), we puffed our hair and powdered our noses and were ready to face Paris!

We had a guided tour including the legendary sites of Montmartre, Sacre Coeur, the Trocadero area, and the Notre Dame Cathedral. The afternoon was spent exploring the immense Louvre and its impressive collection of priceless artefacts. Finally, the group were given the chance of going up the Montparnasse tower for a 360° view of Paris! The next day was once again a full day. We spent the rather wet morning at the palace of Versailles, reflecting on the times of the Bourbon Monarchy and the people's quest for liberty.

Next was our bus drive to Amsterdam which gave most of us the opportunity to catch up on much needed sleep. After seven-and-a-half hours we arrived in Amsterdam and were shown our first genuine windmill. We then visited the Van Gogh Museum. Our last day in Europe was spent visiting the prominent Rijksmuseum, followed by relaxing on a leisurely canal cruise. After a visit to Madame Tussauds, we went on our bicycle tour in the rain. After a bicycle riding proficiency test, a select few of our group were allowed to venture out into the crazy traffic of the Dutch bicycle riders. Our last evening was spent looking for 'cheap take aways' as we had missed our supper. Instead of wasting time indoors, a number of girls decided to spend their last few euros at the Anne Frank Museum.

On the 9 July 2014 our adventure finally ended. After a few ticket hiccups about eight of us were on standby for the flight home. But after some negotiating we were on our way home on our KLM flight. Our dream of visiting a number of eminent historical sites had been achieved! We had accomplished so much in the 11 short days that it will take a life time to unpack all our memories of this unforgettable achievement.

Sadly, arriving back in South Africa resulted in one of the most upsetting episodes of our trip. A Kenyan learner's study permit was not stuck in her passport, so the OR Tambo custom officials would not allow her to enter South Africa. We had landed at 9h00 but by 14h00 had not resolved the problem even after contacting various senior immigration officials. Eventually I was forced to leave the learner in the custody of the officials after a very upsetting evening of being told that 'South Africans do not want

Kenyans here'. The custom officials were completely committed to getting the learner a flight back to Nairobi even though her parents were at the OR Tambo airport. The next day was a mad scramble to try and find the necessary documentation and people who could get the xenophobic custom officials to release the traumatised learner. Finally, after numerous phone calls to the Human Rights Commission, Alexandra Robertson at the Legal Resources Centre (15th Floor Bram Fischer Towers, 20 Albert Street, Marshalltown, Johannesburg, 2000, Tel: 011 836 9831; | Fax: 011 836 8680) and Antoinette Ramoshaba, Presidential Liaison Officer at the Department of Home Affairs (Customer Services Centre, BVR-building, Tel (012) 300 8616; Fax 0866232281 or (012) 810 8169; antionette.ramashaba@dha.gov.za), assisted in getting the learner released after19 hours. It certainly took me a while to recover from this 'welcome back' to South Africa and start enjoying reflecting on my numerous photographs.

On getting back to school, I was then confronted by an irate father who was very upset because I had taken the girls to the Salt mines which was not on the original itinerary. He also complained that I had not accommodated Halaal food needs at all times, even though he had not informed us that his daughter needed Halaal food. Moreover, my worst organisational 'sin' was that the learners did not have more time to shop in Paris, one of the most expensive cities in Europe – and this after they had signed a contract saying that they fully understood that this was a History tour and not a shopping spree. Once I had recovered from these two negative responses and had had time to reflect on the overall experience, I have to say we had a wonderful trip.

The learners' experience will not become a reality unless the parents or guardians see the value of the tour in terms of enhancing both their children's education and the personal growth the child experiences. All the parents, guardians and sponsors who made this trip a reality for their children therefore need to be thanked. I would also like to thank my headmistress, Miss Goncalves, once again for all her support and encouragement in the undertaking of this mammoth task. Thank you to everyone for making this trip possible and 2014 a year we will never forget!

Occasionally the SASHT Executive requests that the SASHT constitution is displayed in an Yesterday&Today edition to inform and/or update their members. Members are invited to request a review of any section of the SASHT constitution at an SASHT General Meeting. Prior consent of a section review must be received in written form by the Secretariat of the SASHT or the Chairperson/vice Chairperson of the SASHT (see communication details in the SASHT AGM-minute)

SASHT Constitution

The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)

(An Association of History Educators, Organisations, Publishers and People interested in History Teaching as well as the educational dissemination of historical research and knowledge)

1. CONSTITUTION

1.1 There shall be constituted a body known as the SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING (SASHT). The provisions herein contained shall be known as the Constitution of the Society, which provisions may be altered by a majority of those members present at a general meeting of members, considering that:

1.2 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 educators with the intention to continue to improve quality.

2.5 To make history educators and student teachers aware of the relationship between History as an academic discipline and the didactics and teaching of History at school level in order to keep abreast with 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//portfolios, and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the peer reviewed SASHT- connected 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-connected 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-connected Journal, *Yesterday&Today*.

3.2 The following persons are eligible as members of the Society:

3.2.1 any History educator/organisation/publisher who subscribes to the objectives of the Society; and

3.2.2 is approved by the Executive Committee as a member.

3.3 Any member may resign by notice to the chairperson, the vice chairperson or the secretariat//treasurer. 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 as portfolio members and/or regional representatives. These members in the leading position of the SASHT shall hold the respective positions for a maximum of three years, after which they may be re-elected at an annual general meeting (usually to be held in September-October). Two additional members (the guest hosting a conference during the following year and a history educator abroad) may be nominated.

The temporary Executive member hosting the next conference may be nominated fully on the Executive as well, but if not he/she only has a temporary executive position to smooth the conference organization process with efficient communication.

4.2 An election of new Executive Committee members for the SASHT Executive during 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 week 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 an annual AGM meeting.

4.4 Only fully paid-up members of the SASHT (and preferably 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 or portfolio of the Executive Committee shall be chaired by a committee member and may consist of so many members as the committee may decide from time to time.

4.8 A sub-committee may co-opt any member to such sub-committee or portfolio.

5. MEETINGS

5.1 Committee Meetings

5.1.1 Committee meetings shall be convened by the secretariat/secretary-treasurer on the instructions of the chairperson or vice-chairperson or when four committee members jointly and in writing apply for such a meeting to be convened. Three committee members shall form a quorum. Most of the correspondence will be done via e-mail.

5.1.2 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 two members, consisting of either the chairperson and/or the vice-chairperson and/or the secretary-treasurer if so arranged, shall be empowered to withdraw and deposit funds for the use of/on behalf of the Society.

5.5.2 Any amount that must be withdrawn, and exceeds the amount of R3 000 should beforehand be properly communicated among the two to three empowered Executive members (namely the chairperson, the vice chairperson and, if a position of treasurer exist, the treasurer). All these aforesaid empowered executive members should be able to exercise their signing right (to withdraw and deposit funds) on behalf of the SASHT in the absence of a/ the treasurer, but with the consent and approval of the core SASHT Executive.

5.5.3 Proper accounts shall be kept of all finances of the Society as set out in the regulations published in terms of the Fundraising Act, 1978.

5.5.4 A financial report shall be produced by the Executive or Secretary-treasurer (the latter if appointed as such) at the annual general meeting or upon request from the SASHT Executive Committee. Otherwise a full general account at least should be provided in the Chairperson's report.

5.5.5 Financial contributions will be collected from all persons and/or organisations, worldwide, which support the objectives of the Society.

5.5.6 A guest SASHT conference organiser(s)/Society member involved, is 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.

The Yesterday & Today (Y&T) Journal for History Teaching in South Africa and abroad

Editorial policy

1. Y&T is a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal (accredited since the beginning of 2012).

2. The Y&T journal is a journal for research in especially the fields of history teaching and History discipline research to improve not only the teaching, but also the knowledge dissemination of History. The Journal is currently editorially managed by the North-West University and published under the auspices of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT).

3. Contributions may be either in the humanities (historically based theoretical discourses), or from education (best practice workshops, or focused content research with a fundamental theoretical basis reflecting History or other histories). Articles, in which interdisciplinary collaborations between the humanities and education are explored, are also welcome.

4. Regional content mostly considers quantitative and qualitative research in Southern Africa, but international contributions, that may apply to History teaching and research in general, are equally welcome.

5. Authors may submit individual contributions or contributions created in teams.

6. Contributions are subject 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 the journal for the reference guidelines for more detail on the Harvard and Footnote reference methods). The authors' choice of which reference method will be respected by the editorial management. References must be clear, lucid and comprehensible for a general academic audience of readers. Once an author has made a choice of reference method, the Y&T guidelines for either the Harvard reference method or the Footnote reference method must be scrupulously followed. The guidelines for referencing according to the Harvard method are provided on the last pages of the journal. The most recent *Yesterday&Today* journal articles could also serve as guideline.

12. Editorial material with images (illustrations, photographs, tables and graphs) is permissible. The images should, however, be of a high-density quality (high resolution, minimum of 200dpi). The source references should also be included. Large files should be posted in separate E-mail attachments, and appropriately numbered in sequence.

13. Articles should be submitted to the editor electronically at: pieter.warnich@nwu.ac.za and also to his administrative assistant, Ronelle van Staden at: 20505957@nwu.ac.za. Notification of the receipt of the documents will be done within 48 hours.

14. The text format must be in 12pt font, and in single spacing. The text should preferably be in Microsoft Word format.

15. The length of articles should preferably not exceed 8 000 to 10 000 words, or 15 to journal pages.

16. Articles which have been published previously, or which are under consideration for publication elsewhere, may not be submitted to the *Yesterday&Today* journal. Copies of the Journal is also electronically available on the SASHT website at www.sashtw.org.za.

Yesterday & Today
Template guidelines for writing an article

1. **Font type:** Adobe Garamond Pro (throughout document)/Arial (if the first font type is unavailable).

2. **Font size in body text:** 12pt.

3. **Author's details: ONLY provide the following**: Title, Campus & University and E-mail address

   Title:10pt, regular font; Campus & University: 10pt, italics; and E-mail address: 10pt, regular font. (Consult previous articles published in the Y&T journal as an example or as a practical guideline).

   Example: Pieter van Rensburg, *Vaal Triangle Campus*, *North-West University*, p.vanrensburg@gmail.com.

4. **Abstract:** The abstract should be placed on the first page (where the title heading and author's particulars appear). The prescribed length is between a half and three quarters of a page.

   The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.

   The heading of the ***Abstract***: Bold, italics, 12pt.

5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract.

   The word '**Keywords**':10pt, bold, underline.

   Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;). Example: Meters; People; etc. (A minimum of six key words is required).

6. **Heading of article**: 14pt, bold.

7. **Main headings in article**: '**Introduction**' – 12pt, bold.

8. ***Sub-headings* in article**: '***History research***' – 12pt, bold, italics.

9. **Third level sub-headings: 'History research'** – 11pt, bold, underline.

10. **Footnotes**: 8pt, regular font; **BUT** note that the footnote numbers in the article text should be 12pt.

    The initials in a person's name (in footnote text) should be without any full stops. Example: LC du Plessis and **NOT** L.C. du Plessis.

11. **Body text**: Names without punctuation in the text. Example: "HL le Roux said" and **NOT** "H.L. le Roux said".

12. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:

    Example: p.space23 – p. 23. / pp. 23-29.

13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.

14. **Quotes from sources in the body 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".

15. Quotes **(as part of the body text)** must be in double inverted commas: "…and she" and **NOT** '…and she'.

16. **Images: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures**: Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript's body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.

    Example: **Image 1: 'Image title'** (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.

    Sources of all images should also be included after the 'Image title'.

    Example: **Source: 'The source'** (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.

    Important note: All the images should be of good quality (a minimum resolution of 200dpi is required; if the image is not scanned).

17. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text. Example: the end.[1] **NOT** …the end[1].

18. **Single and left spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.

19. **Dates**: All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: **23 December 2010**; **NOT** 23/12/2010 **[For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines].**

20. Language setting in Microsoft Word as **English (South Africa); do this before starting with the word processing of the article**. Go to 'Review', 'Set Language' and select 'English (South Africa)'.

The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines

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

The footnote reference method

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

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

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

NOT

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

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

Examples of an article in a journal

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

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

Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

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

To:

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

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

Examples of a reference from a book

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

JJ Buys, *Die oorsprong en migrasiebewegings van die Koranna en hulle rol in die 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 Archive (NA), Pretoria, Department of Education (DoE), Vol.10, Reference 8/1/3/452: Letter, K Lewis (Director General) / P Dlamini (Teacher, Springs College), 12 June 1960.

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

A source accessed on the Internet

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

A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:

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

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

Shortened version:

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

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

GENERAL:

Illustrations

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

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.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY
FOR HISTORY TEACHING
(SASHT)

SUBSCRIPTION 2014-2015

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 $60	☐
	- EUROPE £40	☐

TITLE:

SURNAME:

INITIALS:

INSTITUTION:

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CELL:

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THE AMOUNT INDICATED FOR THE YESTERDAY & TODAY JOURNAL ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, PAYABLE TO *THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING*, **AND CAN BE SENT TO:**

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DR. SUSAN BESTER
SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING/

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