Yesterday&Today

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Two peer-reviewed issues are annually published.

Journal focus and vision

Articles in the following field of research are published:

- History teaching: Refers to research reports dealing with the methodology (didactics) and practice of History teaching.
- Educational history: The history of any education-related theme is reported.
- History research: Relates to any theme in especially History curricula of Southern Africa. It is recommended that all the contributions should reference to either the GET, FET or HET curriculum content. The themes should also be linked to ways to utilise the latter in education in general, and or the classroom in particular.
- Hands-on reports: Are articles based on authors' personal experiences/opinions with history within or outside the classroom.

Notes to contributors

Manuscripts, in English, not exceeding 15 pages in single spacing and 12pt font should be submitted electronically to the editor as a Microsoft Word attachment. Images (such as photographs, graphics, figures and diagrams) are welcome. A summary/abstract in anyone of the official South African languages must be included. Contributors are encouraged to submit articles written in a clear, reader-friendly style.

The Editorial accommodate peer reviewed articles and practical hands-on articles. However, it's <u>only the peer reviewed articles that are acknowledged</u> for being accredited and valid for subsidy purposes.

Please note that authors are expected to provide written proof that the language and style of both the abstract and the manuscript were professionally edited before submitting the final approved manuscript to *Yesterday&Today*. Six to ten keywords should be included in the manuscript. For more information, see the "Template guidelines for writing an article" and "The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines" at the end of the journal.

The footnote or Harvard reference methods are prescribed for article contributions to the journal. Also refer to the last pages of this publication and the SASHT's website: http://www.sashtw.org.za for more information. The use of the correct citation methods and the acknowledgement of all consulted sources is a prerequisite. One hard copy of an entire issue will be sent to contributory authors.

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Editorial

Traditionally the second issue of the *Yesterday&Today* covers the SASHT's annual chair report, the AGM-minute and the keynote of the most recent SASHT conference. The editorial decided that these contributions, for practical reasons, should be reserved for the July 2014 edition. Therefore, in this second 2013 issue of *Yesterday&Today* educators of history can look forward to read a gem-like variety of well-argued research articles on curricula issues in Southern Africa, textbook debates, youth identity and History, the value of socio-environmental history within an indigenous paradigm and the teaching of sensitive topics such Nazism. Even better, if such an effort is pondered on from a German family point of view, with the objective to develop learners sophisticated analytical competencies. The research article section are concluded with the contribution of the Germans, Elina Marmer and Papa Sow on African history teaching in contemporary German textbooks, focussing on the colonial discourse, embedded in racism. The efficient utilising of regional/local history in the teaching of colonial themes and doing meaningful assignments on FET and HET levels, concludes the research article section.

No less than three contributions in the hands-on section provides for stimulating thoughts. It's good to learn from Paul Haupt that history educators and learners don't shy away from thinking about, as well as using, technology and multimedia. Its progress in the direction of modernising the history classroom for the young technophile, at last! What's more is that Westford High's history teachers explain how it's possible to theoretically and practically channel their teaching in History in such a way that a decline in learners becomes a strange term. In fact, at Westford learners are achieving distinctions in History with flying colours and also literally flying to places, exploring their histories, and so becomes part of supporting mechanisms in gaining invaluable knowledge. Read this fascinating hands-on article by Gordon Brookbanks. In turn, Kevin Garcia, with his reflections on the USA in the ninety sixties, wants to create an awareness for complexity in society and an exposure to unusual information to broaden the scope on how to think about the USA.

Lastly two book reviews are offered which covers two totally different centuries and themes. Gerald Groenewald discusses the rich history and assignment of the slave ship *Meermin* during the late eighteenth century written by Dan Sleigh and Piet Westra. The value of Ingvald Schroder-Nielsen, Lone Rudner & Bill Nasson's "Amongst the Boers in peace and war" promises to offer fresh perspectives on the already well-recorded Anglo Boer War/South African War. Written and oral memories by war veterans from other countries (and in this case Schroder-Nielsen's experience in South Africa in war time as Norwegian soldier) certainly add value to how a foreigner perceived the Boers, and the tragedy that accompanies war.

Yet again the editorial board extends an open invitation to the entire History community to submit research reports for possible publication in any of the future issues of the journal. It's great to know that the *Yesterday&Today* so far has enjoyed a healthy support from all institutions nationally and internationally.

"Who does this history curriculum want you to be?": Representation, school history and curriculum in Zimbabwe

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Abstract

This paper looks critically at representation in the history curriculum of Zimbabwe in relation to the production of subjectivity and identity that the government hopes will fulfil the quest for nationhood. It finds that content selection is skewed towards promoting a dominant group while syntactic knowledge is manipulated to make students be what the state wants them to think and be. Furthermore, the examinations reinforce the dominance of a single group by privileging metaphors that emphasize a selective narrative. The paper argues that the adoption of critical modes of address that promote critical pedagogic practice can help both the teachers and their students transcend the narrow specifications of the nationalist curriculum. This requires that the school history curriculum should be treated as a political performance which must be appraised beyond the written surface of its textuality as to uncover the unconscious and constraining representations in it. In this way teachers are likely to contribute new sentences, not oft-repeated ones, to that unending dialogue between the present and the past which is history.

Keywords: History curriculum; Nation-state; Identity; Critical pedagogic practice; Modes of address; Zimbabwe.

Introduction

This paper looks critically at what Parkes (2007:392) calls the uncontested "representational practices of history itself," that are purveyed and canonized in the secondary school history curriculum, with specific reference to post-colonial Zimbabwe. As Parkes argues, embedded in the practice of school history are meta-narratives and narrative technologies that position us as peoples in relation to one another and to the broader political nation-state (p. 392). In this way, history curricula, imbued with the "capacity to define

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the nation's story" (Clark, 2005:ii), assume an arrogance that presumes to know what they want the "world to be" and what students should become, (Todd, 2011:509). It is in this sense that the paper argues for the notion of representation in history, as constituting, in the words of Pötzsch (2011:76), "an intentional act – an articulation– that inserts an additional dimension, applies a certain frame, and adopts a particular perspective" to project meanings and alternative discourses in a pedagogical encounter as both a discursive and contested terrain. Invoking the contingency of historical representation invites us, as History curriculum designers and teacher educators (Parkes, 2007:396) to advancing a "counter-hegemonic discourse" (Hooks, 1990:149) that can unlock the hidden meanings that inhere in curriculum. Since the notion of a "national history curriculum" is highly contentious because the nation-state is always contested, it can never be fully representative of the interests of all who live in it (Sheldon, 2012:266; Christou, 2007:709). The susceptibility of school History is thus particularly pronounced but not limited to what Sheldon (2012:259) describes as "less mature states" where it can be used to inculcate a particular notion of national identity or promote the history of one particular group in society over another. For example, Korostelina (2011:2) illustrates that in Ukraine, state-controlled history education "intentionally concentrates on the complex processes of state-building as well as the dissolution of previous identities (including the Soviet identity) and the formation of a new national identity that promotes Ukrainian independence." Korostelina (2011) observes that following the establishment of Ukraine's independence in 1991, history education in public schools was completely revised. In addition, the Ukrainian Institute of National History was established and charged with studying and publicising the Ukrainian path to independence (Korostelina, 2011:2-3). Thus, Zimbabwe like Ukraine has to varying degrees deployed school history as "an apparatus for the social reproduction of national identities through the development of the individual to the images and narratives of nationhood" (Popkewitz, Pereyra and Franklin 2001:17). The main concern in this paper is thus about the transformational role that the history curriculum can play in order to make a difference in a world that presumes to know what it wants that world to be and what it wants students to become.

The paper addresses the above concern by drawing on the post-colonial school history syllabi in Zimbabwe to examine the question: 'Who does this history curriculum want you to be?' We assume that the symbolic and subjective meanings that are conveyed in curricula and notions of a Zimbabwean

national identity define curriculum as socially and historically constructed phenomena as Silva (1999:7) explains. He asserts that:

> *Curriculum is itself a representation: not only a site in which signs that are produced in other places circulate, but also a place of production of signs in its own right. To conceive of curriculum as representation means to highlight the work of its production.*

To explore this representation in the history curriculum used in Zimbabwe, the following sub-questions are posed:

*   What symbolic meanings and definitions of subjectivity are conveyed in school syllabi?

*   What forms of identity politics are evident in school syllabi?

*   What aspects of history teaching are emphasized in school history?

*   How may students be encouraged to recognise the historically and socially, situated nature of knowledge and identity through the history curriculum?

The paper is divided into four sections as follows: the first outlines the methodological approach that informs this analysis. The second explores the context of history teaching in Zimbabwe and reflects on the representation that is employed to rebrand the nation-state. Seixas' benchmarks of history teaching, as well as substantive and procedural knowledge in history teaching (Bertram, 2009; Levesque, 2008) are employed as heuristics to understand pedagogical issues in history teaching. The theories are drawn on to unravel the (mis)representations that abound in history curricula in the hope that this opens new possibilities for school History as critical pedagogic practice (Parkes, 2007:383) in a post-colonial context. For as Freire (1990) reminds us, the text does not mirror the world as it is, but rather, creates the world in resonance to the prevailing hegemonies. The third presents an analysis of the two syllabi in order to identify notions of representation that they promote and their implications to the national cohesion they are meant promote in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The final section discusses what could be done to trouble the taken-for-granted assumptions that characterize the teaching of history and lay the foundations of critical pedagogic practice. First, however is an outline of the methodological approach that guided this analysis.

Methodological approach

The analysis in this paper is informed by a qualitative interpretive inquiry

that uses content analysis as the main tool to examine the policy documents. Qualitative content analysis, as Bryman (2004:542) explains, is an "approach to documents that emphasizes the role of the investigator in the construction of the meaning of and in texts." When used to analyse documents it allows the researcher(s) to construct categories or themes out of the data which can then be interpreted in the light of the research questions. The unit of analysis in the study comprised the two post-independence history syllabi, namely 2166 and 2167 and excluded the prescribed textbooks. School syllabi in Zimbabwe are sanctioned and produced by the Ministry of Education (MoE) through its Curriculum Development Unit (CDU). To this extent it can be argued that "they carry the imprimatur of the state," (Hein and Selden, 2000:4) and can be taken to reflect the overt and covert mechanisms that the state employs to influence national identity and consciousness. In this sense school syllabi in Zimbabwe constitute "legitimated text created under state supervision," (Korostelina, 2011:2) and by which the desired historiographies of the nation-state are canonized and purveyed. For these reasons school syllabi were considered critical and adequate for the analysis of what it is that the history curriculum wants the students in Zimbabwe to think and be.

The analysis of the documents proceeded in iterative stages with the first being the creation of categories into which the syllabi data could be categorized into units of analysis. This was followed by textual analysis which involved the interpretation of the texts and formulation of themes on the basis of the research questions and the concerns of history teaching as presented in the literature (see Seixas 2009a, Bertram 2009; Seixas 2009b). The next stage was explication which involved explaining and clarifying the material in order to draw comparisons and parallels between the emerging data and the theories of school history as practised elsewhere. Through analyzing the content of the syllabi the themes which the data lent itself to, were developed and examined to identify the symbolic meanings and definitions of Zimbabwean subjectivity on the basis of Habermas's (1984) notion of dominant discourses and Ellsworth's (1997:2) modes of address. As political and pedagogical devices, modes of address have transformative potential when deployed in critical educational discourses. They help unearth the discourses that are used to establish the subjectivities and identities that are nurtured through the teaching of history. In this context how learners could be encouraged to recognise the historically and socially, situated nature of the knowledge they are taught and the forms of identity promoted were also of particular interest to us for establishing whether or not traditions of critical pedagogy could

supported.

The context of history teaching

To understand the context of History education in Zimbabwe, it needs to be located in relation to the nation-state the government envisaged for the country. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011:9) until 1980 'Zimbabwe' was a politically imagined reality and not a nation-state. Therefore, at independence there was a need for the reconstruction of curricula to make it reflect what Falola (2005:508) calls the "ideology to remake nations." Mavhunga (2008:30) argues that "Africanizing the school curriculum" was thus undertaken as part of what Powell (2003:152) calls "an ongoing project to dismantle the cultural and epistemological heritage of Eurocentrism" and ensure that "the school curriculum can carry a truly African history for the consumption of the African pupil," (Mavhunga, 2008:43). The country had inherited the Rhodesian history syllabus 2160 which was based on the United Kingdom system of Ordinary Level Examinations which were set and marked by Cambridge University Examinations Syndicate. This syllabus placed equal emphasis on European and Central African history - a practice that became unacceptable after independence (Barnes, 2007:638). In keeping with traditional classical British education it had prioritized the recall of facts over critical thinking. To address the problem two major curriculum changes in the teaching of secondary school history were introduced as part of a broader national agenda to localize curricula and the examination. The history curriculum reflected the ideology of the state to familiarize students with what the new political authorities felt needed to be celebrated.

The first syllabus reform, 2166, launched in 1990 was concerned with both substantive and procedural knowledge in almost equal measure. It drew from the notions of 'new history' as it had developed in England in the 1960s and 1970s. Its novel approach was the emphasis on the students' engagements with the processes of how historians work. For example, the second aim (2.5.2) stated the need to "develop a national and international consciousness" among the pupils while also emphasizing that pupils should be able to "carry out simple research into aspects of local and national history using primary and secondary sources" (Syllabus 2166: 2). The remainder of the aims included the need to:

3:3 analyse, interpret and evaluate evidence, or weigh evidence, detect bias, points of view, opinions and value judgments;

3.4 assess the significance and the relevance of information, draw reasoned conclusions, make reasoned deductions and inferences;

3.5 empathize with the past and interpret events and decision-making of a particular period in the light of information and conditions prevailing at that time. (Syllabus 2166, 1996:2).

Syllabus 2166 also made provision for substantive knowledge in the following ways: first the grand narrative of doctrinaire Marxism-Leninism was made central to the teaching of history as it unequivocally stated that, pupils were to develop 'historical skills and tools of analysis within the conceptual framework of historical and dialectical materialism,' (Syllabus 2166, 1996: 2). This was supported by the stipulation of content that was framed along historical materialism and the development of societies. The topics included: Development of Early Societies in Central and Southern Africa; Industrialization and World Crisis. Section B focused on the study of Imperialism, capitalism and resistance in Zimbabwe, 1890–1950; the Rise of Nationalism in Zimbabwe to 1980 as well as Nationalism and imperialism (colonialism in Zaire or Ghana; Algeria or Kenya). Section C focused on Revolution and socialist transformation (Marxist ideas; Russian and Chinese revolutions to present day) as well as World anti-imperialist struggles and neocolonialism (Namibia, Tanzania, Algeria, Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, South Africa, Palestine, Cuba, Vietnam, Zimbabwe) (Syllabus 2166, 1996:5). The following section looks at substantive and procedural issues in Zimbabwean history syllabi and relates them to what the curriculum wants the students to think and be.

Substantive and procedural knowledge in history syllabi

Levesque (2008:30) has argued that it is 'impossible for students to understand or make use of procedural knowledge if they have no knowledge of the substance of the past.' His and Bertram's (2009) notions of substantive and procedural knowledge in the teaching of history are thus useful to examine what the history syllabi in Zimbabwe wished the students to think and become. Substantive knowledge in history is concerned with what historical knowledge is about – what Levesque (2008:29) calls the 'content' of history. Procedural knowledge, on the other hand, focuses on the concepts and

vocabulary that provide "the structural basis of the discipline," (2008:20). As he explains, these are the conceptual tools needed for the study of the past as a discipline and the construction of the content of historical knowledge. The procedural and substantive issues with history teaching reflect what for Seixas (1999:328) are two critical aspects of doing the discipline of history: first is the critical reading of texts, both primary sources and secondary accounts of the past; and second, is the construction of historical accounts by the students themselves. The two, when engaged with in a pedagogical relationship, are likely to promote what Parkes (2007:384) calls "critical pedagogic practice" that is antithetical to the silencing and homogenizing tendencies of a mono-perspectival approach to school History. Therefore, as to what Syllabus 2166 wanted the learners to think and be, it may be inferred that the syllabus envisaged history teaching as a mode of inquiry that would involve learners in critical thinking and multiple interpretations of history within the context of a historical materialist approach.

The successor syllabus, 2167, which is operational today, is radically different from its predecessor. It is however structured thematically as is the case with Syllabus 2166 and there is due emphasis in the opening statements that "topics and areas must, therefore, be studied in relation to the major historical themes and not a series of isolated narratives." Its aims include the need to help learners:

- develop an interest in and enthusiasm for the study of historical events
- develop an understanding of local, national and international historical events
- develop skills and appropriate tools for analyzing historical events; and,
- understand and appreciate population, democracy and human rights issues as well as the responsibilities and obligations that accompany them.

The syllabus is divided into two parts and has 15 themes. Part one is entitled Southern Africa and has 11 themes, all on Zimbabwe except the last, which is on the struggles for majority rule and democratization in Mozambique and South Africa. Part two is entitled World Affairs and focuses on international developments from 1900, with the notable inclusion of China. However, rather than celebrate a comprehensive heritage of Zimbabwe, the new syllabi tended to focus on those aspects that the ruling party wishes to celebrate. In the attempt to build a nation-state out of a medley of rather disparate ethnic groups, brought together by colonial adventurism which carved nation-states for political expediency (Kössler, 2010:29) three political approaches were

followed. They shaped curriculum policy in general and the teaching of history in particular. First, according to Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007:276) were "the coercive mobilisation and nation-building projects of the early 1980s till the end of the first decade which paid little attention to the ethnic configuration of the inherited state, as well as the structures and institutions which enacted and reproduced ethnicity." As regards curriculum policy this implied the wholesale removal of racist terms in history syllabi and their replacement with Afrocentric terms. For example, the term tribe was deemed to be a colonial relic that accentuated divisions among Africans. It was replaced with ethnicity albeit without efforts to explain how 'tribe' now renamed 'ethnic group' would position students differently in relation to the images on which the new nation-state was being crafted.

The second approach employed in the second decade of independence was the 'politics of silence' (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007:276) which represented a deliberate refusal to engage with those aspects of the past which are deemed 'ugly history' (Muponde, 2004:175). With regard to the curriculum it meant excluding from syllabi those issues that would have called into question the hegemonic nature of the state. This silence enabled a wave of mass popularity for the government as it masqueraded as if it were based on a national consensus with homogeneous assumptions and aspirations. The last approach which became particularly pronounced after 2000 involved the reimaging of the nation-state on a selective primordial past that frames the modern Zimbabwean state as the successor state to the Munhumutapa kingdom (Muzondidya & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007:276). It also revived reference to the country's citizens as settler and indigene (Muponde, 2004:176) thus reviving the racial and ethnic bifurcations which had characterized the Rhodesian state. The wars of liberation renamed the Chimurengas acquired new symbolisms and define legitimacy as to who could/could not rule the county (Muponde, 2004:176). The curriculum was to be buttressed by a new history syllabus (2167) which drew from a patriotic historiography which, according to Ranger (2009:69) is an 'extreme version of nationalist history' that is averse to critical academic history. This rebranding of the nation-state caused a representational problem. It is discussed below.

A comparative analysis of the two syllabi reveals that the higher order cognitive skills of "new history" that are central in Syllabus 2166 have been replaced in Syllabus 2167 by what Bertram (2009:50) calls the "great tradition" approach to school history. This approach perceives history as "a body of

knowledge, which is clearly defined, chronologically organised and framed by high politics," (Bartram, 2009:50). Thus, Syllabus 2167 is associated with what Ranger describes as "state produced history" which in his view is an extreme version of nationalist history in which the linearity of the existence of the nation is extended from the First Chimurenga, through the Second to the Third Chimurenga (Ranger, 2009:69). This history is averse to critical academic history as it regards critical questions as disloyal (Ranger, 2004).

The above assertions are authenticated by the downgrading of the study of primary sources which is strongly associated with procedural knowledge historical evidence to an optional topic that can be avoided altogether in the examinations. Therefore, teachers are not likely to teach what students can avoid answering in the examinations. In Syllabus 2166 the study of primary sources was mandatory as it constituted an examination paper worth 33% of the final examination mark. In practice, this implies that students may forego the fundamental elements of the discipline such as critical engagement, understanding why historical interpretations differ, and reconciling the values of the past with the present. This practice negates the goals of school history which should provide students with the ability to approach historical narratives critically (Seixas, 1999). The failure to provide students with these skills is, as Matereke (2011:3) argues, likely to breed children who are not only ill-prepared to deal with pluralism and diversity within the confines of their nation state but who are also too parochial to confront and negotiate the kaleidoscope of political communities, cultures and identities that characterize an increasingly cosmopolitan world.

Rebranding of the nation-state and the representational problem

Zimbabwe needed to be rebranded as an inclusivist nation-state in contrast to the bifurcated Rhodesian state. For its reconstruction the disparate ethnic groups needed to see themselves as belonging to a unitary state. A "national history" was necessary to promote national coherence and forge a sense of "Zimbabweaness". This had to be achieved without compromising disciplinary concerns of the subject. For example, Syllabus 2166 ensured that substantive issues in history would be adequately addressed from an appropriate ideological standpoint, which is socialism. It was essentially about, in Schubert (2010:57) words: "addressing who we are and might become—not merely about the acquisition of detached knowledge, skills, and dispositions". Thus Syllabus

2166, the first post-independence syllabus, declared unambiguously that the purpose of teaching history was to enable pupils to 'acquire an informed and critical understanding of social, economic and political issues facing them as builders of a [Socialist] developing Zimbabwe' (Syllabus 2166, 1996:2). The 'Socialist Zimbabwe' aspect was later in 1996 following the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe in 1989.

The successor syllabus, 2167 launched in 2001, states in its preamble the need to help learners 'acquire an informed and critical understanding of social, economic and political issues facing them as builders of a developing nation' (Syllabus 2167:2) and excludes the call for a materialist approach to nation building. This marked a fundamental difference between the two syllabi as Syllabus 2166 became closely associated with a patriotic history. This historiography of the nation as Ranger (2004) argues, assumes the immanence of a Zimbabwean nation expressed through centuries of Shona resistance to external intrusion and re-incarnated by means of the alliance between mediums and ZANLA guerrillas in the second chimurenga of the liberation war. This is manifest in the representation of the 'Zimbabwe' nation-state as an unproblematic historical entity with a primordial identity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011) whose political constructedness was not open to critical academic history. The preponderance of Shona mythologies as the foundation myths of the new nation-state at the expense of other ethnic groups is not problematized. For example, there was so much emphasis on Shona luminaries such as Mbuya Nehanda, Chaminuka and Sekuru Kaguvi as part of what Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011:45) calls "Shona triumphalism". In his view, heroism in public discourse and narrative of the nation was attributed to only those who participated in the liberation struggle from the ZANU side and names of historical figures from Shona ethnic groups such as Nehanda were elevated into guardians of the nation. This results in what Brewilly (2009:21) calls the "naturalization" of the nation-state as students are required to function as builders of a nation-state whose constructedness and complexities they are not called upon to unpack and understand. Neither are they required to understand how they are positioned and shaped collectively and individually in terms of race and ethnicity within this entity called Zimbabwe. This approach is typical of what Bertram (2008:55) calls "the presentation of the historically contingent as natural and inevitable." For Popkewitz (2007:65) it reflects how school subjects as "alchemies --- transmogrify disciplinary thinking into normalizing pedagogies for making the child who [s]he is and who [s]he should be." It is in this sense that the history curriculum can be

seen as a political performance through which representational practices are deployed to forge forms of consciousness that are amenable to the hegemonic to the nation-state project.

Content selection and identity politics

The selection of content in both history syllabi focuses on Zimbabwe with the obvious intention to promote an awareness of the country's past. Syllabus 2166 however had a more internationalist outlook in that it propounded a comparativist approach with thematic issues guiding content organization. The emphasis was on comparative analysis in order to allow pupils to develop an internationalist world outlook while also understanding the role of their country in a global context. On the other hand, Syllabus 2167 eschews the comparativist approach (Barnes, 2007) as out of its fifteen themes eleven are on Zimbabwean history specifically. The rest are split on the struggles for majority rule and democratization in Mozambique and South Africa, and then, World Affairs which includes the two world wars. In Syllabus 2166 students had studied the industrial development of such diverse countries as the USA, UK, Japan, and Russia whereas in Syllabus 2167, only China is now studied. Such privileging of content with regard to what the curriculum wants the students to be and to think can be teased out as follows: First is the overt intent to focus on the country's history with the token inclusion of the histories of other countries. This practice is not unique to Zimbabwe as Wang (2008:743) argues that all nation-states place great emphasis on teaching their national history with the aim of consolidating the bond between the individual citizen and the nation-state. It may thus be argued that the history curriculum in Zimbabwe wants the students to be well versed with the story of the nation in order to tighten the tenuous bonds of nationhood – to be achieved through a singular focus on the nation's past. Second is the ideological disposition in which the content is selected and reframed. For ideology, not only guides the interpretation of the content but in the first place determines the content that gets selected. Thus Syllabus 2166 had foregrounded Marxism-Leninism as its ideological thrust and privileged the study of revolutionary struggles in The Third World with topics on Cuba and Vietnam included for study. In ideological terms, Syllabus 2167 appears to embrace a Pan Africanist identity although apart from Southern Africa the rest of the continent is ignored. For example, the privileging of Chinese history in the syllabus coinciding as it does with the country's 'Look East Policy' vindicates Parker's (2004) assertion

that those who have the power to control the official historical narrative in support of a dominant ideology of the state, exercise this power through the content that gets selected and deselected.

History examinations and identity politics

The historical sensibilities promoted by the school curriculum are often reinforced by the nature of the school examination system. Examinations in Zimbabwe are centrally designed and run by the Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council (ZIMSEC) which falls under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. This provides the state with sufficient leverage to influence what it wants the students to think and be. For example, Syllabus 2166 examined students' procedural knowledge through Paper One which required the analysis of primary sources to make reasoned judgements. The paper accounted for 33% of the total marks. Thus students were engaged in a critical reading of primary documents such as cartoons, treaties, photographs with the ability to interpret these in their historical context and to detect bias and prejudice (Barnes, 2007). In addition, essay writing was examined in Paper 2 of the examination and comprised 67 per cent of the final mark. Overally, students were examined not only for their ability to recall facts but more importantly on application and interpretation of skills. This form of examination was consistent with the democratic principles that the state had adopted at independence.

It is significant to note that the above goals are under threat with the launch of Syllabus 2167 whose examination questions privilege recall type of questions as opposed to essay writing and analysis of historical issues. For example, out of the 25 marks allocated to each examination question an unassailable 17 are allocated to recall and description compared to just 8 for interpretation and analysis. A typical examination question is as follows:

> 17(a). Name any three leaders of the delegation to the Lancaster House Conference of 1979 and their respective organisations. [6]
>
> (b). Outline the events that took place between the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement and 18 April 1980. [11]
>
> (c). How important were the Commonwealth forces in ensuring the success of the elections in 1980? [8]
>
> (Source: ZIMSEC Question Paper 2167/1 2009).

In analysing such forms of examination questions, Moyo and Modiba (2011:149) assert that 'to have 8 out of 25 marks allocated to interpretation and analysis implies that the teaching of history as a means to engender, as stipulated in Syllabus 2167, critical thinking in learners has receded to the background'. In their view, this is likely to entrench a more traditional approach to teaching history, where students need to master the facts of history in order to pass. This is because a fact-based approach is likely to be limiting in terms of the different perspectives that learners could develop during lessons. As a result school history tends to be viewed as a finished product that is not open to critical scrutiny by the learners.

It is our view that the privileging of simple recall answers in Syllabus 2167 examinations may not be incidental but part of a strategy to ensure that school history remains susceptible to the machinations of those with a vested stake in the status quo. It is a reincarnation of rote learning practices that were encouraged by a colonial regime that was determined to perpetuate its rule through the mental subjugation of Africans (Mavhunga, 2008). That such practices have found their way back into post- independence curricula is evidence of the resilience of colonial educational practices. More importantly, however, it is evidence of failure to deliver an education for liberation that the people of the post-colonial state yearn for. As the Habermasian (1984) theory of Communicative Action reminds us, ideology arises from, and, indeed, often creates distortions in patterns of communication and by extension in educational practice. It explains the representation problem in curriculum and the ways in which curriculum can be the basis of the negotiation of the representation problem. In distinguishing between instrumental and communicative rationality, Habermas develops what he calls "knowledge as critique" - a heuristic to understand the dynamics of knowledge production and the construction of meaning. Drawing from Marxism and Critical theory he sees education as both part of the apparatus of the state and also as highly critical of it (Fleming, 2010:121).

As a representation, curriculum becomes inscribed with symbolic realms of national identity and representation that are supposedly shared by the nation. Applied to the focus of this paper, the theory allows the history curriculum to function as an instrument of hegemony in the Gramscian sense. Master narratives are deployed as the common sense that defines what is real for all. From the above assertion two critical implications for history education can be identified. First, the theory provides a framework for rethinking education

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as involving communicative action and a plurality of actors, that is, all social layers and interests are involved. Second, it highlights the contingency of all knowledge and the centrality of individuals as knowing subjects capable of reflecting in ways that are likely to generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action in particular contexts. When applied to pedagogical practice, the theory enables us to re-imagine schools as historical and structural embodiments of forms and culture that are ideological in the sense that they signify reality in ways that are often actively contested and experienced differently by various individuals and groups. Our concern is with the latter as we reframe knowledge as critique to reimagine curriculum as a "discursive practice producing subjects and subjectivity, or forms of social identity" (Green, 2010:452).

The curriculum as discursive practice that produces subjectivity and social identity

 The issues of identity and subjectivity embedded in s theory can be better understood by drawing on Ellsworth's (1997) theorization of teaching as a mode of address. The concept of modes of address has its origins in film and media studies where critical media scholars employ it to ask the question: "Who does this film address you to be within networks of power relations associated with race, sexuality, gender, class and so on?" (Ellsworth, 1997:1). Taken as a heuristic that is related to power dynamics, modes of address clarify the taken-for-granted assumptions that define relations between the social and the individual, (Ellsworth, 1997:22). As Terry (1997:277) argues, education programmes designed to enhance forms of life free from ideology must emphasize communication (both linguistic and symbolic) which is safeguarded from manipulation for strategic ends. Ideology has often been used to influence a general population so as not to see any alternative reading of the text. Thus the challenge for teachers is to work with the curriculum in ways that alert students to the risks which may result from the hegemony of education by narrow forms of nationalism, market forces and other supposed norms of social behaviour or of cultural expression. For as Ellsworth (1997:47) asserts, most curricula address students as if their pedagogies are coming from "nowhere within the circulating power relations" yet the terms of their address attempt to place students within relations of knowledge, desire and power. In this sense, modes of address can be a provocative and productive tool for those interested in pedagogy, as they "shake up solidified and limiting ways

of thinking about and practicing teaching" (Ellsworth, 1997:2). Thus when applied to textual analysis, such as is the case with history curricula herein, they free us from being condemned to "assume a fixed, singular, unified position within power and social relations' and thus open possibilities 'to address audiences or students in a way that doesn't require them to assume --- and respond to the address being offered" in predictable ways (p. 9). In this way, modes of address remind us that the pedagogical encounter is not a neutral undertaking but one that is immersed in representations of the world, not as it is, but as the curriculum would want the students to see the world. Such representation is contained in the metaphors that abound in curriculum, and within these metaphors are ingrained assumptions, explicit or not, about what reality is and what is taken for granted. Modes of address help illuminate the ways in which these metaphors serve as arbitrary terms to legitimate forms of discourse that may be exclusionary of the lived realities of others. In this sense the curriculum becomes a site where otherness is framed according to dominant discourses.

The above issues are evident in school history examinations in Zimbabwe as linguistic meanings and metaphors are embedded in the questions that asked in order to promote a particular view of the reading of the country's history. As Moyo and Modiba (2011) argue, metaphors such as 'The Chimurenga' predispose students towards a particular state of mind or consciousness towards the wars in the same manner that the metaphor, 'War on Terror' works on the consciousness of the U. S. citizens. This abuse of metaphor abounds in school syllabi as regards the land question in Zimbabwe. Examination questions are phrased in seemingly formal, non-judgmental language, and yet, the particular phraseology is likely to evoke a particular consciousness in learners, as they have to respond to a single reading and interpretation of a historical event. A typical examination question on the land reform after 2000 is presented below:

19. (a) State any six reasons for the Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe from the year 2000. [6]

(b) Describe the methods used to acquire and re-distribute land in Zimbabwe from the year 2000. [11]

(c) Did the peasants benefit from this Land Reform Programme? Explain your answer. [8]

(Source: 2006 O' Level examination Paper One).

As argued by Moyo and Modiba (2011), "benefit" as a metaphor in the question serves as a phrase that points to what should be imagined as an outcome of the land reform policies. This being what the history curriculum in effect wants the students to think and be. It is against this backdrop that it becomes imperative for teachers to confront, deconstruct, and transfigure the taken for-granted assumptions that are embedded in metaphors that get legitimated as official knowledge through school syllabi. This teachers can do through critical modes of address which as Margonis (2011:275-6) argues, do not merely communicate a content from one person to another. Rather, they set meanings in circulation in a particular intersubjective space. It is in this manner that language, power and identity become salient factors in the problem of representation in curriculum (Habermas, 1984). As a theory concerned with meaning in situated and historical beings who are capable of change and reflection, Habermas's theory allows us to focus attention on metaphors in curriculum, the subjectivities that they engender and how through deliberation consensus is achieved. For Habermas, communicative action implies that participants are not primarily oriented to their own individual successes. Rather, they pursue their individual goals under the condition that they can harmonize their plans of actions on the basis of common situations (1984:286).

Curriculum as a rationalizing technology

The Chimurenga wars have been used in the words of Seixas (2009a:719) as "the gold standard [and] as an instrument to shore up the coherence of the national story, the valourizing of national heroes, and the significance of the nation on the international stage." The aim is to produce an uncritical and patriotic citizenry that lacks exposure to alternative histories of the nation-state and its contested past. The rhetorical assertion, the future of our children, as Clark (2008) shows with reference to Australia is often deployed as a rationalizing technology to justify what is selected as official history. The historical sensibilities of nation-state that the syllabus seeks to promote are illustrated by the deliberate exclusion of what is perceived as "ugly history" (Muponde 2004:175) in the form of the atrocities that claimed over 20000 lives in Matabeleland and the Midlands. At the same time, fairly recent events as the land reform have become part of school history that is regularly examined in state sanctioned public examinations (see Moyo and Modiba, 2011). Such content selection reflects what the nation-state desires to forget

and expunge from the national psychic and what it wishes to remember and celebrate. This is the arrogance of curriculum in that it presumes to know what it wants the students to know and remember and what it wants them to forget.

In the history curriculum in Zimbabwe there is deliberate representation of, for example, the Chimurenga wars as the defining moments of the country's history. For example, the topic, The Second Chimurenga in Syllabus 2167, is synonymous with the study of the rise of African Nationalism with clear attempts to present it as a continuation of the First Chimurenga whose heroes are venerated as having prophesied the reemergence of the struggle after the 1896/97 wars. Similarly, the horrors of colonialism are invoked in the representation of whites and the British in particular as the enemy that had to be defeated through armed struggle. Participation in the Second and now the Third Chimurenga has therefore, become a rationalizing technology which confers legitimacy on the country's leaders, and at the same time binds the rest of the populace to what Seixas (2009a:719) calls a never-ending collective debt to those who sacrificed for the collective good. Such practices serve to close spaces for alternative readings of the nation's past, and become a rationalizing technology for the policing of how students think and what they want to be. Such practices, as Klein (2010:614) argues, amount to a deliberate molding of historical facts into emotionally appealing narratives that exclude other perspectives.

The exclusion of other perspectives in the study of history is likely to deny students the opportunity to understand the mutability and contestedness of history in ways that highlight its representational metaphors as politically constructed and historically contingent. This understanding is, in Habermas's view, the sine qua non for deliberative democracy by which students can learn to live together and yet hold differing views. As to what the students should be as they study history Seixas (2000:20-21) argues that the task for students "is not so much to arrive at a 'best' or most valid position on the basis of historical evidence as to understand how different groups organize the past into histories and how their rhetorical and narratological strategies serve present day purposes." Such an approach provides learners with the kind of complicated and compassionate process of understanding, the kind of knowledge that they need to make sense in terms of our contemporary world (Sandwell, 2007:27). We argue that the history curriculum in Zimbabwe wants the students to be an uncritical citizenry without the conceptual tools

to understand their place as historical beings with an agency of their own. This is not surprising as Ellsworth (1997:7) argues the terms of a curriculum are 'aimed precisely at shaping, anticipating, meeting, or changing who a student thinks she is.'

Content of school curricula the social reproduction of national identities and the promotion of nationhood

The selection of content in history curricula Zimbabwe is tied to what Clark (2009) calls the national story in that it seeks to propagate a particular narrative that reimages the nation in positive light. In her view there is a wide spread popular understanding that history education comprises the essential facts about the nation and should [thus] play a positive and uplifting role in national life. In Australia the metaphors 'Black armband' and 'History wars' gained currency as symbolic representations of a contested past (Parkes, 2007). The metaphors became tied up with what the state wanted the students think about the past. In Zimbabwe, the history curriculum, as discussed in this paper, fits neatly the metaphor "whipping into line" the recalcitrant citizens (Matereke, 2011:1) as the history curriculum is deployed to coerce students into an assumed common nationhood. It is imperative that students in Zimbabwe be taught those aspects that would empower them to rethink and use the past responsibly instead of shying away from it. This would help them achieve a state of mind that allows them to realize their own particularity in time, as players in a continuous process of historical meaning making. Yet, the selection of content as argued above reinforces ways that deny students critical historical engagement with their past and present.

Troubling the taken-for-granted assumptions as the foundations of critical pedagogic practice

The above questions of what content to include in school history open up the possibility of deliberation in a pedagogical relationship as they lead to discourses that offer oppositional practices and fresh objects of analysis. Through such analysis teachers and students come to understand how they are themselves positioned and produced as subjects in and by the representational practices they work with. This will help to free them from the arrogance of state sanctioned prescriptions of who they are and should be and provide

them with alternative ways of perceiving what is real and valid in their world. To achieve this, history teachers need to foreground their pedagogies in a critical-emancipatory praxis that is informed by the Habermasian notion of knowledge as critique. This can only begin when both teachers and students critically deconstruct what it is that the curriculum wants them to be. It occurs when the history curriculum is treated as a political performance which must be appraised beyond the written surface of its textuality as to uncover the unconscious and constraining representations in it. In this way teachers are likely to contribute new sentences, not oft-repeated ones, to that unending dialogue between the present and the past which is history.

In addition, history teachers ought to be empowered with the conceptual knowledge to embed a well-framed conception of historical thinking into their teaching (Seixas, 2009b:2). This requires that teachers be well-versed with notions of doing the discipline of history. They have to promote an inquiry model to school history and reframe the curriculum as a site for the reconstruction of meaning and not the perpetuation of taken-for-granted assumptions that resonate with the ideological proclivities of the powerful. As Seixas (2009b:30) concludes, understanding the nature of historical interpretation and the use of historical evidence – thinking historically – would provide a starting point. When this happens the curriculum "becomes recognizable and intelligible as a social institution, and as a social practice caught up in the (re)production of shifting networks and formations of power, knowledge and desires," (Green and Reid, 2008:21). In this way education becomes, as Peters (2008:20) argues, a way of reaching beyond the "confines of the modern state and the project of nation building to establish an orientation to the Other in cultural and political terms." It is herein that lies the representational practices that shape who we are and might become as we engage with a curriculum that is concerned with addressing who we are and not merely the cognitive mission of schooling.

Zimbabwe is a nation-state that is in need of a history curriculum that will not presume to know what its students want to be and to think. The recent struggles for democratisation have rendered the school curriculum a contested terrain of memory and history with the epistemological concerns of the subject, such as doing the discipline of history, relegated to the background. There is, therefore, need for democratic voices in the country to commit to a genuine pluralistic reading of the country's historiography. What must not be overlooked by the makers of a new curriculum for a democratizing Zimbabwe

is the need to create that necessary balance between syntactic knowledge and substantive knowledge in history curriculum policy. Thus by engaging critical modes of address in lessons teachers will be able to help learners to know why they are doing. In this way, teachers can make the curriculum documents "behave" in unpredictable and complex ways. As those tasked with developing a new history curriculum for the country they will do well to remember the advice of Roth (2006:588) that:

> *We as educators have to abandon the idea of furthering a common identity through education, and view the development of criticality, and hence democratic competence, differently. Instead of focusing on epistemic aspects only or on identifying subjects who are in power, or on the objectifying and structuring economic or governing principles that allegedly regulate social relations, or on the impossibility of education in the revolutionary sense, we can entertain the necessary conditions of understanding.*

It is in the light of the above assertions that modes of address become critical heuristics that would sensitize teachers and students to the (mis) representational practices by providing a language with which to rethink the relations between power and knowledge; student and curriculum; and between the centre and margins. It is on the basis of this understanding that we can begin to ask new and deeper questions about how the curriculum wants students to think and be. In the pedagogical relationship the question to ask becomes "What do you think about it?" (Roth, 2006:581) rather than, what is this?" Further questions to ask may include "How do we understand this?", "What can or should we do about it?", and "How do we legitimize our action' along different dimensions of citizenship?" (Roth, 2006:588). Similar questions are suggested by Biesta (2006:28) as follows: "What do you think about it?; Where do you stand? and How do you respond?"

Conclusion

This paper has looked critically at the problem of representation in the history curriculum in Zimbabwe with regard to the production of subjectivity and identity in the quest for nationhood. The politics of (mis)representation have been shown to be at the heart of curriculum practice in this country as content selection is skewed towards promoting a particular group. In an important way, both syntactic and substantive knowledge in the teaching of history have been manipulated to make students be what the state wants them to think and be. As a rationalizing technology of control, the examinations

reinforce the limited goals of history teaching by privileging simple recall questions over those that require critical engagement with the past. The paper concludes that modes of address are an example of critical pedagogic practice that can transcend the narrow specifications of what a nationalist curriculum wants students to be. It is hoped that this paper has laid the foundations on which history curriculum planners and teachers can begin to dialogue about history teaching as a political performance through which students can be led to discover that knowledge functions as a form of technology of domination, control or liberation and that through such interrogation they can begin to ask questions that are likely to lead to their emancipation.

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Informing history students/learners regarding an understanding and experiencing of South Africa's colonial past from a regional/local context

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Abstract

South Africa has delivered several voices of standing on the country's colonial historiography. The impact of especially 19th and 20th century colonialism on the southern tip of Africa is deeply rooted in all spheres of life, and its visibility mostly surfaced in former apartheid South Africa. In this paper, the historiography of colonialism in South Africa is concisely introduced with, as a second key aim, the discussion of a way in which FET history learners and HET history students could practically understand and experience South Africa's colonial past by exploring a regional/local colonial or post-colonial legacy. By using colonialism as topic, it is also argued that it is possible to teach any history content (whether from the FET-CAPS History curriculum content or from the variety of HET history module content) more efficiently if the topic, phenomenon or concept is studied in the light of regional/local examples.

Keywords: Colonial history teaching; Regional history; Local history; NWU Vaal Triangle Campus; Colonial historiography; South Africa.

Introductory remarks

Uncountable critical discussions exist on colonialism worldwide[1] as it happens to be a global historical legacy – whether it affected countries and peoples in a direct or in an indirect way. The history of colonialism, its impacts, consequences and outcomes are reflected in several conceptual thoughts like anti-colonialism, post-colonialism and a resistance to the

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1   Compare A Memmi, *The colonizer and the colonized* (1969).

Eurocentric colonial way of thinking and dominance.[2] Additionally, the colonial historiography of Africa is often referred to as dominant reflections by "non-Africans",[3] pioneered by explorers, Christian missionaries, travellers,[4] anthropologists, ethnographers[5] and historians.[6] These impressions can be complemented by many others, inclusive of Funso Afolayan who, in 2005, remarked that a study of African history as an autonomous scholarship is but only a recent development. This development also marked rejections by Africanists of mainly Eurocentric time colonial history,[7] though it appears as if there is an acknowledgement of Islamic and Arabic views of African societies[8] as recorded in pre-colonial times.[9] However, as this is a debate for another day, the two broad aims of this paper is to concisely deliberate on the South African colonial historiography, followed by an explanation of how to utilise the regional/local context in meaningfully teaching history curricula content on either FET or HET level.

2   Compare PSS Howard, "On silence and dominant accountability: A critical anticolonial investigation of the antiracism classroom", GJS Dei and A Kempf (eds.), *Anti-colonialism and education. The politics of resistance* (Netherlands, Sense Publishers, 2006), Introductory notes and pp. 43- 63.

3   Compare TL Eriksen, "Modern African History; Some Historiographical observations", Research Report No. 55 Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala 1979; F Cooper, "Conflict and connection: Rethinking colonial African history", *The American Historical Review*, 99(5), Dec. 1994.

4   See for example L Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in nineteenth-century British travel accounts* (UK & New York, Routledge, 2011 issue in paperback), pp. 351.

5   See P Manning, "Africa in World history and historiography", *Historically Speaking*, 6(2), 2004, pp. 14-15; African historiography as discussed in *www-sul.stanford.edu.*

6   See "Historiography of Africa" in http://patachu.com/historiography-of-africa/ as retrieved on 26 May 2013; A Roberts (Ed.), *The colonial moment in Africa. Essays in the movement of minds and materials, 1900-1940* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 139; O Kalinga and Joey Power, "African intellectuals and decolonisation in colonial Malawi" (paper, Conference South African Historical Society (University of Botswana, 27-29 June, 2013), pp. 1-20.

7   Compare with AD Roberts, "The earlier historiography of colonial Africa", *History in Africa*, 5, 1978, pp. 153-167.

8   Compare F Afolayan, "African historiography", *Encyclopedia of African history*, vol. 1 (New York, Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005), pp. 626-633 (Edited by Kevin Shillington); TV McClendon, *White chief, black lords. Shepstone and the colonial state in Natal South Africa, 1845-1878* (USA, University of Rochester Press, 2010), pp.170.

9   See Compare with "Historiography of Africa" in http://patachu.com/historiography-of-africa/ as retrieved on 26 May 2012; African historiography as discussed in *www-sul.stanford.edu.*

Source: Risingafrica.blogspot.com
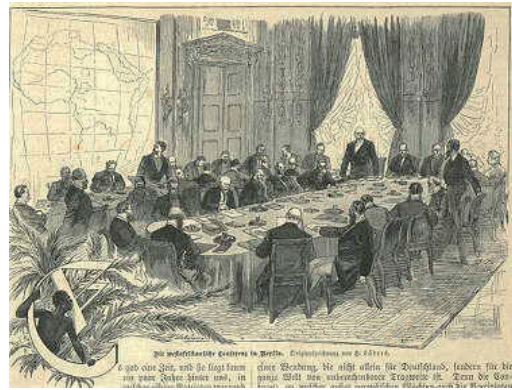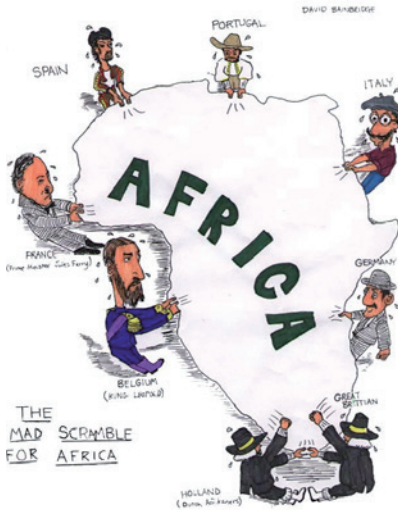
Source: The Afrikakonferenz (Berlin) as in commons. wikimedia.org
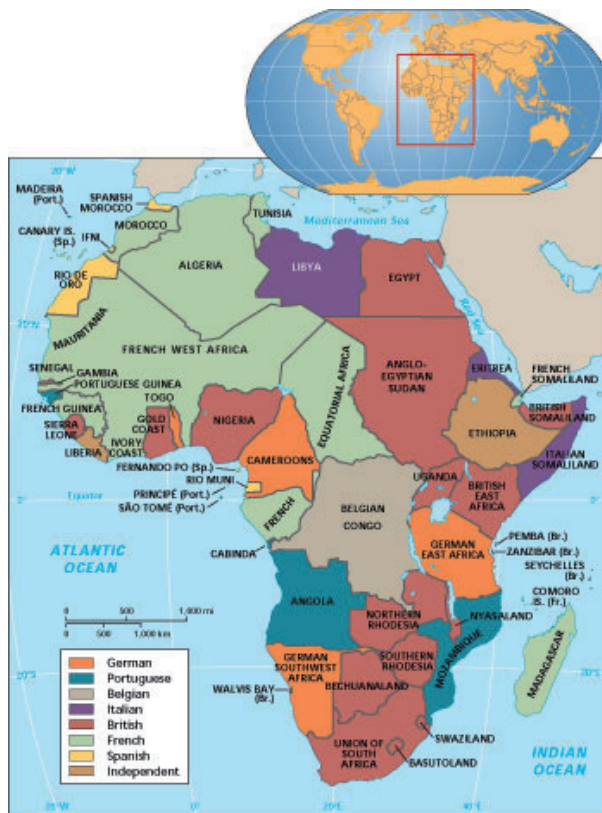
Source: Map of Africa showing the colonial divisions after the Conference of Berlin (1885) as in mhhe.com

What is the status of South Africa's colonial historiography and of a general understanding of its colonial roots and impacts?

Early writings on South Africa's colonial past

The pioneers of colonial historiography in Southern Africa are said to be Alexander Wilmot, John Chase, George Theal and Harry Johnston. They are labelled as pro-British settlers who presented "Afrikaners" as conservative oppressors of the indigenous peoples. This orthodox impression was soon challenged by a series of publications by Afrikaners documenting British injustices and the accumulative grievances of the Boers. Amongst others, there was the 1877 contribution of SJ du Toit, *The History of our land in the language of our people*,[10] followed by the outspoken views in 1902 by General JC Smuts in *A century of wrong*.[11] The impression of these contributions and others that followed was summarised as white-centric:[12]

> *The main features of these histories are clear: Almost without exception, they all focus on the South African white settlers, their conquests, and industrialisation. The African majority was regarded as non-population, a part of the landscape to be occupied, used, dispossessed, and discarded... In the rare cases where African societies received attention, their history was distorted. Their ways of life were presented as monolithic, static, and unchanging. Overworked clichés such as listless, impudent, fractious, thieving, savage, harmless, docile, and others were applied to describe black Africans. The oppressive, dehumanising, and racist nature of white rule was often ignored, while its debt to the indigenous population, especially the Khoisan, was rarely acknowledged.*

A change in focus and perspectives on South Africa's colonial history during the second half of the 20th century departed from the norm with the refreshing contributions in the two-volume publication by Leonard Thompson and Monica Wilson as editors, entitled *The Oxford History of South Africa* (these volumes were published respectively in 1969 and in 1971). Contributions by African elite on the impacts of colonialism mostly came from other African countries rather than from South Africa, thus producing a history of Africa from multidimensional angles. However, the socio-political crises of the 1960s, embedded in the reality of political failures in establishing governments in Africa and perceived as "outside the sphere of colonialism", resulted in a spirit of negativity as most of the "independent" African countries still appeared to bathe themselves in European economic experiments and models (labelled neo-colonialism).

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10 As quoted from: F Afolayan, "African historiography", *Encyclopedia of African history*, vol. 1.
11 As obtained from: F Afolayan, "African historiography", *Encyclopedia of African history*, vol. 1.
12 F Afolayan, "African historiography", *Encyclopedia of African history*, vol. 1.

Thereafter, the Marxist approach to history followed (emphasising materialists' insights and regarded as a holistic model for studying colonialism), tailed by the nationalist-liberalist approach. Afolayan observes that contributors in this field vigorously attempted to write history from below. As a very specific example from South Africa, he refers to Charles van Onselen's "Sharecropping in apartheid South Africa" in *The seed is mine*.[13] There were several other "history from below" contributions at the time that were not necessarily written in a spirit of being Marxist by nature.[14] In retrospect, they may be reviewed as either politically inspired *Alltagsgeschichte* reflections[15] on South Africa's colonial and post-colonial history and/or local/regional history contributions in a typical British-European model that mainly complemented white community developments in South Africa in colonial times.[16] Despite all these efforts and trends, the crisis in the Africanist historiography remained. A reflexive deconstructionist approach (also known as "postmodernism") was seen as an effort to review the past from a present-day ideology and understanding. All these, in addition to new thinking, still shape the history of Africa in post-colonial times,[17] amidst global trends of a growing urge for democracy. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union, for instance, as well as the failure of socialist experiments in Africa, started to provoke revisionist responses from neo-Marxist historians of Africa. Ethnicity as a major specialty in African study gained some field.

Recent observations on colonialism: a South African view

It appears from the historiography on colonial discussions and debates with regard to South Africa, that the late 20th century (mid-nineties) became a perfect timing and platform in South Africa to review and deliberate the

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13 See complete title as C van Onselen, *The seed is mine. The life of Kas Maine A South African sharecropper*, 1894-1985 (China, Hill and Wang, 1997), pp. 1-649. Earlier issues are from David Philip Publishers.

14 Compare W Visser, "Trends in South African historiography", *Social History*, 36(1), 2011.

15 Alltagsgeschichte was founded by A Luedtke and H Medick of Germany. It enhanced a form of history from below. See A Luedtke, *The history of everyday life. Reconstructing historical experiences and ways of life*. Translated version from the 1989 publication by W Templer (USA, Princeton, 1995), pp. 1-323.

16 Compare ES van Eeden, "Regional, local, urban and rural history as nearby spaces and places: Historiographical and methodological reflections towards modern day practice", Special Edition, *New Contree*, 63, January 2012; ES van Eeden, "Exploring local histories in the use and appreciation of Heritage and History in history curricula", *Yesterday & Today*, 5, Oct. 2010; DV Cohen & ESA Odhiambo, *Siaya. The historical anthropology of an African landscape* (Kenya, Nairobi, Heinemann Kenya Limited, 1989), pp. 1-55.

17 Compare the recent discussion by Rob Gordon on the German Moritz Bonn's view of colonialism in R Gordon, Moritz Bonn, "Southern Africa and the critique of colonialism", *African Historical Review* , 45(2), 2013, pp. 1-30.

country's colonial legacy from a refreshed angle, with visible efforts to strip it[18] from representing only a Eurocentric view[19] of African colonialism. In many ways, this approach also coincided with South African historians further exploring regional and local histories. In this process of recording research, they dealt with a local heritage and history intertwined with past colonial thinking and establishments visible in economy, settlement patterns and other social practices.

A swift Google Scholar search regarding the colonial, decolonisation and post-colonial historiography status of South Africa at the time of writing, offered about 14 400 entries of scientific publications. Ironically, the most prominent one for South Africa *per se*, cited 21 times, is that of J Crush on "The discomforts of distance: post-colonialism and South African geography, published in the *South African Geographic Journal* of 1993. F Cooper's article on "conflict and connection: Rethinking colonial African history published in *The American Historical Review* in 1994, has been cited 342 times. Yet another publication in book format, published in 1996 (UK, David Phillip), and which quite extensively and passionately covers colonial South Africa in a broader global context, is that of Timothy Keegan. The title of the publication, namely *Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order*, rightly serves the content Keegan deals with. He departs from a colonial chronology regarding South Africa's history by discussing the Dutch beginnings prior to 1652 and subsequently – perhaps familiar to most South Africans. Then Keegan continues with the colonial ordeal when Britain colonised the Cape Colony in 1806, and decades later other parts of the interior (Natalia and the two Republics known as the "Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek" or ZAR, as well as the Orange Free State). Keegan observed that the early British governors of the Cape in some ways ruled more autocratically than their Dutch predecessors.[20] He critically reviews the status of economic relationships and the enmeshed penetrated-like[21] approach to evangelical humanitarianism as strong pointers

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18 See for example an upcoming summer school, organised by the College of Human Science at the University of South Africa(UNISA) from 13-17 January 2014, titled: "Decolonizing knowledge, power and being". Former President Thabo Mbeki has also been invited as key note speaker.

19 The repertoire of sources related to, or reflecting the colonial history of South Africa, is expansive. To mention only a few: IE Edwards, *The 1820 Settlers in South Africa. A study in British colonial policy* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1934), pp. 1-207; N Etherington & P Midgley, *Grappling with the Beast: Indigenous Southern African responses to colonialism* (Brill, Leiden, 2010); P Limb, "Terence Ranger, African Studies and South African historiography", *Historia* 56, 1, Mei/May 2011.

20 T Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order* (UK, David Phillip, 1996), pp. 47-128.

21 T Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order*, p. 131.

to how colonialism was steered then,[22] but only understood better in post-colonial times.

In a broader context, Nobel Prize winner Wangari Mathaai[23] complained about the very same impacts Keegan referred to, especially the growing spiritual inferiority among African peoples in the heydays of colonialism. Most of Keegan's examples with regard to groups and regions mostly reflect the Cape Colony. Skilfully, Keegan also points out several myths regarding the settlers and colonial authorities. One such myth is that the Trek by the "hardy pioneer" Boers into the interior "wilderness" from especially 1836 was politically driven, to be as far as possible from the "hated British". Instead, he argues that they "never wanted to break ties with the colonial market", but rather wanted to extend the "geographical range".[24] An observation Keegan has made with regard to colonial expansion in the interior, close to nowadays Lesotho, and which relates to the formidable chief Moshoeshoe, is insightful:[25]

> *Settler imperialism had failed in its immediate objectives, not least because imperial expansion evoked massive resistance from both Boers and black peoples. Policies of aggression and dispossession aimed at independent chiefdoms evoked in fact not support, but rebelliousness and sedition from the Boers on the frontiers of settlements, and contributed to a crippling crisis of legitimacy for the colonial government. Most of the Boers saw no reason to throw in their lot with British imperialism against black chiefdoms, and many of them, including those who lived closest to the centre of Sotho power, openly chose the patronage of Moshoeshoe rather than that of the British…*

To come to all these conclusions and to assess the colonial years of South Africa, Keegan strongly relied on the numerous regional and very local contributions of historians in various fields of history. These findings are supported by various standard publications on South Africa's history and backed by global contexts, inclusive of colonial histories on Africa in general.[26] Former and present-day regional history study contributions on, for example, the Cape and KwaZulu Natal, are still regarded as representative of the best

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22 Compare with Chapters 5 and 6 in T Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order.*
23 Compare *W* Maathai: *The challenge for Africa- A new vision* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing, 2009), pp. 25-47; 111-128.
24 T Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order*, pp. 195-196.
25 T Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order*, p. 278.
26 For example compare AD Roberts, *The colonial moment in Africa. Essays on the movement of minds and materials, 1900-1940* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-323.

value in the country,[27] and sufficiently informative to utilise in a framework of understanding and debating of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial phases of the region.

The colonial legacy that present-day South Africa inherited from its past masters in its entirety was not and could not possibly have been summarily disposed of with the country becoming a democracy in 1994. As it took more than 300 years to create a mentality and world view[28] of being colonial and subordinate, historical time was inevitably needed again to change the historical avenue by searching for a midway between the done – but not gone – past and how to rise to the new democratic expectations of the South African nation, very much embedded in the amicable example and courageous intellectual thoughts of the late president, Mr Nelson Mandela.[29]

For many years, most thinking about democracy involved a policy and style of government with no room for racism as that experienced in the tenure of the past apartheid government.[30] The post-1994 government and broader South African community also barely allowed themselves to think about how the past British colonial system of Indirect Rule in South Africa may have contributed to racism in the country or have paved the way for services inequalities experienced countrywide.[31] However, the majority of present-day South Africans appear to want to democratically rectify the situation in the most viable ways.[32] It is sensed that this cannot be done if the leadership mentality is still colonial (which can include an authoritative style of power that may lead to corruption, resulting in a lack of communities' right to daily

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27 As examples Compare N Worden, After race and class: Recent trends in the historiography of early colonial Cape Society, *South African Historical Journal*, 62(3), 2010; EK Akyeampong, HL Gates(jr) (eds.), SJ Niven, *Dictionary of African biography*, Vols 1-6 (sa., 2012); W Kermode, *Natal, its early history, rise, progress and future* (General Books, 2012), pp. 1-92; A Duminy & Bill Guest, *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: A new history* (Natal, University of Natal Press, 1989), pp. 1-489.

28 For expert insight on the concept and impact of one's world view, see DK Naugle, *Worldview: The history of a concept* (United Kingdom, Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing.co., 2002), especially Chapter 11 .

29 Mr Mandela's wisdom and history has been captured in several publications. Compare N Mandela, *Long walk to freedom: The autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Little Brown, 2008), pp. 1-300; J Crwys-Williams (ed.), *In the words of Nelson Mandela* (Great Britain, Profile Books Ltd., 2010) ; P Limb, *Nelson Mandela: A biography* (USA, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008).

30 See as examples A Lester, *From colonization to democracy: A new historical geography of South Africa* (USA, New York, I.B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 1998), pp.1-252; U Pillay, R Tomlinson & J du Toit (eds.), *Democracy and deliver: Urban policy in South Africa* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2006) , ch. 5; UJ van Beek, H-D Klingemann, *Democracy under construction: patterns from four continents* (Bloomfield Hills, B. Budrich, 2005), pp. 1-496.

31 Compare J Rossouw, "South Africa: Not yet post-colonial", *SAHO*, 13 August 2013, pp. 1-8. Retrievable on the SAHO website; RL Watson, *Slave emancipation and racial attitudes in nineteenth-Century South Africa* (USA, Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-288.

32 See J Lee & J Lutz, *Situating: Critical essays for activists and scholars* (McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2005), pp. 1-256; R Ross, *Beyond the pale: Essays on the history of colonial South Africa* (New England, Weslyan University Press, 1993), pp. 1-270.

service needs and even an unhealthy class division). One such an example of frustration about democracy's state in South Africa against the backdrop of its colonial history is that of journalist Johann Rossouw. He recently reviewed the state of South Africa as being far from democratic due to the reality that South Africa is not yet post-colonial. He emotionally writes in a salutation before debating his argument in 2008:[33]

> *The rainbow nation dream was just an illusion. South Africa: not yet postcolonial. Recent violence between the poor and the poorer in South Africa was the by-product of the country's stagnation – it has achieved what it set out to do racially, but not economically or socially. The old colonial model of modernity is still the basis for power.*

Rightly so, Rossouw continues that: "To understand what is happening in South Africa, we need a much longer timeline than the few decades of apartheid, namely the colonial era, which hasn't yet ended. It was from the British colonisation of the Cape after 1806 that the main characteristics of the modern South African political economy evolved... Possibly the highest price paid for the establishment of the modern colonial political economy was the cultural humiliation and economic weakening of its indigenous communities. (This is not to say that the pre-colonial era was a peaceful idyll.) Indigenous norms of cultural and economic excellence were damaged to the point that the humiliated quietly accepted South Africa's imported, colonial modernity as the norm." He adds: "Instead, new elites used the state as a vehicle of patronage (often for their ethnic constituencies), replacing the former colonial elites as the outside world's gateway to local riches, and changing very little in the lives of most of the citizens".[34] These insights are applauded by several intellectuals.[35]

From recent research, conducted since 1994, with as its focus or its contextual focus the colonial legacy of South Africa, it appears that this wide and complex topic embedded in colonialism remains a vibrant field.[36] The

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33   J Rossouw, "South Africa: Not yet post-colonial", *SAHO*, 13 August 2013, pp. 1-8.

34   J Rossouw, "South Africa: Not yet post-colonial", SAHO, 13 August 2013, p. 2.

35   Compare JC Myers, *Indirect Rule in South Africa. Tradition, modernity and the costuming of political power* (USA, University of Rochester Press, 2008), pp. ix-xii; 1-15; 55-69.

36   See WK Storey, *Guns, race, and power in colonial South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 1-378; F Miraftab, "Colonial pres*ent:* Legacies of the past in contemporary urban practices in Cape Town, South Africa", *Journal of Planning History*, 11 (4), Nov 2012, pp.283-307; Papers delivered at the 2013 biennial conference of the SAHS also allowed colonialism to strongly surfaced with the theme "All for one and one for all? Leveraging national interests with regional visions in Southern Africa, 27-29 June", 2013.

foci mainly relate to themes such as:[37]

- Property, family, identity, slavery;

- Reconstructing a post-apartheid state;

- Comparative colonialism studies;[38]
- Religious divides;

- Colonial administration and development;[39]

- Missionary teaching and teaching white literature;[40] and

- Drama and theatre.[41]

At, for example, the University of KwaZulu Natal (KZN), academics in History not only contributed extensively to the region's colonial history, but some also ventured to deliberate on teaching African History in particularly a post-colonial era. The University is also associated with the Alternation Journal, a journal that publishes pdf content consisting of colonial themes and usable in teaching colonial discourses. This can be accessed at alternation. ukzn.ac.za/docs/04.2/16%20Att.pdf. By searching a few keywords on this site myself, the following results were made available:

- On "Colonial South Africa": 320 000 entries;

- On "Post-colonial South Africa": 42 000 entries; and

- On "Indirect rule South Africa": 156 000 entries.

Educators in History and other related disciplines should explore the value of colonial narrations such as the KZN electronic colonial repository.

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37 See LJ Mitchell, *Belongings: Property, Family and identity in Colonial South Africa* (New York: Gutenberg-e, Columbia university Press, 2009, pp. 1-232; W Dooling, *Slavery, emancipation and colonial rule in South Africa* (Ohio, University Research in International Studies, Africa Series, 2007), pp. 1-249; MF Ramutsindela, "Down the post-colonial road: Reconstructing the post-apartheid state in South Africa", *Political Geography*, 20 (1), Jan. 2001, pp. 57-84; AW Marx, M*aking race and nation: A comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil* (UK, Cambridge University Press, 1998, 2003) which also focusses on Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order .

38 Compare M Meredith, *The state of Africa. A history of fifty years of independence* (Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 2005), pp. 378-411; A Thomson*, An introduction to African politics*, 3rd Edition (Routledge, London, 2010), pp. 188-214; 275-285.

39 WB Worsfold, *South Africa: A Study in Colonial Administration and Development* (UK: British Library, 2011), pp. 1-326.

40 Compare A Batzer, "Teaching white South African literature in high school: The legacy", (2008).

41 Compare MSirayi, *South African drama and theatre from precolonial times to the 1990's* (USA, Xlibris Corporation, Bloomington, 2012), pp. 1-180.

SF Khonou also recently endorsed the current colonial mindset "operational" within the ANC echelons.[42] In essence, the vehicle of running the ANC government remained based on regarding government as in the "indirect rule" days of Britain (two governing systems in one country in which both are functioning with sets of laws). While the one is perceived to be authoritative and mind 'its own way', levels of being subordinate to the other "unconsciously and consciously" were in place.[43] See, for example, the thinking of Khonou[44] as visually explained here.[45]
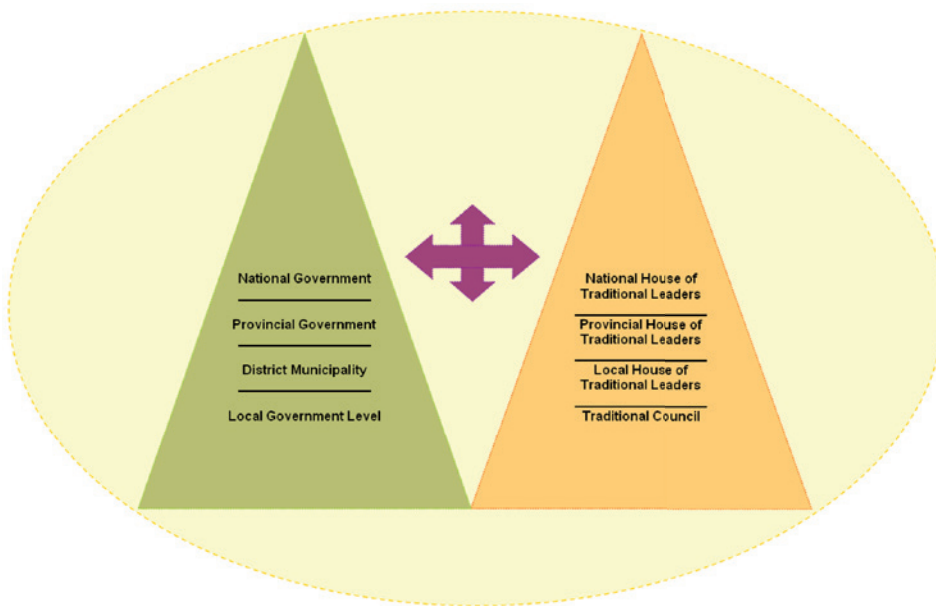
National Government
Provincial Government
District Municipality
Local Government Level

National House of Traditional Leaders
Provincial House of Traditional Leaders
Local House of Traditional Leaders
Traditional Council

Source: SF Khunou, "Traditional Leadership and Independent Bantustans of South Africa: Some Milestones of Transformative Constitutionalism beyond Apartheid", *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal*, [2009].

An inability, and most definitely a difficulty so far to efficiently serve minorities and majorities within a broader constitutional model in the present, with a centuries long colonial heritage, has allowed for remarks like Rossouw's, and then also the thoughts of Mandisi Majavu in 2011 on Higher Education in South Africa, but this time based on a 2008 report entitled the Charter for Humanities and Social Sciences (CHSS). Amongst others, this report, grossly

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42 Also compare with JC Myers, *Indirect Rule in South Africa. Tradition, modernity and the costuming of political power* (USA, University of Rochester Press, 2008), pp. 1-15.
43 The author's interpretation of Khunou's writing.
44   Available in http://www.saflii.org.za/za/journals/PER/2009/19.html.
45 SF Khunou, "Traditional Leadership and Independent Bantustans of South Africa: Some Milestones of Transformative Constitutionalism beyond Apartheid" [2009], as accessible in www.saflii.org.za.

skew and one-sided as it may turn out to be, outlines the following:[46]

> As has been pointed out by African thinkers such as Mahmood Mamdani, the enduring apartheid intellectual legacy at South African universities is the "paradigm of the colonial academy"... Thus many universities across post-apartheid South Africa continue to study white experience as a universal, human experience; while the experience of people of colour is seen as an ethnic experience... Additionally, in many cases, students are taught a curriculum that is premised on the notion that Africa has no intelligentsia worth reading. This pedagogical approach is more pronounced at former white universities… Dissenting black voices that refuse to bow down to the oppressive paradigm of the colonial academy are caricatured as "polemicists", or lacking "theory" in their scholarship... Obviously, this is a universal problem.

Hopefully, an explanation of the History 211 module assignment on colonialism, offered at the NWU Vaal Triangle campus, will accentuate the contrary.

Module History 211 at the North-West University and the regional/local colonial history of South Africa

At the North-West University (Vaal Triangle Campus), the facilitating of colonialism as a multi-layered concept in the History 211 (Hist 211) course, inclusive of "anticolonial" and "antiracism" perspectives, is challenging but equally rewarding. Canadian Phillip SS Howard has recently critically deliberated on both concepts in the modern-day classroom, in which he suggested that consideration should be given to:[47]

> ... trying to create a comfortable identity space for either the White body in multicultural society and/or the White antiracist body in antiracist circles... that is the system of white dominance, privilege and supremacy...

Howard observes shortcomings in this regard as the "ineptness of postmodern and/or post-colonial theoretical stances for adequately analysing privilege, and for articulating the agency of the non-white body".

My educational point of departure to the teaching of, for example, colonialism and colonial themes in Africa – particularly related to South Africa – is to provide a multidimensional critical perspective as context towards

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46 M Majavu, "The oppressive paradigm of the colonial academy", The South African Civil Society information Service, 17 November 2011 as accessed on http://www.sacsis.org.za/s/story.php?s=676, April 2013.

47 See PSS Howard, "On silence and dominant accountability: A critical anticolonial investigation of the antiracism classroom", GJS Dei and A Kempf (eds.), Anti-*colonialism and education. The politics of resistance*, p. 44.

understanding this topic and related phenomena. In the process of scrutinising the knowledge pool, black and white actions in the past are scrutinised equally in literature and debate. The knowledge pool provides insight into colonial legacies in positive and/or negative ways. As regional/local historian, I find it an even better option still to further allow my students to engage with the familiarity of the colonial heritage by exploring the historical precipitation of colonialism in their immediate modern-day surrounds. The unfettered focus and purpose, apart from students being informed and equipped with historical knowledge, is to observe the outcomes of past colonial-related doings or decisions surfacing in present-day circumstances, thinking and living. Complicated issues that may affect a student's response, like the level of his/her own racial privilege and other forms of identities (like gender, and sexuality)[48] are not the key points of debate on a second-year level. Rather, the ability to identify with and relate to past colonial trends, inclusive of a personal local community experience within a personal worldview of ideas and beliefs,[49] is the key outcome. That the student as individual or his/her community world view may have become distorted due to external exposures like the psychological impact of political ideas and ideologies, is not contested, but instead acknowledged in the process.

To have some historical sense of the background from which many students come, as well as to have some understanding of the student profile of the North-West University Vaal Triangle Campus, the next section serves as a concise discussion to provide contextual background. The History 211 (Hist 211) module outline and practical assignment are discussed subsequently.

A concise history of the Emfuleni municipal area

The current Emfuleni Local Municipal Area within the Sedibeng district municipality covers three local municipalities and several townships, namely Vereeniging, Bophelong, Evaton, Vanderbijlpark, Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong and Tshepiso. Nine other smaller settlements also exist within the 45 wards. The total population is close to 722 000 people. It is viewed that most of the bigger townships lack infrastructure and facilities that one generally would have associated with towns of their size. The majority of inhabitants are black Africans (85.4%), followed by 12.0% white with a very small Coloured and Indian/Asian group, each of which is 1% and less.

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48   PSS Howard, "On silence and dominant accountability: A critical anticolonial investigation of the antiracism classroom", GJS Dei and A Kempf (eds.), Anti-*colonialism and education. The politics of resistance*, pp. 57-59.
49   See the reference to Naugle's source earlier.

Sotho is the language mostly used, followed by Zulu, Afrikaans and Xhosa. The unemployment rate in 2011 was 34.7%, whilst youth unemployment turned out to be 45%.[50] Before South Africa transformed into a democracy in 1994, the area was known as the Vaal Triangle and known for its immense contribution to the iron and steel industry of South Africa in which the current city centres, namely Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark, prominently featured.[51] Other unpublished and published sources regarding, for example, Sedibeng and Boipatong, also gradually featured.[52] A host of oral and archival research material is currently in the record-management supervision of the University of the Witwatersrand.[53]

Student profile

The North-West University's small but rapidly growing Vaal Triangle Campus currently accommodates the following number of students:[54]

Race	2013
Asian	115
Black	4 914
Coloured	108
White	1 397
Grand Total	6 534

The majority of students come from deprived historical and educational backgrounds, but display an eagerness to improve their educational levels and to obtain a degree. A healthy level of tolerance and camaraderie is observed among students, at least as personally experienced in the Hist 211 lecturing meetings of 2013. The 72 Hist 211 students' entry level of knowledge about

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50 Republic of South Africa, Statistics South Africa for 2011 as available in http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=emfuleni-municipality (retrieved in September 2013).

51 Compare RL Leigh, *The story of a South African town recording its growth during 75 years from a riverside colliery village to a major centre of South Africa's industry* (Vereeniging, Vereeniging Town Council, 1968); MC van der Merwe, Vereeniging: Industrial giant: A Study of its industrial (University of Natal, 1975), pp 206; PJJ Prinsloo (red.), "n Historiese oorsig van die Vaaldriehoekse industrialiseringsproses, 1880-1950" (Verslag, NIVG, 1994), pp. 353; "Die geskiedenis van Vereeniging" (Verslag, NIVG, Stadsraad van Vereeniging, 1992), pp. 548; "Die geskiedenis van Vanderbijlpark" (Verslag, NIVG, Stadsraad van Vanderbijlpark, 1994), pp. 660; "Yskor Vanderbijlpark-werke, 1943-1993" (Verslag, NIVG, YSKOR, 1993), pp. 206. As accessed from: Source: http://www.vaaltriangleinfo.co.za/history/vereeniging/chapter_16/65.htm.

52 Some examples are: P Noonan, *They're burning the churches* (Bellevue, Jacana, 2003); JGR Simpson, "The Boipatong massacre and South Africa's Democratic Transition", *African studies Centre, African studies collection*, 35, 2011; IE Joseph, *21 Years of Progress* (Felster Publishers, Johannesburg, 1940).

53 E-Mail conversation ES van Eeden with Prof N Nieftagodien, 15 November 2013.

54 Information obtained by the author from the NWU Vaal Triangle, Vice Rector Research: Prof L du Plessis, 29 November 2013.

African history is limited, and equally so their knowledge of the topographic locations of African countries and the geographic positioning of Africa with regard to other continents. Because of these limitations, it takes a great deal of extra preparation and lecturing to ensure that the students actually achieve the required skills that Subject Group History at the Vaal Triangle Campus wishes them to have acquired when completing a module.

Module information

Hist 211 consists of 16 credits. The module covers themes on Africa and South Africa, as well as politics. As far as the reference to "politics" in the module title is concerned, its meaning relates to Aristotle's understanding thereof, namely the "affairs of the cities" in ways of governing and in governments.[55] Though the key focus in the Hist 211 module is to historiographically recall the level and status of application of democracy in Africa, the students are first introduced to how democracy developed outside Africa's borders. A next outcome is to trace the introduction and development of democracy in Africa by departing from nineteenth century colonial practices to post-colonial trends in a limited selection of regions and countries. Time and the credit level of the module unfortunately do not permit enough meetings to cover the whole of the African continent in depth with the students.

An important theoretical and practical assignment outcome to be achieved by the students is to identify traces of regional/local colonialist practices (perhaps derived from the British governing system of indirect rule, and its possible culmination into racist nurturing, also possibly allowing/having allowed for distorted local democracies). In essence, the semester module programme for Hist 211 is as shown below. Note the last outcome as a practical assignment with a theoretical basis:

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55 See R Congreve, *Aristotle/Aristotelous Ta Politika: The politics of Aristotle* (Longmans, Green & Co, 1874), pp. 524; D Lambin & G du Val, *Aristotelous Politika Kai Oikonomika*, Volume 2 (BiblioBazaar, 2011), pp. 396. (Previously published in 1923).

SEMESTER PROGRAMME

HIST 211 module

16 credit module

Key outcomes to cover in *Africa and South Africa and politics*:

√ An orientation with regard to 20th-21st century Africa;

√ Traces of democracy from early times through the pre- to the post-colonial era – reviewing its impact on Africa;

√ Assessing the benefits, detriments and pitfalls of colonialism and colonial systems in Africa;

√ Re-rooting present-day problems in a selective region or/and local community to post-colonial decision making. *[In a semester-assignment format, and simultaneously covering a theoretical yet practical approach to observe post-colonial legacies in the immediate local/regional environment.]*

As general sources for an orientation regarding Africa taken from selective chapters:

- *Richard J Reid, A history of modern Africa 1800 to the present (Wiley-Blackwell, USA, 2009);*
- *Alex Thomson, An introduction to African politics, 3rd Edition (Routledge, London, 2010);*
- *Martin Meredith, The state of Africa. A history of fifty years of independence (Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 2005).*
- *Wan*gari Maathai: *The challenge for Africa – A new vision,* pp. 25-47 and pp. 111-128.
- E van Zyl, *Leadership in the African context*, pp. 40-60.
- *JC Myers, Indirect rule in South Africa. Tradition, modernity, and the costuming of political power (USA, Rochester Press, 2008), pp. 1-15.*

Articles on:

Johan Rossouw, *South Africa: Not yet post-colonial*, SAHO, 13 August 2008.

Hist 211 module major assignment and focus

The way in which colonialism is positioned in Hist 211 as a semester module programme locally at the NWU-Vaal Triangle Campus, and how colonialism as theme – amongst other past practices – eventually find its way as a regional/ local past and day-to-day experience for students should improve the insight

of students from the theoretical to the practical and demonstrative in order to improve their insight into the theoretical. The particular assignment structure is shared as it is believed that this experience will serve as a valuable framework for educators of History in similar environments. As it serves as a basis, there obviously is always room for improvement:

Some colonial-related criteria in a nutshell to serve as a guideline for searching some of these features in a present-day local community:[1]

• Race as factor permeated the social orders established by colonial regimes;

• Racial hierarchies were present from the beginnings of settlement at the Cape;

• European colonisers brought with them stereotypes and prejudices that had much more to do with an inherent ethnocentrism than a racial ideology (therefore the irony of racial intensification and consciousness and spread of racial supremacy).[2] The irony may very much relate to the system of (British) Indirect Rule, which strengthened the racial factor, and further divided the country with regard to governance and communities by distinguishing between tribal chiefdoms and colonised areas.

• Chiefdoms and colonised areas as colonial territory were activated into a social system of racial hierarchy as a struggle for control of resources against groups of peoples (and inclusive of labour systems in which they operated);

• "British influence tended to harden the hierarchies of race rather than dissolve them";[3]

• A substantial white settler population established itself as dominant class (a very class-conscious community), with control of resources, of land and dispossessed labour.

To assist the students with the major assignment, a substantial amount of detail on the assignment framework (structural approach and literature) is provided on the University's eFundi system and discussed twice during the semester. Students are also invited to make appointments with the lecturer to discuss the assignment and/or ask the Supplemental Instruction (SI) assistants that also provide the Hist 211 students with support concerning any learning difficulties and disabilities. The assignment for students on South Africa's colonial legacy from a modern-day perspective in any regional/local context is as follows:

HIST 211
AFRICA and SOUTH AFRICA AND POLITICS
ASSIGNMENT FOR .....(date)

PRACTICAL PART OF THEME 3

ASSIGNMENT FOCUS

Practically i) explore a legacy (past or current) in the Sedibeng region and ii) argue to what extent it could be related to or/and associated with colonialism or/and an absence or distortion of democracy.

It is your task to combine your own ASSIGNMENT TITLE, covering a locality in i) and a specific formulated choice of topic in ii).

For example:

Violence in **Sebokeng** during **1984-1986**: A reflection on its <u>relatedness</u> to **colonialism**

<u>or</u>

For example:

A glance at the **current socio-economic** status of **Sharpeville** as personally experienced, and arguing how its condition is **colonial**-<u>related</u> or <u>associated</u> with a distortion of **democracy**.

The general assignment structure to be covered: [59]

Provide the theme and your name on the first/cover page.

Contents page + page numbers + section numbering + footnotes (sources)

Introduction (as a subheading)

Motivation for the choice of theme (must be on i); ii) the resource material you have located and its value/difficulties; iii) the structure of the rest of the text to follow) [half a page].

Suggestion: Map for orientation with regard to your area – very specific locality (it must have a title and a source).

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59 The Hist 211-students are supported with ideas on the structure because it is experienced that they are still uncertain on a second year level how to exactly (and structurally acceptably) approach an assignment.

Concept clarification (as a subheading, but list the concepts as suggested in the subheading)

  A concise but clear understanding of the (two) concepts that you are going to use/discuss in the rest of the assignment (for example violence and colonialism OR, for example, socio-economic and democracy distortion) [1 page].

  Suggestion: If you can efficiently link the visibility and meaning of the sections after the history section, you may expect a favourable assessment.

A history of your area (As a subheading – identify the area. Use an understandable and related subheading.)

  This history must concisely cover the history of your area, but mainly expose the time frame of its history on which you have decided [2 pages].

  Suggestion: If you make use of a combination of sources in an archive and/or a personal archive and/or an oral interview of one or two people from older generations who have first-hand knowledge of a phenomenon or a topic in a particular area and/or articles from sources such as books or newspapers, you may expect a favourable assessment. Use "professor" Google in a VERY responsible way and refrain from believing and quoting Wikipedia knowledge as if it's the only truth. If you are caught out on a "cut & paste habit" and if you don't properly reference the sources you have used, you must simply bear the consequences. If you pioneer and originate your own combination of your area's history, you may expect a favourable assessment.

Discuss the specific history of the local phenomenon/theme (as a subheading)

  (For example: "Recalling the violence in Sebokeng, 1984-1986") [3 pages]

  Suggestion: You can make use of a combination of sources.

  Link the theme you have decided on with your choice of focus: either place A & phenomenon/theme B with a distortion of democracy OR place C & phenomenon/theme D with colonial legacy features (as a subheading… revise to fit as subheading.)

Check out the tree images on eFundi to guide you in your debate.

<u>Conclusion</u>

A concise summary of the assignment content and your critical analysis of the ... the visibility and possibility to connect the theme/phenomenon you cover with the historical roots of colonialism and/or distorted democracy [1 Page].

<u>Sources</u>: [1 page]

<u>Assignment prerequisites</u>:

• 81/2 pp. (max: 2 pages as illustrations/appendixes <u>additional</u> to the 81/2 pages):

• 13 pages cover the full content (front page, content page and source references, footnotes, etc. excluded)

<u>Content</u>:

• Chronology must be fluent;

• Prevent repetition of sentences;

• Don't over-utilise one source;

• Avoid factual errors and one-sided emotional discussions.

FOOTNOTE & Harvard Style of referencing in the text:

• The footnote style is preferred. See the examples below (note technical care in punctuation and be consistent. If you still experience problems, make an appointment with me. I will gladly guide you.).

Referencing a book:

R Bedsprings, A history of understanding student's studying habits (Timbuktu, Me-Publishers, 1999), pp. 10-18.

Referencing an article:

R Bedsprings, "The ultimate solution to get students excited about Hist 211", Journal of Wishful Thinking, vol. 2, no. 10, 2014, pp. 10-18.

> *Referencing an interview:*
>
> Interview B Masiea (student or the credentials of anybody else)/P. Pitso (veteran Boipatong Massacre), 22 May 2013.
>
> *Using sources from the internet:*
>
> Anon., "Understanding the Boipatong Massacre of June 1992", http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/boipatong-massacre-17-june-1992, accessed on 22 May 2013, pp. 1-4.

The following assessment rubric (see next page), covering a value of 100 marks, is used for the Hist 211-students:

Basic Technical care: 10 marks
Low-order content requirements: 20 marks
High-order skill requirements: 70 Marks
TOTAL: 100 marks

2013 assessment

ASSIGNMENT ASSESSMENT **HIST 211**

Name: _____

Assessment value: _____

Date: _____

ASSIGNMENT THEME: _____ _____

BASIC TECHNICAL/GENERAL 2nd year: 10	A	B	C	D	E	F
* Table of contents (visibility):						
* Introduction (visibility):						
* References to sources (visibility):						
* Page numbers (Included):						
* Language (no basic mistakes):						
* Appearance & neatness:						

CONTENT (LOW-ORDER REQUIREMENTS: 2nd year: 20	A	B	C	D	E	F
* Introduction (Cover the suggested approach);						
* References to sources (Citations technically correct):						
* Theme-focussed (do not repeat; shows basic content progress):						
* Basic visuals added as appendixes/in text that applies						
* Conclusion (Cover the suggested approach to the conclusion):						

CONTENT (HIGH-ORDER REQUIREMENTS: 2nd: 70						
* Theme-focussed (in the main content outline):						
* Facts (Correct and sufficient utilising of sources):						
* Argumentation: Chronological, logical, critical without repetitions & an innovative lesson discussion						
* A valid/substantial conclusion covering a concise summary of the assignment and an assessment						

A   B   C   D   E   F

Key assessment indicators:
A = Uitstekend/*Excellent* (90-100)
B = Baie goed/ Very g*ood* (75-89)
C = Goed/Good (65-74)
D = Bevredigend/*Satisfactory* (50-64)
E = Onbevredigend/*Insufficient* (40-49)
F = Swak/*Poor* (0-39)

ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DETAIL ANALYSIS:

Conclusion

In 2009, the Nigerian economist, Samuel Wakok, wrote[60] as follows:

> *Africa must rise up to the challenge, we must claim this 21st century which was earlier proclaimed the African Century at the turn of the last century. We should take a cue from the Latin American and Asian countries who themselves where colonized. Today many of them are a success story. We cannot continue to bask in the euphoria of colonialism and pretend that we can escape with its curses as excuses. Africa must chart a development-oriented course built on viable institutional frameworks. Our African leaders must see themselves more as Statesmen, who think of the next generation rather than mere politicians who only think of the next election.*

In essence, Wakok verbalises the thoughts of several others, whether intellectuals and/or African leaders of the past and the present. Its understanding lies within past doings and practices. An exposure of students and learners in History in the host of past doings is relatively easy. It is more stimulating and equally rewarding to allow HET students and FET learners to experience the past regionally and/or locally as a means to bridge the gap between understanding the past and the present right now.

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60 SS Wakok, "The fecklessness of Africa and the wider world", 11 November 2009, as accessed in http://www. afrikangoddess.com/fecklessnessofafrica.htm.

African history teaching in contemporary German textbooks: From biased knowledge to duty of remembrance[1]

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Abstract

In early colonial times, European scientists explained and justified the aggressive and devastating expansion of Europe into nearly every corner of the world. Africans, for example, had been dehumanized, infantilized and bereft of history. The legacy of this manipulative enterprise can still be observed in various discourses of Africa in Western media and education. Induced into the Western cannon by Hegel, the notion of unhistorical Africa persists to the present day. Which role does contemporary education play in the manifestation of this ignorance? This paper analyses the role Africa occupies in German history textbook narratives. In only one of four textbook series, the existence of African history before the European "discovery" (the term is literally used by the books) is merely acknowledged. Others would not even explicitly (by text or maps) place Ancient Egypt in Africa, in accordance with Hegel. Pre-colonial Africa is absent from text, it can be sometimes found on the maps as a passive receiver of conquest or trade. The post-colonial history is largely reduced to the explanations of why Africa is "poor". African sources and history archives are rarely used, priority is given to German or other Western sources. We argue that this persistent marginalization of Africa and Africans throughout the history curriculum in Germany needs to be urgently addressed by history educators and policy makers.

Keywords: German history textbooks; Racism; Representation of Africa; Critical Discourse Analysis.

Introduction

In his lecture on the Philosophy of History in 1830-1831 in Berlin, Hegel postulated that Africa, as a continent "without movement and development",

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had no place in the human history (Hegel, 1956:99). To understand the reasoning behind this claim we must put it in the historical context. In the desperate need of land, food, natural resources and cheap labour, Europe began its expansion towards other continents as early as the 15th century. This expansion resulted in a tremendous crime against humanity - the transatlantic slave trade that continued for 400 years and the brutal colonization (associated with forced labour, torture, concentration camps, massacres, even genocide) of African people. When the spirit of Enlightenment with its egalitarian values gained importance in the early 18th century Europe, this inhuman treatment of Africans needed justification. European scientists and philosophers established what nowadays is termed "scientific" racism – an ideology of domination and subordination, inclusion and exclusion.

This ideology disguised as science (UNHR, 1965), distinguished groups of people mainly by the colour of their skin, assigned them intellectual and psychological properties and decided about their role in humanity. In this process, Africans had been bereft of their humanity, culture, development and consequently, their history. Thus the construction of unhistorical Africa must be viewed as an essential part of racist knowledge that was used to legitimate[2] unlawful and immoral appropriation of Africa and crimes committed against its people. This activity culminated in the infamous Congo Conference in Berlin 1884-1885, when nearly the entire continent of Africa was partitioned among eight European powers. The *Lagos Observer* commented on the conclusion of the conference: "The world has, perhaps never witnessed until now such highhanded a robbery on so large a scale. Africa is helpless to prevent it. It is on the cards that this 'Christian' business can only end, at no distant date, in the annihilation of the natives".[3]

Diallo (2001) traced the history of African studies in Germany, its institutionalization and its current direction. He showed, for example, that ethnology and *Völkerkunde* are in fact closely related to colonization, the development of their research and accumulation of knowledge were concomitant with colonial expeditions. And beyond, some Africanists have contributed their work to the concept of "race" as a "scientific" basis for National Socialism.

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2   E.g. CJ Rhodes: "I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings what an alteration there would be if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence [...]" (Confession of Faith, 1902). This quote illustrates well how racist knowledge was used as a legitimization to conquer, divide and control Africa.
3   *Lagos Observer*, 19 February 1885, cited in Adebajo (2010:16).

In 1964, the newly independent African Member States of the UN expressed the urgent desire to reclaim Africa's role in history resulting in the launch of the General History of Africa project (GHA) by UNESCO. In 2009, a second phase of the project was put in place, which was concerned with adaptation of the GHA content to history school teaching.[4] Until today, this development has not been reflected in most of European textbooks, particularly in German history books. Ironically, the history of Europe is widely taught in most African countries and is still over-represented in many African textbooks.[5] In 1982, a German history textbook analysis revealed, that Africa only occurred in the context of European expansion, in chapters termed "Discovery", "Imperialism" and "Decolonization", presented in a form of short and superficial summaries (Tiemann, 1982). Two topics had been added some twenty years later (Poenicke, 2001): Africa as the origin of humanity and medieval African kingdoms; the latter, however, only appeared as a half-page long prequel in the "Discovery" chapters. Poenicke's re-assessment some years later determined that African medieval kingdoms again vanished from the history telling (Poenicke, 2008). In both studies, Poenicke lamented the absence of Africa in world history, a paternalistic approach to Africa, an uncritical use of colonial racist terminology and the lack of authentic African and other well-researched scientific sources. Instead all too often abstracts from the German mass media were used as a source. Mueller (2013) looked at the presentation of German colonial history in textbooks and found that textbooks were fast in responding to the German political debate. Following the media debate on the Herero genocide, analyzed textbooks had now included this previously silenced gruesome event. It seems that in handling Africa, textbooks tend to reproduce commercial knowledge shaped by the media rather than actively intervene by engaging in the process of "decolonization of history" (Depelchin, 2005).

We believe that simply filling void spaces with historical content is not enough. It is the duty of history educators to actively deconstruct racist ideology by engaging with its origins, motives and impacts. To restore Africa's role in human history, educators need to emphasize on how and why it got excluded in the first place.

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4   UNESCO GHA Project Phase II (available at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001842/184282eo. pdf#xml=http://www.unesco.org/ulis/cgi-bin/ulis.pl?database=&set=4DC2A097_1_13&hits_rec=6&hits_ lng=eng, as accessed on 10 December 2013).
5   Informal exchange with teachers from Senegal, Cameroon, Ghana and Uganda.

Methods

Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) of texts and imagery was our method of choice (Wodak & Meyer 2001). CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that is mainly concerned with how the use of language (and imagery) is related to issues of power, its use and abuse. CDA challenges the way in which hegemonic discourses produce knowledge and establish it as universal and "common-sense" by silencing any alternative knowledge and discourses. The main assumption of this approach is that social practices constitute as well as are constituted by the discourse, in other words, once produced, the discourse becomes "productive in its turn" (Hall, 1996:187). Hence this method analyzes not only the usage of language but also how this usage reflects and reinforces social practices (Haig, 2008:52). Critical discourse analysts do not consider their work as value-neutral; their aim is to go beyond the mere description of the discoursal practices by "contributing to the contestation and even transformation of those practices" (ibid).

Data

For the purposes of this paper, we only analysed four textbook series by the main German publishing houses: Cornelsen, Klett, Schroedel and Westermann. Each series are comprised of three to four books for grades 6 to 10 (ages 11 to 16), making it fourteen textbooks altogether. Education in Germany is governed at the *Bundesland* (provincial) level; the sixteen respective ministries of education issue their own curricula. Textbook publishing in Germany is privately owned. Publishing houses adapt the textbooks to suit the curricula of the *Bundesländer* and they have to be approved by the respective ministries. All major publishing houses therefore issue parallel textbooks for different *Bundesländer* and it is up to the individual school to decide, which textbook to choose.

This study is a part of a larger project located in the city and province of Hamburg[6] that is concerned with the portrayal of Africa in textbooks and its impact on racism. The textbooks analysed here are the latest issues found at the Hamburg teachers' library.[7] Some series are meant to simultaneously

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6   IMAFREDU – Image of Africa in Education, University of Hamburg (available at: http://elina-marmer.com, as accessed on 10 December 2013).

7   After completing our analysis and the paper, we have discovered a more recent issue of Klett, Geschichte und Geschehen. Our next step will be to analyze it and to compare with the one presented here.

suit curricula of more than one *Bundesland* (see Table 1). Therefore, our analysis covers history textbooks from eight out of sixteen *Bundesländer* in the North, West and East but textbooks from the South are not considered. We compared our findings with those of Poenicke (2008), who thoroughly examined the presentation of Africa in a larger sample of history textbooks, which also included books from *Bundesländer* not considered here as well as some less prominent publishing houses.

Table 1: List of history textbook series

Publisher	Year	Title	Series	*Bundesland* (province)
Westermann	2011	Horizonte Geschichte	1, 2, 3	Hamburg (North)
Cornelsen	2010	Forum Geschichte	1, 2, 3	Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Bremen (North)
Schroedel	2000	Zeit für Geschichte	1, 2, 3, 4	Hamburg (North); North Rhine-Westphalia (West)
Klett	2000	Geschichte und Geschehen	1, 2, 3, 4	Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Bremen (North); North Rhine-Westphalia, Hessen (West); Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pommerania (East)

Guiding questions

The analyzed series are organized chronologically, beginning with the origin of men. Following the chronology of the books, our analysis is guided by three research questions:

What is being told?

We analyse, in which historical context is Africa represented, which role is assigned to Africans at given historical events and in relation to Europeans.

What is being omitted?

The portrayal of Africa in German context is characterized not only by the content that is present but also by what is extensively absent (Weicker & Jacobs, 2011). This is particularly true in regard to history, therefore close attention is paid to content that is left out from the textbooks.

How is it being told?

The "how" is concerned with language and imagery that is used to describe Africa and Africans in historical contexts. Language, as a powerful tool of oppression, was widely abused to dehumanize African people during colonialism. According to Arndt & Hornscheidt (2004), specific terminology was created in German and other European languages to describe the colonized people, their spaces and narratives: it consisted partly of new linguistic formations (e.g. the N-word, "*Hottentotte*", "*Buschmann*"), complemented by expressions borrowed from flora and fauna (e.g. *Mischling* - crossbreed, a term used for domestic animals; *Mulatte* - mulatto, from Spanisch "mulo" - mule) as well as terms used to describe bygone times (e.g. *Stamm* – tribe, a term used to classify Europeans during the age of Roman Empire). These expressions became internalized in our language to the point that white[8] people are often no longer aware of their racist intentions. On the contrary, black German students, interviewed about the portrayal of Africa in their Geography textbooks (Marmer, 2013), were able to point out such expressions used by the books. Irrespective of the author's intention, such terms continue to construct and re-construct the differences between black and white, naturalize and evaluate them, thus legitimating white hegemony, violence and privileges (Arndt & Hornscheidt, 2004). Visual images are powerful transmitters of messages, they can be used to decorate, illustrate and interpret the context (Marsh & White, 2003). "Textbook creators employ images as shorthand metonyms to encapsulate and illustrate whole events, eras, or ideas" and by doing so they "manufacture visions of society" (Perlmutter, 1997:78). Images often only "allude [to] things" implicitly, the critical discourse analysis serves to uncover the meaning and "make these allusions explicit" (Van Leeuwen, 2000:335).

Use of the term racism

As elaborated in the introduction, we understand racism as an ideology that is systematically implemented in the fabric of Western society since the colonial times. Therefore by describing content as "racist" we neither imply authors' racist intentions nor their sympathizing with the extreme right neo-Nazi groups. Overt expressions of racism are rarely found in contemporary German textbooks. We are rather concerned with the covert and subtle expressions of

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8   The terms *black* and *white* define historically and politically constructed groups, distinguished by their participation in political power and access to resources.

racist ideology through the uncritical reproduction of hegemonic knowledge, which, irrespective of authors' intentions discriminates, marginalizes and objectifies Africa and African people in the textbook narratives.

Findings

Out of Africa – The Palaeolithic age

In two of the four series, Africa is covered at the very beginning when introducing the "Out of Africa" – theory of human origin. It is in this context that we first encounter a racist representation: Both series, Cornelsen (1:40) and Schroedel (1:25), display images of the evolution of the Homo sapiens sapiens. While all prehistoric human species are depicted as black, the Homo sapiens sapiens appears as white (See Image 1 as it appears in the aforementioned textbooks):

Image 1: *Stationen in der Entwicklung des Menschen* (Stages of the human development)
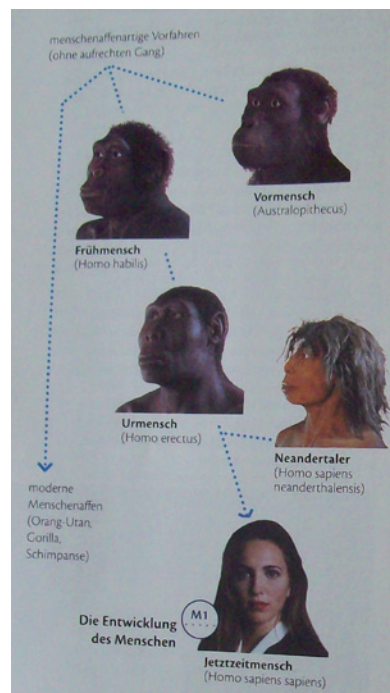
Source: Cornelsen (2010), Forum Geschichte 1, p. 40.

In the summary of the chapter on "Early cultures" (Cornelsen 1:73), a table assigns to each of the historical ages (Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Metal) a

corresponding time period, geographical region, type of humans and their life style: the regions assigned to the Palaeolithic Age are Africa, Asia and Europe; to the Neolithic Age - Near East and Central Europe; to the Metal Age - Central Europe only. Thus the impression is created that Africans had never left the Palaeolithic age.

Advanced civilisations *(Hochkulturen)*

Ancient Egypt as the first "advanced civilisation", the so-called *Hochkultur* (German: high culture), is extensively treated in all the four series. In accordance with the modernization theory, a civilisation is established as "high" whenever it is suitable to describe the pre-stage of Western modernity: "Advanced civilisation… is characterized by a state with a central administration and government, religion, division of labour, literacy, calculation of times, art, architecture, onset of science and technology" (Cornelsen 1:79). In short, those are societies "in which wealth and political power were monopolized by the few" (Ehret, 2002:6). Since "high" can not exist without "low", a hierarchy of human societies and their organizations is created here, whereby their historical achievements and contributions are implicitly evaluated in order to permanently decide about their role in or exclusion from history. As Ehret (2002:6) argues, "[t]he fact that many key technological innovations in human history began, and much great art was produced, in other, less stratified, non-urban societies is glossed over". But not only societies, which chose a different path than the so-called "advanced societies" – for example the Khoisan civilisation, are excluded from history. In the textbooks, the world maps of "ancient advanced civilisations" (Cornelsen 1:76; Schroedel 1:67, Klett 1:67) do not indicate Nubia, Askum, Cush or the Nok Cultures even if the organization of these societies would satisfy the given definition of 'advanced'. In Westermann, there are neither maps in the chapter nor other references to Africa. Here (1:42, 48) and in Cornelsen (1:86) the view of Ancient Egypt as being detouched from the "African spirit" (Hegel, 1956:99) is visualized by portraying Egyptians as whites (Image 2).

Image 2: *Schaubilder – ein Versuch, Zusammenhänge darzustellen* (Charts – an attempt to present contexts)
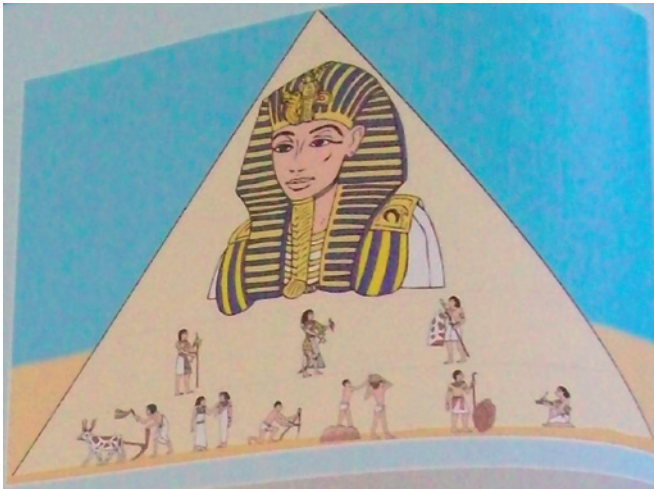
Source: Westermann (2011), Horizonte Geschichte 1, p. 48.

The next time period discussed in the books is ancient Greece followed by the Roman Empire. A map in Westermann (1:96) shows the extent of the Hellenic trade with trade routes to Somaliland and Abyssinia but there is no text accompanying the map from which we could learn about the lives and culture of people living in those regions. The only reference to the African continent is given through Roman conquests and colonies. In Klett (1:136) we read that Ancient Rome became "the greatest power in the *by then known* world" (Emphasis in italics by the authors). The world known by whom? This is a strong example of Eurocentric history telling, subtle and yet so powerful. Without making explicit, "who" knew "which" world, the sentence transmits the view that the Roman Empire was all that mattered in human history.

The middle ages

The chapters that follow cover the Middle Ages and exclusively focus on Europe; Africa is completely absent from these chapters. There is however one exception: Klett (4:275) is trying to fill this grandiose gap chronologically elsewhere, when discussing contemporary Africa after independence. Here, a page-long excursus on medieval Africa is introduced under the title "Has the poor world always been poor? black kingdoms". The page consists of

accounts from Arabic and Portuguese travellers emphasizing the great wealth and organization of some African kingdoms (Ghana, Mali) and cities (Gao, Timbuktu, Kilwa and Great Zimbabwe). A map showing medieval African kingdoms illustrates these accounts. The editorial text describes that these kingdoms practised an extensive trade, among others with Europe, which lead to enormous wealth. Neither in Klett nor in the other series is this trade (or any other contact between Europe and Africa) mentioned in the chronologically suitable chapters on the Middle Ages. This excursus is followed by an explanation of what caused the downfall of the medieval African societies leading to poverty of contemporary African countries, extracted from an out-dated booklet (1988): "The main reason for their poverty, *those days* and to a certain degree even today, is the lack of any noteworthy surplus production. It is explained by the barrenness of their soil…" (Klett 4:275, Emphasis in italics by the authors). In the assignment after this narrative text, the students are asked to "Find information in the text explaining why the African kingdoms did not last". It is not only simplistic, to wrongfully assign barren soil to all of Africa (!) but also obviously contradicts with the previous accounts of the mainly trade based economies. If there was no surplus production, where did the commodities for trade come from to provide for such exclusive wealth?

Some of the books discuss at some length the expansion of the Islam, in this context Africa appears on the maps of "the Islamic expansion up to 1500" (Schroedel 2:95f), which indicate the "extended regions in Asia and Africa" that were conquered by "the Muslim armies […] in a short time". The maps show cities like Marrakesh, Kairouan, Cairo, Timbuktu, Mogadishu and Zanzibar. A map titled "Islam as cultural agent" (Westermann 2:23) refers to the "transfer of cultural assets, know-how and knowledge from the 'Orient' to Southern Europe". Even though Africa is on the map it does not seem to be involved in this transfer. While Bagdad and Toledo are marked as "Centres of Science", Timbuktu for example is not even specified on the map. During the age of Renaissance (13th-17th century CE) there is yet no note on Africa in any of the series, except for a map showing trade routes of Venice around 1500 (Alexandria, Tripoli, Alger) (Cornelsen 2:11). Africa's marginal appearance on maps implies that she was a passive receiver of conquest, trade or whatever activity carried out by non-Africans.

The Age of "discovery"

The following chronological chapter which begins with the momentous year

1492, is introduced under titles such as "The Europeans discover the world" (Westermann 2:132ff), "Columbus discovers the New World" (Klett 2:182ff), "By the compass and by the sword – The age of the discoveries" (Schroedel 2:152ff) and "Research, discovery and conquest" (Cornelsen 2:29ff). Unlike Poenicke (2008) who found that only some of the analyzed textbooks use "discovery" without quotation marks, in our sample it concerns all four series. The use of the term "discovery" in this context seems problematic (Danielzik & Bendix, 2011). First, the concept distinguishes between the subjects ("discoverers"), and the objects of "discovery", thus objectifying the "discovered" people. Secondly, the term "discovery" connotes progress and development thereby concealing violent conquest and colonial crimes committed by the "discoverers" towards the "discovered" populations. In each of the series there are world maps indicating the "discovery" voyages; only in Klett (2:183) they are marked as "'European' discovery voyages". It is typical of the Eurocentric approach not to mark European activities, events, ways of thinking etc. as "European" but to represent them as universal. This becomes apparent in the titles of the series: "History", not "European history", even if that is what they are actually about.

The Atlantic slave trade

The Atlantic slave trade is treated as mainly caused by Bartolomé de Las Casas, who introduced the idea of substituting Native American slaves by Africans (Schroedel 2:173; Cornelsen 2:42; Klett 2:224) which he "later regretted" (Klett 2:224). This chapter of European, African and American history, described by Davidson (1994) as "300 years of organized and systematic cruelty", is mostly reduced to few sentences, for example: "Beside the merchandise, they also brought back home African inhabitants – the slave trade with black Africans began" (Schroedel 2:179). Klett (2:224; 3:103) is insistently using the racist colonial term *Negersklaven* in this context. While this is unacceptable, also the term "slave" needs to be revised. "Slave" reduces an individual to a commodity and permanently attributes to him dependency and compliance; therefore the term "enslaved" is suggested which expresses that slavery is a forced condition.

Only in Klett (3:102) an image of a slave ship is reprinted, which gives an idea under what cruel conditions the enslaved people had been transported overseas. In Westermann, the transatlantic slave trade is omitted, enslaved Africans just happen to appear in America and slavery is discussed as the

"catalyser of the conflict" during the American Civil war 1861-1865 (3:101). It is only in the context of this war, that the "degrading conditions" under which the enslaved people lived and worked are discussed. Instead of taking advantage of the extensive body of African-American historical work and novels (foremost Roots by Alex Haley) to vividly illustrate life histories of enslaved Africans, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Beecher-Stowe is used as a source (Klett 3:103). This novel has been largely criticized for its racist portrayal of African-American characters assigning them characteristics such as passive, lazy, submissive and eager to please white people (e.g. Smith, 1988). Only Klett (3:103) includes an eyewitness account of formerly enslaved J Henson and Schroedel (3:76) briefly comments on the "very high profits" that were obtained from the slave work on tobacco plantations in the Caribbean in one exemplified case.

There are no accounts on the tens millions of victims of the Atlantic slave trade anywhere in the books. The human losses for Africa and economical benefits for the USA and Europe of this crime of humanity are not even mentioned. Most books do not inform the readers about any resistance against enslavement in Africa, on the way or in America, so the enslaved are made to be passive victims without their own agency. Indeed, by doing so the books degrade the enslaved Africans to "slaves". There is only one exception in Schroedel (3:84) where we learn about Harriet Tubman, who was involved in the "Underground Railroad", a network supporting fugitives' escape from slavery. Everywhere else in the books the end of slavery is credited to the white abolitionists. The history of the Haitian revolution lead by Toussaint Louverture, Haiti's independence from France and the creation of the first state to abolish slavery, is completely omitted (see for example teaching materials by Richter).[9] By putting it this way, "the moral superiority of the ['white'] abolitionists is reaffirmed by their being capable of seeing how morally wrong slavery was" (Depelchin, 2005:12).

Imperialism and World War I

The books offer different explanations for the phenomenon of imperialism. In this context, it is interesting to observe how the topic of racism as an ideology is treated. The definitions of imperialism range from "[…] the strive for extensive control over foreign territories" (Westermann 3:73) to a "further

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9   R Richter, 2008, "Hört die Freiheit, die in unser aller Herzen spricht!", Die Haitische Revolution (1791-1804) als Sklavenwiderstand, In: Zeitschrift Geschichte Lernen, Themenheft Sklaverei (126), pp. 34-40.

developed industrialized state ruling over less developed countries" (Cornelsen 2:240). While the focus of the first definition is on the "foreign", the second one emphasizes the state of "development" with a hidden justification in the manner of Social Darwinism.

Schroedel (3:235) suggests that technical innovations, economical interests and internal political problems in Europe only partly explain imperialism. Rather a "particular spirit" that emerged around 1880s in the Western countries and Japan enabled imperialistic politics. How this spirit suddenly "emerged" is not explained further. According to Westermann (3:96) "National sense of mission plays here [for the development of imperialism] a decisive role as well as the feeling of cultural, civilizatory and technical superiority". Both, Schroedel and Westermann, treat the "particular spirit" or "sense of mission" as something that came from nowhere and happened to cause European nations to conquer the world.

Only Klett (3:258) brings in a different perspective by putting "sense of mission" in quotation marks and revealing, that "for many politicians, industrialists and merchants it served as a justification for their own tangible economical interests". But even here we are not provided with any hint as where this "sense of mission" suddenly came from. All the series miss the central point that it was not racism, disguised here as a "sense of mission", that lead to colonialism, slave trade and imperialism but rather that the inhuman treatment of the exploited people, motivated by purely economical interests needed justification, which was then delivered by European philosophy and science in form of racist ideology.

Schroedel (3:235) describes the contest for the colonies between the European nations as "the contest for the last white spots on the map". As Poenike (2008) points out, the white spots (terra incognita) suggest empty unoccupied places further trivializing the brutality of Europe's expansion. It is this contest between the European nations all these chapters focus on and how it lead to the World War I. The war is presented in the books as a purely European event, during which Africa once again ceases to exist.

Although imperialism as such is being criticized by the books, colonial enterprises are nevertheless presented as "partly modernizing the affected regions" (Schroedel 3:235). What remains unmentioned is that such "modernizations" were achieved at the cost of forced labour and only served the interests of the colonizers. In a German textbook, it would be unthinkable

to apply a similar presentation to National Socialism praising its benefits such as construction of highways. However, "such discursive limits do not seem to exist regarding the victims of colonialism" (Marmer & Ziai, 2013:16).

When talking about the colonisation of Africa, Schroedel and Westermann exclusively rely on European sources whereby African perspectives remain unconsidered. Though Africa occupies relatively much space in this chapter as compared to the previous ones, the narrative remains strictly Eurocentric. The persistence of the colonial perspective is also reflected in the language, e.g. the use of the term "motherland" without quotation marks when addressing the colonizers (Westermann, 3:72, 80, 288 and Cornelsen, 3:162).

Two African sources are quoted by Klett (3:261), an oral account of the Bapende people of DRC (the book uses Zaire, though the country was renamed nearly a decade before the book was issued) of the arrival of the whites and of the Nigerian historian Jacob Ajayi,[10] explaining the loss of sovereignty of African people due to colonialism. African sources quoted by Cornelsen are even better suited to highlight African perspectives. In the first account (2:245) Rwandan historian Cèlestin Muyombano[11] discusses the devastating consequences of colonialism for his country. The second, a quote of a Burkinabe historian Joseph Ki-Zerbo,[12] is unprecedented in German history teaching, for it describes African resistance in the colonies (Cornelsen 2:249), a topic otherwise completely ignored. This account is illustrated by a map of the European colonies and anti-colonial resistances in Africa before 1914. Treating anti-colonial resistance removes Africans from the purely passive and victim positions usually assigned to them by textbooks, giving them agency and letting them, if only shortly, participate in this part of common history.

The use of illustrations of this chapter seems very problematic: both, Cornelsen (2:237) and Klett (3:255) present a colonial post card depicting enslaved and tortured African women most disgracefully tied to each other with a chain on their necks (Image 3). And it is Klett again that uses the N-word in the caption. These images are not accompanied by an editorial or any other text and are used purely decoratively. Decorative use of such illustrations was found to trigger racist jokes and assaults in the classroom against students of African descent (Marmer, 2013). These kind of representations of colonial or any other human cruelty have to be treated with much more sensitivity and need to be embedded in a profound debate on racism, dehumanization and

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10 J Ajayi, 1977. The source not further specified.
11 C Muyombano, (Ruanda. Die historischen Ursachen des Bürgerkriegs. Stuttgart: Naglschmid), 1995.
12 J Ki-Zerbo, (Die Geschichte Schwarzafrikas. Wuppertal: Hammer Verlag), 1979.

ethics.

Image 3: *Postkarte, Negerweiber an der Kette'; die handschriftlichen Grüße lauten: Daressalam, 1.8.06. Die schönsten Grüße aus dem schwarzen Erdteil. ergebendst, Unterschrift* (Postcard, Chained N.-women'; the handwritten greetings says: Daressalam, 1/8/06. Best regards from the black continent. sincerely, Signature')

Source: Klett (2000), Geschichte und Geschehen 3, p. 255.

German colonial history

Until recently, the German colonial past was completely silenced in the history teaching and public discourse. Colonialism is seen here as less relevant compared to the crimes committed by the NS-regime. "This collective amnesia in respect to colonialism has a double effect: it declares German colonial history as irrelevant and at the same time it fails to recognize the role of the continuation of colonial practices under the National Socialism" (Messerschmidt, 2009:63; translated by authors).

It was only since independence of Namibia in 1990 that the Herero genocide, though officially not accepted as such, gained some public awareness (Mueller, 2013). Three of the four series discuss German colonial history, however, Cornelsen is an exception. Mueller (2013) shows, that different Cornelsen

series, following the trend of the German public debate, do explicitly engage with this inglorious chapter of the German history, and in particular with the German-Herero war and the Herero genocide. This is not the case in the Cornelsen series analysed in this study. We find this particularly problematic since the series in question is issued for the Northern *Bundesländer* including Hamburg, a city with the second largest port in Europe, which played a leading role in and highly benefitted from slavery and colonialism. Hamburg is also historically known to be the city with the largest African Diaspora community in Germany.

Westermann (3:80ff), which is a Hamburg edition, seizes the opportunity to bring colonial history into the local context by introducing Adolph Woermann, a Hamburg ship company owner who has played a major role in the politics of colonisation and drew tremendous benefits from it. Images of colonial sites in Hamburg like the Africa-House and the Speicherstadt are also presented.

Klett (3:265) reduces the conflict caused by colonialism to the discrepancy between "old traditions" and "forced civilisation". Two photographs are supposed to illustrate this context: The first one shows a Congolese chief (in German translated as *Häuptling*, a colonial term with exotic and primitive connotations (Arndt & Hornscheidt, 2004)) with his twenty naked wives. This kind of representation is termed "ethnic pornography" (Poenicke, 2008) especially because a similar presentation of white bodies is unthinkable in a textbook - it would be considered inappropriate and undecent. The photo is contrasted with a wedding picture of a nameless teacher in Cameroon, married in "European" attire. The couple looks visibly uncomfortable suggesting the unfamiliarity with the "civilisation" expressed by monogamy and outfit. In both images, the colonial racist gaze of the photographer is reproduced uncommented and is thus implicitly confirmed.

The Klett series (3:262ff) do not term the German-Herero war as genocide, using "almost total annihilation" and "great brutality" instead, which are illustrated by a photograph of starving Hereros. An account of Hendrik Witbok, a *Nama-Häuptling* is supposed to represent the African perspective. He addresses his speech to the chiefs of Nama, calling them "captains", however, the authors decided to add the word *Häuptling* in brackets as supposedly the correct German wording. So even if an African account is used, it has to be corrected to correspond to the colonial language. Schroedel (3:242ff) speaks explicitly of genocide, quoting German general Trotta's proclamation of the

annihilation of the Herero people and a nameless Herero survivor describing the rape of Herero women by Germans as the main cause of the uprising. Here we also read about how today in Namibia the genocide is remembered.

Westermann (3:80ff) engages with the German debate on the term "genocide" and the question of reparations. It is only here that we read of another anti-colonial uprising - that of the Maji-Maji in today's Tanzania. But this is only in the context of "bloody repressions" of these uprisings being "extremely costly" for Germany making the colonies unprofitable. To mention the high costs of genocide is simply unethical and it is unimaginable to find such an approach in the context of Shoah in German textbooks.

Between the two world wars

An election poster of the right wing German party – *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* – from the year 1928 is reproduced in two of the series (Schroedel 4:55 and Cornelsen 3:66). It shows a monster-like caricature of a black soldier (Image 4).

Image 4: *Plakat der Deutschnationalen Volskpartei (DNVP) aus dem Jahr 1928. Das Plakat nimmt auf eine Äußerung Stresemanns, der den Vertrag von Locarno als, einen Silbersteifen am Horizont' bezeichnete* (The German National Peoples Party (DNVP) poster from 1928. The poster refers to Stresemann's statement describing the contract of Locarno as a, silver strip on the horizon)

Source: Schroedel (2000), Zeit fuer Geschichte 4, p. 55 and Cornelsen (2011), Forum Geschichte 3, p. 66.

The poster refers to the treaty of Locarno, which is discussed in the text, but no reference is made to the threatening caricature. "The fear of the black man" was the racist propaganda of that time referring to African soldiers, serving as troops under the colonial French Empire, occupying the Rhineland after Germany lost the World War I. The African soldiers were psychologically used by the French to physically humiliate Germans. Germans felt humiliated that Africans, considered by them and by the French as inferior, were occupying their soil but even more so by romantic relationships between some of these soldiers and German women. Hitler described the children fathered by these soldiers as "contamination of the white race by Negro blood" (Hitler, 1943:357). When he came to power in 1933, some 400 of these children called the "Rhineland Bastards" were sterilized under the "Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring" (Samples, 1996). This gruesome chapter of the black German history however is not part of the history curriculum. It remains unclear why this particular poster was nevertheless chosen by the authors and how the teachers are expected to refer to it in the class.

References to the history of African German Diaspora can be found in Westermann (3:34), once again in the local context of the city of Hamburg. Here we learn about the so-called *Völkerschauen* (human zoo) by Carl Hagenbeck in the famous Hagenbeck Zoo in Hamburg: "For Carl Hagenbeck it was a good business but the people who were degraded to human exhibits often fell ill because of the insufficient accommodation, some death cases have been reported". In France, this tragedy (Human zoo or exhibitions of Africans) has been documented and denounced thanks to the works of Bancel et al. (2002). A quote by the German historian H Moehle[13] describes how "Africans had to present themselves as 'noble savages' [and] 'primitives' […] – characteristics which coined the image of the African continent". From our point of view what is missing here is the discussion of the racist nature of such images, their historical origins, prevalence and implications to the present day. Cornelsen (3:97), quotes from the autobiography of Hans-Jürgen Massaquoi,[14] an African German born in Hamburg in 1926, on his disappointment as a little boy about not being able to participate in the Hitler Youth because he was not considered "Aryan". However, the discrimination of African descendants beyond the exclusion from Nazi organizations is missing also here.

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13 H Möhle, "Zuckerbarone" und "Kammermohren", Die Anfänge der anfrikanischen Migration nach Hamburg. In Möhle, H. et al. (eds). Zwischen Völkerschau und Kolonialistirut. AfrikanerInnen im kolonialen Hamburg, 2006.

14 HJ Massaquoi, Neger, Neger, Schornsteinfeger. Meine Kindheit in Deutschland. Munich: Scherz, 1999.

World War II

In the chapters dealing with World War II Africa is once again absent from history. All series show arrows on the maps of military campaigns from 1939 to 1945 which also run through North Africa (Westermann 3:207, Klett 4:117, Cornelsen 3:113, Schroedel 4:88) but there is no reference in the editorial texts and/or quotes about these activities on African ground let alone the participation of African soldiers in the war.

In Schroedel (4:107) and Klett (4:98) we find a Nazi-caricature of *Entartete Musik* (degenerated music) showing a black monkey with a Star of David playing saxophone (Image 5). In Klett, the editorial text explains, "Many world famous German scientists and artists sought asylum abroad […] Their music was prohibited in Germany". In Schroedel, we find a quote about the Hamburg "Swing Youth", a youth counter-culture to the Hitler Youth, and their admiration of the "English and American movies and […] life style". In both cases we miss the reference to black musicians and black music – the expression of this resistance - to which the NS-propaganda poster actually refers.

Image 5: *Plakat zu der Ausstellung 'Entartete Musik', 1938 in Düsseldorf* (Exibition poster, Degenerate Music', 1938 in Düsseldof)

Source: Schroedel (2000) Zeit fuer Geschichte 4, p. 107 and Klett (2000) Geschichte und Geschehen 4, p. 98.

Decolonization vs. independence

Though African anti-colonial resistance is shortly mentioned by some of the series, the active role of African people in the liberation of their countries is largely marginalised. Instead of "independence" as an active liberation process, this historical era is termed by the textbooks as "de-colonization" - as an opposite of colonisation - assigning all the agency to the colonial powers. Cornelsen, the very same series, which stands out for introducing the anti-colonial resistance as early as the 19th century (see Imperialism and World War I), states, that "educated social groups in the colonies adapted the human-rights-ideals of their motherlands" which in turn lead to their liberation (Cornelsen 3:162). Following this argument the very same colonisers seem to have awakened the striving for freedom of the colonized (Poenicke, 2008). We are made to believe that ideals of liberty and self-determination are absent from the indigenous African philosophies and cultures – a racist argument once used to justify colonialism and enslavement (Césaire, 1972).

Also in Klett (4:281) the achievements of the anti-colonial resistance are diminished by saying that it was lead by the "predominantly western educated elites", lacked the backing of the "millions of peasants" and could only succeed because the colonial powers got debilitated by the WW2. Schroedel (4:272) explains, that colonial powers "withdrew" from Africa only because they recognized that the colonies became unprofitable.

Westermann (3:289) emphasizes the role of the USA and the Soviet Union in the process of decolonization supported by "their ideologies of national self-determination". The post-colonial states are said to have "blackmailed" the super-powers for financial and military aid by threatening them to work with the opposite party. There is no mention of the neo-colonial approach of the super-powers which resulted in proxy wars on African territory and strongly contributed to the weakening of African states. The term "neo-colonialism" is absent from the sampled history books.

In the context of "decolonisation", two African independence leaders are quoted: Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah (Westermann 3:192) and Senegal's Leopold Sedar Senghor (Cornelsen 3:163). In Westermann, also two photographs of Nkrumah are reprinted and the students are given an assignment to research the biographies of Senghor, Nyerere, Kaunda and Touré. In Cornelsen, Senghor's speech on the "African socialism" (1961) however is discredited right away: it is followed by an assignment to compare "the perspectives the author drafts for his continent" with the "contemporary situation" expressed

by a diagram presenting the 2007 GNP of the ten world poorest countries (all African) with the GNP of Germany. One could ague that this assignment is meant to train a multi-perspective view. This could well be the author's intention. However, because of the marginalized presentation of one (African) of the perspectives we consider this approach as failed in this case. Due to lack of information on the connections between historically developed global power relations and inequality the reader is made to see "poverty" as a failure of those affected by it.

The "poor" world

Cornelsen (3:162f) and Westermann (3:289) handle the impacts of post-colonial inequalities on the African continent in a short manner by listing a brief summary of problems and shortcomings – poverty, illiteracy, dependency, ethnic conflict and refugees. This list serves to determine Africa's status quo by degrading it to an international welfare case.

Klett and Schroedel do further elaborate on this topic. Klett repeatedly uses the term *Schwarzafrika* (black Africa) in this chapter. Following Fanon (1965:138) "Africa is divided into black and white, and the names that are substituted – Africa south of the Sahara, Africa north of the Sahara – do not manage to hide this latent racism. Here, it is affirmed that white Africa has a thousand-year-old tradition of culture; that she is Mediterranean, that she is a continuation of Europe and that she shares in Graeco-Latin civilization. black Africa is looked on as a region that is inert, brutal, uncivilized - in a word, savage".

According to Klett, "the persistent village and tribal ties" and "deep rooted tribal hostilities" impeded the creation of African nations (4:294) as if nation depends on tribes and cleavages. The term "tribe" is another colonial expression that "Europeans have reserved for non-European ethnic groups and nationalities and most especially those of Africa" (Ehret, 2002:7). In Europe, speaking of Celtic or Germanic tribes is only appropriate in the context of the Roman Empire. In the course of history, "tribes" became "people", "ethnic groups" or "nationalities". Thus the term "tribe" connotes wild, uncivilised and backward. Such simplistic explanations and devaluating assumptions about dichotomies of "primitive traditions" vs. "enlightened modernity" teach nothing about the crises that the young African states were facing and the historical and political implications of the former colonial powers.

Some effort is undertaken to shed light on global power relations: in the case study of Ghana (Klett 4:281ff) we read about the negative impacts of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programs on the educational system and the food supply. Unfortunately, all the sources presented here once again originate from Western authors. In the chapter on contemporary wars Klett places its final remark on Africa (4:294): the Rwandan genocide is introduced in one single sentence as an example for typical African "gruesome killing orgies". In 1994, the Rwandan genocide was reported by the Western media in a similar manner, however, the debate moved on and an extensive body of international research has been since established. Such careless and ignoble handling of historical events without any sources, facts and cause analysis is only possible in the context of internalized racist perception of everything African.

Also in Schroedel, Africa is present when it comes to armed conflict: on the map of the UN peace missions (4:165) and the foreign assignments of the German *Bundeswehr* but without any further explanation about these conflicts. The third contemporary map that includes Africa is the one of the "World of Islam" (Schroedel 4:255). The "Islamic societies" are characterized by the accompanying text as "patriarchic regimes with traditional role allocation […] Nearly everywhere veiling for women is mandatory – with exceptions: Turkey for example has lifted the mandatory veiling in the 20s". The authors should have done their research: North Sudan is the only African country where veiling is obligatory, and Saudi-Arabia and Iran are the only other countries worldwide. In Senegal for example, where over 90 % of the total population are Muslims, veiling is not obligatory. In view of the heated debate about veiling of women in Germany and hostility towards Islam such misinformation only confirms and amplifies negative stereotypes.

Schroedel dedicates a whole chapter to "Africa in the process of globalization" (4:272ff) including one sentence on the negative images of Africa in the German media. "Such media reports conceal the diversity of African circumstances and internal problem" (4:272). Having said that, the authors partly reproduce the very same images on several successive pages through articles called "Population growth", "Bloody war in Northern Ghana", "Corruption in Congo" or the photograph of drugged and violent militia in Sierra Leone (Image 6). The three case studies analyse respective countries but this analysis overlooks historical (post)colonial relationships. Contrasted by a report on co-development initiative by Ghanaian-German immigrants,

abundance at a market scene in Tanzania and a travel article on "Africanness – the new African self-esteem", the presentation of contemporary Africa in Schroedel is definitely more diverse than in all the other series. But also here a serious engagement with historically developed racism, white supremacy, global power relations and inequality is absent from the discourse.

Image 6: *Bürgerkrieg auch in Sierra Leone: Kämpfer der Milizen, die auf Seiten der Regierung gegen die Rebellen kämpfen. Foto, 2000* (Civil war also in Sierra Leone: Militia combatants fighting on the side of the government against the rebels. Photo, 2000)

Source: Schroedel (2000) Zeit fuer Geschichte 4, p. 277.

Conclusions

The analysis of four history textbooks series showed that Africa is extremely marginalized in German history teaching. The approach of the books is Eurocentric, i.e. Africa, but also Asia and the Americas (with the exception of the US) are strongly underrepresented.

What is being told?

In summary, the textbooks construct following narrative of Africa's role in history: All humans originate from Africa, but the advanced humans left so the continent appears somehow left behind in the Stone Age. Though Egypt is an exception, by portraying Egyptians as white some series place it outside of Africa. African societies that matched the attributes of "advanced civilizations" either did not exist or failed and vanished along the way because of the barren soil. If anything, it was North Africa (as Mediterranean continuation of Europe, in accordance with Fanon (1965:138) that appeared in historical contexts (Roman provinces, Islam), but even here its role remained strictly passive. Africa was discovered (all series) and colonized by Europeans and Africans became slaves (*Negersklaven*), racist term used by Klett). The colonizers were sometimes brutal and oppressive but made some progress towards modernization. Once the colonies became unprofitable, Europe decolonised Africa. New African leaders learned about liberty and self-determination from European universities but failed to put it into practice because of barren soil and the backwardness of the peasants. Ethnic conflicts and overpopulation resulted in bloody orgies. Corruption and mismanagement prevailed. The former colonisers also played a part by discriminating African countries in the world market.

What is being omitted?

First and foremost, in all four series, Africa is absent from the largest part of the history. Africa is not credited with developments, innovations or anything historically significant. A history of the entire continent told by its own historians is mostly missing here and thus the textbooks confirm the Hegelian view.

How is it being told?

Whenever Africa is present, its portrayal is characterized by a racist language, degrading images, careless narrations and the dominance of Western sources.

There are some exceptions: Klett at least acknowledges the existence of African medieval kingdoms (though this introduction is rather used to portray why they failed). Westermann brings colonial history in the local context by emphasizing the involvement of Hamburg; it is also the only one to introduce the black German history. Cornelsen engages with the anti-colonial resistance

and the colonial legacy on Rwanda quoting African historians. Westermann, Klett and Schroedel report on the Herero genocide and Schroedel makes an attempt to correct the biased media image of the contemporary Africa. However, these patchy attempts lack consistency, remain superficial and therefore do probably nothing to change the general perception of Africa's negligible role in history. These attempts rather serve as an exception of the rule. The portrayal of Africa in history textbooks, sadly, confirms the Hegelian view that Africa "as far as History goes back, has remained - for all purposes of connection with the rest of the World - shut up; it is […] the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night" (Hegel, 1956:91).

From the very beginning, developed humans (Homo sapiens sapiens) are portrayed as white, similarly, "advanced civilisations" are conceived and promoted by whites and the world is "discovered" by whites. Whites introduce Human Rights and abolish slavery. Whites are not always portrayed as positive, for they too had caused wars and destruction. However, while white wars have historical meanings, African wars are rooted in backward "ethnic" traditions and are meaningless "killing orgies".

Unless textbooks seriously engage with historically rooted racism and white supremacy, unless modernization theory is questioned and alternative forms of civilisation are equally recognized, unless Eurocentrism is contested and African voices are heard with equal attention, these attempts will remain ineffective. On the contrary, by randomly including this or that fact of African history in a narrative which otherwise serves to glorify European "advanced civilisation", racism of such narratives becomes more difficult to uncover and to challenge for teachers and students and therefore more effective.

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The contested nature of heritage in Grade 10 South African history textbooks: A case study

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Abstract

Using the interpretivist paradigm and approached from a qualitative perspective, this case study produced data on three purposively selected contemporary South African history textbooks with regards to their representation of heritage. Lexicalisation, a form of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), was used as method to analyse the pre-generated data from the selected textbooks. In this Fairclough's (2003) three dimensions of describing, interpreting, and explaining the text was followed. The study adopted a holistic approach to heritage as a conceptual framework whilst following social constructionism as the lens through which heritage was explored in the selected textbooks. The findings from this study concluded that although educational policy in the form of the National Curriculum Statement – NCS-History clearly stipulates the expectations to be achieved from the teaching and learning of heritage at Grade 10 level, there are inconsistencies and contradictions at the level of implementation of the heritage outcome in the history textbooks. Key among the findings are the absence of representation of natural heritage, lack of clear conceptualisation of heritage, many diverse pedagogic approaches towards heritage depiction, a gender and race representation of heritage that suggests an inclination towards patriarchy and a desire to retain apartheid and colonial dogma respectively, and finally a confirmation of the tension in the heritage/history relationship.

__Keywords:__ Heritage; History; Textbooks; Lexicalisation; CDA.

Introduction and background

There have been significant developments in education in South Africa since the demise of apartheid in 1994. The ultimate goal of these changes has been to redress the injustices of the apartheid curriculum. Msila (2007) submits that education is not a neutral act; it is always political. Education in the apartheid era was used as a weapon to divide society as it constructed different identities amongst learners. This is evidenced in the statement made by Dr H.F. Verwoerd, the then Minister of Native Affairs in 1955, "when I have control over native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught

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from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them" (Christie, 1985, p. 12. Cited in Naiker, 1998, p. 9).

The national policy on South African living heritage (2009) of the Department of Arts and Culture explains this situation further by revealing that the history of apartheid ensured that heritage aspects such as the practice and promotion of languages, the performing arts, rituals, social practices and indigenous knowledge of various social groups were not balanced and were strongly and systematically discouraged. Summarily, it is evident that the apartheid authorities ensured that the heritage of the people of colour in South Africa was never appreciated or promoted. An example of this was the false impression that was created that traditional dress code and traditional dances of certain groups were backward and clashed with colonial adopted practices such as Christianity (Department of Arts and Culture, 2009).

With the end of apartheid, heritage was included as one of the outcomes of the NCS-History. The NCS-History stated that in addition to enquiry skills, historical conceptual understanding and knowledge construction and communication, learners of history were to be introduced to issues and debates around heritage and public representations, and they were expected to work progressively towards engaging with them (Department of Education, 2003). The implication here is that learners were expected to engage with different customs, cultures, traditions and in other words, different heritages. It should be noted that the NCS was replaced in 2011 with the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) as part of the process of curriculum transformation in South Africa. The new CAPS-History for Grade 10 document deals with heritage by explicitly inviting learners to engage with what constitutes heritage as well as to investigate this in a research project. Notwithstanding, the scope of this article was limited to the NCS and selected Grade 10 history textbooks.

Furthermore, in the context of this article it is necessary to understand that the curriculum is articulated by means of textbooks. As the most commonly used teaching resource and the vehicle through which the curriculum is made public, the history textbook has the potential to play a significant part in the implementation of heritage education. History textbooks and textbooks in general have been widely acknowledged as very important instructional materials to support teachers, lecturers, pupils and students in following a curriculum (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Lin et al., 2009; Johannesson, 2002; Romanowski, 1996; Schoeman, 2009; Sewall, 2004; and Wakefield, 2006). However, in spite of this vital pedagogic role, some scholars have

questioned their neutrality. In light of this, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991, p. 3) argued that "…texts are not simply delivery systems of facts. They are at once the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromised. They are conceived, designed and authored by people with real interest. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power". Therefore history textbooks by their nature tend to "control knowledge as well as transmit it, and reinforce selective cultural values in learners (Engelbrecht, 2006, p. 1). The implication of this nature of history textbooks in terms of this study is that the textbooks are not neutral even in the way they represent heritage as an outcome of the curriculum.

It is necessary to note that the presence of heritage in the curriculum and the textbooks has not eliminated some of the controversies and the contestations surrounding heritage. The reality on the ground is not always congruent with the lofty aims of the constitution and the aspirations of the post-1994 South African government. A major concern here is about shared heritage, if indeed this notion exists. Recently the South African national and some local government structures have embarked on a project to change place names and street names. Though this can be understood in the context of reconstruction of a post-conflict society, such actions, however, provoke questions such as: whose heritage is being promoted? Is national heritage actually the heritage of the nation or its inhabitants? It equally increases the debate on the place of history as well as the heritage/history dichotomy. What should be retained and preserved? What should be discarded and why? On the one hand there is the will to acknowledge the past and create inclusiveness in society as proclaimed in the constitution and the curriculum, but on the other hand there is the difficulty of its practicability.

Towards a conceptual framework of heritage

Many scholars have indicated that heritage as a concept is a malleable one. It is largely ambiguous, very difficult and debatable, and full of paradoxes (Copeland, 2004; Edson, 2004; Kros, 2003; Marschall, 2010; Morrow, 2002; van Wijk, no date & Vecco, 2010). It is therefore evident that heritage as a concept has numerous meanings based on context, time and ideology. Whilst some of the scholars mentioned above place more emphasis on tangible objects such as monuments to comprise heritage, others are of the firm view that heritage surpasses the tangible and includes aspects that are intangible. These

two opinions largely characterise discussions on the meaning of heritage and have rendered it difficult to establish a dichotomy for heritage.

From a simple understanding, the word tangible would mean, items that can be seen, touched and/or felt physically while intangible would refer to the opposite of the above. In relation to heritage, this knowledge seems to have an influence in the general understanding of the tangible and the intangible nature of it. Tangible heritage would be heritage resources that can be experienced, seen, touched, and walked around and through (Adler *et al.*, 1987). Examples of such resources include historic architecture, artefacts in museums, monuments, buildings, graves, landscapes, remains of dwellings and military sites including memorials and battle fields that form part of the history of a given community.

Articles one and two of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 1972) identify two categories of tangible heritages, cultural and natural tangible heritage. In the first part, it considers cultural tangible heritage to be monuments, groups of buildings and sites and work of people or the combined works of nature and people that are of outstanding value whether from the point of view of history, art or science, or from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or even anthropological view point. The second part of the convention considers natural tangible heritage in three dimensions, namely: as natural features consisting of physical and biological formations; as geological and physiological formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants, and finally as precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding value from the point of view of science conservation and natural beauty. The connotation therefore is that tangible heritage could either appear in natural or cultural form. Copeland (2004) however, cautions that in whichever form it appears, it must be able to stimulate the imagination for it to be considered as heritage. It is also possible that some properties might satisfy more than one of these definitions. For example, a property can be both a monument and a group of buildings.

Regarding intangible heritage, a succinct meaning is provided by Deacon, Dondolo, Mrubata, and Prosalindis (2004). Their view is that intangible heritage consists of oral traditions, memories, languages, performing arts or rituals, knowledge systems and values and know-how that a family or community wish to safeguard and pass on to future generations. This involves the way of life of a people and is usually embedded in their customs, traditions

and cultural practices. In other terms, it "refers to aesthetic, spiritual, symbolic or other social values that ordinary people associate with an object or a site" (Marschall, 2010, p. 35). Intangible heritage is also known as living heritage and can appear in cultural form (Bredekamp, 2004; Department of Arts and Culture, 2009). As with tangible heritage, some intangible heritage resources also have cultural properties which are sometimes called intangible cultural heritage such as songs.

One common aspect among researchers is the idea that all these different forms of heritage do not stand independent of each other (Bredekamp, 2004; Edson, 2004; Jones, 2009; Marschall, 2010; Munjeri, 2004). They are so interconnected to the extent that a study on one will require a systematic understanding of the other and vice versa. Whether tangible or intangible; natural, cultural or living; movable or immovable, it is evident that they all complement each other. Therefore a full understanding of heritage can only be achieved through a study of the multiple reciprocal relationships between the tangible and the intangible elements.

It is this inter-relationship that is termed IN-Tangible heritage in this article. This means that intangible can be part of the tangible with the former defining the latter. In the tangible is the intangible and the reverse might also be true. An example of this scenario is of distinctive cultural landscapes that have spiritual significance (Bredekamp, 2004). The landscape in this example is an IN-Tangible resource because it contains elements of both the tangible and the intangible through the physical landscape and its underlying spiritual significance.

Image 1: Image illustrating the manifestation of IN-Tangible heritage
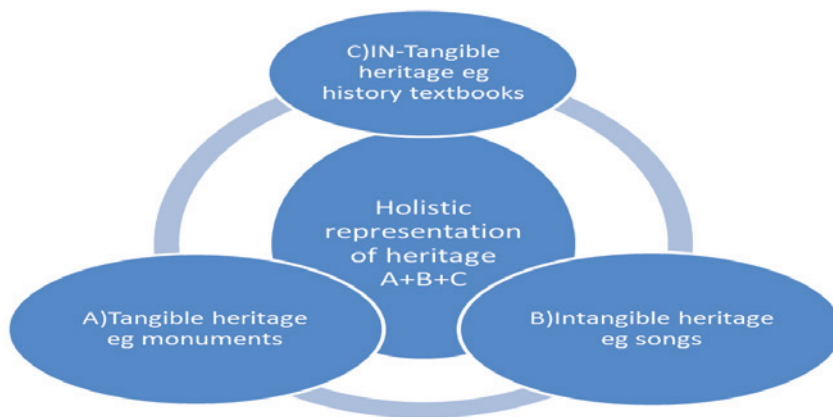
In Image 1 above, A represents aspects of heritage that are tangible while B stands for the intangible heritage. C represents the relationship between A and B which is the IN-Tangible in this framework. The link attaching the three components symbolises their inter-connected relationship as explained earlier. These three aspects together portray a holistic understanding of heritage.

This understanding of heritage is therefore a holistic one and embraces both the tangible and the intangible components of heritage. It is this approach that will serve as the conceptual framework for this study. Contrary to a reductionist approach, the holistic perspective is more inclusive (Perez *et al,* 2010). In addition to accommodating tangible and intangible components of heritage in cultural and/or natural forms, holistic heritage also acknowledges heritage at personal, family, community, state and world levels. The table below is a representation of the holistic manifestation of heritage as identified by Perez *et al* (2010):

Table 1: Table illustrating the conceptualisation of holistic heritage
(as adapted from Perez et al, (2010))

	INDICATOR	DESCRIPTOR
1	Symbolic-Identity heritage	Symbolic artefacts characterising a society.
2	Natural-Historical-Artistic heritage	Environmental artefacts. Archaeological items and documents. Examples of different stylistic movements. Associated landscapes.
3	Ethnological heritage	Traditional and significant artefacts responsible for social change. Associated landscapes.
4	Scientific-technological heritage	Objects and instruments contributing to the repository of scientific knowledge. Technical and industrial items triggering socio-economic change. Associated buildings and landscapes.
5	Holistic heritage	Comprehensive and inclusive consideration of all the above items.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative design. Gonzales et al., cited in Cohen *et al* (2011) submit that this form of research is concerned with an in-depth, intricate and detailed understanding of phenomenon, attitudes, intentions and behaviours. By implication, a qualitative study should produce findings that are not reached by means of quantification. The qualitative study is approached from the interpretive paradigm. Blanche and Kelly (2002, p. 123) submit that "interpretivist research methods try to describe and interpret people's feelings and experiences in human terms rather than through quantification and measurements".

The link between the qualitative research design and the interpretive paradigm is highlighted by Stevens *et al* (1993) who suggests that research carried out in the interpretive paradigm is called qualitative research. The focus of this article is to gain an understanding of the nature of heritage representation in selected Grade 10 South African history textbooks. This merges with the interpretive paradigm, especially considering Henning's view that the core of the interpretive paradigm is not about the search for broadly applicable laws and rules, but rather it seeks to produce descriptive analysis that emphasises deep, interpretive understanding of social phenomena (Henning, 2004). As a result, this study will produce rich descriptions of the characteristics, processes, transactions and contexts that constitute the nature of heritage in the selected history textbooks as the phenomena being studied.

The sample choice adopted for this article is non-random sampling. Christensen (2011) explains that the aim of non-random sampling is to study phenomena and interpret results in their specific context. Therefore the primary concern of a researcher using this sampling method is not to generalise research outcomes to the entire population but to provide detailed descriptions and analysis within the confines of the selected units of analysis – in this study the selected Grade 10 history textbooks. Explained differently, the focus of this study is to generate rich qualitative data as oppose to achieving statistical accuracy or representativeness of data to an entire population.

The specific genre of non-random sampling employed in this article was the purposive sampling method. This kind of sampling is a feature of qualitative research in which "researchers purposely choose subjects who, in their opinion, are relevant to the project" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 164). In light of the above, the sample choice in this article were handpicked based on their possession of the phenomenon being sought – heritage. Furthermore, an implication of the

study being qualitative is that the sample size is irrelevant since the interest is in attaining in-depth understanding. The Table below is a representation of this sample.

Table 2: The research sample

Author(s)	Date	Title	Place	Publisher
Bottaro, J. Visser, P. Worden, N.	2005	In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book	Cape Town, South Africa	Oxford University Press (PTY) Ltd
Dlamini, N. Haw, S. Macallister, P. Middlebrook, T. Nkosi, N. Rogers, A. Sithole, J.	2005	Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book	Pietermaritzburg, South Africa	Shuter & Shooter Publishers (PTY) Ltd
Dugmore, C. Lekgoathi, P. Pape, J. Weldon, G. Van Dyke, P.	2005	Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book	Sandton, South Africa	Heinemann Publishers (PTY) Ltd

The methodology employed to analyse the data from the textbooks was the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The overarching theme derived from the literature reviewed on CDA is the idea that it is concerned with the analysis of how language and discourse is used to achieve social goals and also the part the use of language plays in social maintenance and change. The broad and complex nature of discourse itself, and CDA in particular, also reflects that there are many methods involved in using it for analysis. With this in mind, the choices made for analysis in this study are borrowed from both Fairclough's idea of the structure of the text and Halliday's notion of the grammatical aspects of the text otherwise known as interactional analysis, which deals with the linguistic features of the text (Meyer, 2001). These two aspects that are illustrated in Image 2 below constituted the method used to analyse the data for this study.

Image 2: Image illustrating three dimensional configurations of discourse and discourse analysis as applied to this study (Adapted from Fairclough, 1989)
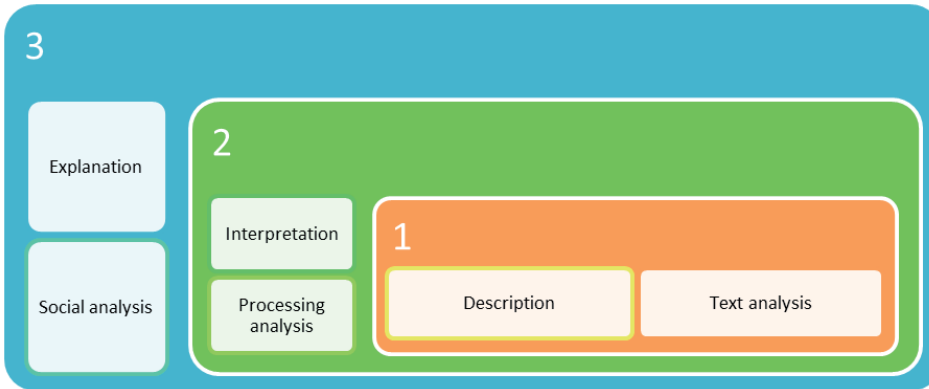
In his analytical framework for CDA, Fairclough proposes three dimensions of analysing texts that include description (text analysis), interpretation (processing analysis), and explanation (social analysis) (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995, cited in Locke, 2004, p. 42 and Rogers et al., 2005, p. 371). As Image 2 indicates, the first goal therefore is to deal with the internal mechanisms of the text and the focus is on aspects of text analysis that include grammar and vocabulary, as influenced by Halliday.

In the second level of analysis which is interpretation, the goal is to interpret the data captured and described in the previous section. This is done in relation to the conceptual framework in such a way that the indicators in the framework, serves as signifiers in the analytical instrument. Aspects of lexicalisation are then checked against the indicators in the conceptual framework. Table 3 below is an example of the instrument recruited for analysis at step two.

Table 3: Example of instrument for analysis for step 2 (interpretation)

Indicator		Signifiers/ Lexicons	Tangible, Intangible or IN-Tangible heritage
Natural heritage			
Cultural heritage	Symbolic-identity heritage		
	Ethnological heritage		
	Scientific-technological heritage		

Finally, the last step of analysis is the level of explanation known as social analysis. At this stage, data obtained from the description and interpretation of the textbooks are compared and contrasted with the purpose of establishing the trends and patterns of heritage representation as obtained in the three textbooks across the publications. This stage particularly exposed how heritage is conceptualised and portrayed in the history textbooks – which is the research question underpinning this study.

Moreover, the methods considered for analysis in this study also included an examination of issues of gender, race, and geography within the selected textbooks as part of CDA. This was inspired by van Dijk (2001) who suggested that CDA is mainly interested in the role of discourse in the abuse and reproduction of power and hence particularly interested in the detailed study of the interface between the structures of discourse and the structures of society. Therefore the analysis progressed systematically from description to interpretation and then to explanation of the data.

Analysis and findings

In search of history, Grade 10, learner's book (Bottaro et al., 2005)

In its conceptualisation of heritage, this textbook ignores natural heritage as a form of heritage. This is evident in the absence of lexicons relating to this indicator of heritage. Emphasis is therefore on cultural heritage, with symbolic-identity heritage being the main form of cultural heritage represented in the conceptualisation. The other indicators of scientific-technological and ethnological heritage are also absent. The implication, therefore, in this textbook, is that heritage is a cultural concept of a mainly

symbolic-identity nature. This trend is also replicated in the two case studies of heritage in the book with lexicons of symbolic-identity nature prioritised over other indicators. However, with the case study on 'Great Zimbabwe', mention is made of natural heritage resources namely 'the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers'. Yet the context in which natural heritage is used in the text does not seem to promote this form of heritage but rather it is used within the framework of symbolism and identity as it only serves to locate the habitat of the Shona people who are seen as "descendants of the people of builders of Great Zimbabwe" (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 220).

The analysis of the above indicators also revealed the nature of representation of other discourses relevant to post-conflict societies such as gender, race, and geography. Although in some of these instances, some discrepancy in the nature of these representations was noted, this could also be seen within the context of a historiographical turn in post-conflict South Africa with attempts to make heritage and history more inclusive as required by the constitution and sanctioned by the NCS-History. Therefore to a large extent, the representation shows an attempt to portray shared, inclusive and international heritage from the perspective of the indicators noted above.

Furthermore, the textbook's view of heritage also concurs with the conceptual framework on heritage as being tangible, intangible or IN-Tangible. Even though the findings show more affinity towards intangible heritage, some aspects of tangible heritage are also mentioned. However, evidence from the textbook suggests that heritage cannot be purely tangible – it can only be intangible or IN-Tangible. This claim is made based on the lexical examples used in the conceptualisation and the two case studies. For example, monuments and historic buildings are tangible but they are only heritage icons because of what they represent, which is intangible – meaning they are both tangible and intangible.

Attempts to present heritage as a shared and inclusive practice is also truly illustrated by pronoun choices. At the level of conceptualisation, the text makes use of personal pronouns as the first person plural form such as "we", "our" and "us" to refer to heritage.

Therefore by means of CDA, the analysis of this textbook revealed that it views heritage as a cultural concept of mainly symbolic-identity nature. Through the choice of pronouns used the book attempts to portray a shared and inclusive heritage in terms of geography, gender and race. However lexicons such as 'their heritage' are also used to imply that not all heritages can

be shared, and this confirms the complex nature of the heritage concept itself.

Shuters history, Grade 10, learner's book (Dlamini et al., 2005)

The first realisation was that this textbook has no clear narration or discourse that runs through the heritage chapter – chapter 8 (pp. 222-240). It is published in the form of visuals (pictures), sources, with assessment activities to support and enhance meaning in the textual content. This style has an implication in the way the book presents heritage because in this sense, heritage is seen as a highly contested and sometimes controversial concept whose presentation must be backed by relevant sources and evidence – therefore the choice of this book to provide as many sources to support its use of lexicons in portraying heritage.

Moreover, findings from this book on the concept of heritage show a limitation of heritage representation to South Africa and the southern African region. International heritage in this book therefore manifests in the representation of geographical spaces of these regions only. This dimension of heritage is also supported by the choice of pronouns used in the text, such as 'we' and 'our'. The choice of the first person plural pronouns also indicates collective, shared and inclusive heritage, in the South African and southern African region, but also that heritage is an inclusive and shared concept that could and should be understood beyond individual perspectives or national frontiers.

But this inclusive and shared form of heritage is unfortunately weakened by the fact that there is evidence of unequal representation of lexical indicators of heritage linked to issues of gender and race. For example, in most instances throughout the book, with the exception of Saartjie Baartman, women are only implicitly expressed while masculinity is overtly used in more than one occasion to illustrate examples of heritage icons. Regarding racial bias, a case in point is the South African context where the choice of examples selected is not fully representative of the South African diverse ethno-racial landscape. Generally, there is an emphasis on southern African heritage with examples of the Khoisan represented by Baartman, El Negro and rock art, advanced to illustrate this (p. 318). It is also portrayed in the example of Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe.

Apropos of the heritage conceptual indicators, the conceptualisation and the case study analysis of this book show evidence of a lack of representation of lexicons of the natural heritage category, resulting in a focus on cultural

heritage. In this regard the different indicators of cultural heritage are applied in different proportions and subsequently, symbolic-identity heritage as a category of cultural heritage is promoted at the expense of other indicators of the same category such as ethnological heritage and scientific-technological heritage, which are used sparingly.

Furthermore, the textbook's representation of heritage also concurs with the conceptual framework on heritage as being tangible, intangible or IN-Tangible. Even though the findings show more affinity towards intangible heritage, some aspects of tangible heritage are also mentioned. However, evidence from the textbook suggests that heritage cannot be purely tangible – it can only be intangible or IN-Tangible. This claim is made based on the choice of lexicons used as examples in both the conceptualisation and the case studies of heritage in the text. For example, monuments and historic buildings are tangible but they are only heritage icons because of what they represent, which is intangible – meaning they are both tangible and intangible (IN-Tangible).

Making history, Grade 10, learners' book (Dugmore et al., 2005)

There is no distinct conceptualisation of heritage in this textbook – rather the meaning of heritage is deduced from the nature of heritage representation in the case studies. The three case studies have as themes: the celebration of public holidays; the celebration of the heritage icons of Great Zimbabwe (p. 239) and the Bastille (239-240); and finally issues around humans on display. Therefore the first impression is that these three case studies are priority heritage aspects considered by the producers of this book. However, a detailed understanding of heritage was only possible through a CDA analysis of the textual content of these different topics.

Through this analysis, it was realised that there is major emphasis on symbolic-identity heritage as opposed to the other benchmarks of heritage that are either scantily or not represented at all. Even when they feature in the data, the context of their use suggests that they are only mentioned to support the representation of symbolic-identity heritage. Generally, the three case studies present heritage differently. The examples used to present the heritage of public holidays suggest an emphasis on the heritage of whites. This is evident in the choice of Columbus Day, Van Riebeeck Day and Day of Reconciliation, which all have strong white racial connotations, as well as the lexical choices used in the text to illustrate these days, namely the activities of

white personalities such as Cecil Rhodes, Andries Pretorius, and P.W. Botha. However, there is role reversal in the case of humans on display whereby whites are seen as perpetrators of cruelty on black people who are simply portrayed as helpless victims without agency.

Moreover, from a gender perspective, except with the solitary case of Saartjie Baartman, there is a strong masculine presence in the heritage portrayed by this textbook. All the major characters exemplified are males. They are portrayed as founders of nations, as kings, presidents, successful warriors and heroes. In contrast, the only time a woman is used as a major character is when she is humiliated through public displays and in museum exhibitions. Such a skewed representation of women is incompatible with present day norms and values of gender equality.

There is an attempt to portray and support heritage as an international concept that incises nations and continents. The choice of examples and the case studies themselves illustrate this. Columbus Day is an American holiday; Van Riebeeck Day and Day of Reconciliation are South African. Zimbabwe is depicted through the heritage of the Ancient Kingdom of Great Zimbabwe whilst the Bastille represents France. El Negro represents the heritage of Botswana and together with Saartjie Baartman they represent the plight of the Khoisan people of southern Africa in particular but of Africans in general. Therefore the thesis of this textbook is that heritage is inclusive in terms of geography. It is so intricately intertwined and complex that one group's or country's heritage cannot be understood and/or appreciated without comparison with the heritage of the other.

Summarily therefore, the textbook fails to conceptualise heritage but through the case studies it is possible to deduce its view on and understanding of the concept. The focus is on heritage as public holidays; as icons (Great Zimbabwe and Bastille); and as humans on display (Saartjie Baartman and El Negro). Applying the benchmark for analysis, symbolic-identity heritage is prioritised while other benchmarks are either scantily applied or used out of context. Even though emphasis is occasionally on African heritage and the Khoisan in particular, sub texts speak greatly of white heritage.

Explanation of heritage as portrayed in the three history textbooks

Initially, the style of the textbooks is such that heritage is depicted as conceptualisation and as case studies. This is however true only of Bottaro

et al. (2005) and Dlamini *et al.* (2005). In Dugmore *et al.* (2005), the understanding of heritage is implicit in the case studies. However, this style of presentation is an indication that heritage is not only about the personal, that is 'my heritage', it is also about the heritage of other people, other places and other things. Therefore, the heritage espoused in these textbooks is not only about the heritage of the Grade 10 learner's as consumers of these books, but it also alludes to the heritage of the world.

The different views adopted in the textbooks with regards to foregrounding the conceptualisation of heritage are elaborated on below. Bottaro *et al.* (2005) makes a worthy attempt to clarify its understanding of the meaning of heritage as well as define its delimitations prior to engaging in the case studies. The idea of a clear conceptualisation is also foregrounded by the producers of (Dlamini *et al.,* 2005). However, the effort in the textbook is meagre and the bulk of the understanding is implicit in the case studies. Dugmore *et al.* (2005) on the other hand makes no attempt to foreground the meaning of heritage. Therefore, with the exception of Bottaro *et al.* (2005)*,* the other two textbooks assume an understanding of heritage and do not provide any clear conceptualisation. This denotes heritage as a poorly reasoned body of knowledge that can be integrated into disciplines such as history or tourism. The divergent views in the textbooks on the issue of foregrounding the heritage as a concept as seen through the textbooks' application of lexicalisation are an indication of the complex nature of heritage itself.

Symbolic-identity heritage is the heritage benchmark that is predominant in all three textbooks. This category of heritage is portrayed through the choice of lexicon used to refer to 'important' individuals of the past, events and places of the past that have contributed to the development of a particular heritage and the identity of a people. Other forms of cultural and natural heritage are sparingly represented or completely absent in these textbooks. For instance, Dugmore *et al.* (2005) uses examples of lexicons related to natural heritage in its case studies. These are: Table Mountain and Ncome River; Zimbabwe plateau, grazing land, arable land, and timber resources; Tsholofelo Park and Orange and Vaal Rivers. Apart from a suggestion on Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers, Bottaro *et al.* (2005) and Dlamini *et al.* (2005) are silent on the representation of natural heritage. However, the contextual interpretation of the natural heritage lexicons as used in the instances cited above, suggests that they are meant to support an aspect of symbolic-identity heritage rather than to portray the kind of heritage element in them thereby

confirming the dominance of symbolic-identity heritage representation in the textbooks.

All three books depict aspects of heritage from an ethnological perspective. Whilst this is not evident in the conceptualisation of Bottaro *et al.* (2005) the two case studies portray lexicons of ethnological heritage. This is also true of Dlamini *et al.* (2005) that elaborate in the case studies the ethnological routes of the Zulu people, the Bushmen, and the Khoisan. Whilst in Dugmore *et al.* (2005), there is also a depiction of ethnological heritage in the case studies. Case study 2 depicts the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups while case study three discusses the Tswana, Batlhaping, and Bechuana ethnic communities as heritage icons.

The least represented indicator is the scientific-technological heritage. The only book that clearly makes use of this indicator is Dugmore *et al.* (2005, p. 241) with its allusion to "scientific racism". Notwithstanding, it should be noted that some elements categorised under symbolic-identity heritage could as well fit into this category. The implication is therefore that the heritage benchmarks as outlined in the conceptual framework are not rigid. They can be interlinked as a result of some heritage elements having the possibility of being classified under more than one heritage category. For instance, the examples of monuments, museums, and buildings cited in all three textbooks as heritage, are understandably aspects of symbolic-identity heritage and are captured as such. However, the scientific knowledge involved in them, constitutes aspects of scientific-technological heritage. This implies a possibility for the creation of other benchmarks for analysis that will be a merger of two or more present categories. However, this option was not considered for this article and any lapses in categorisation are considered as a limitation to this study. Yet, even with the possibility of a new category, symbolic-identity heritage is still dominant. As a result, the textbooks fail to present a holistic heritage as described in the conceptual framework, in Image 1 and table 1. Therefore, according to the producers of the selected textbooks, the goal of heritage at Grade 10 level is to expose learners to a predominantly symbolic-identity heritage at the expense of other heritages, namely: scientific-technological; ethnological; and natural heritage.

In terms of the nature of heritage as being tangible, intangible or IN-Tangible, all three textbooks portray lexicons that contain elements of all three. However, there is a realisation from the analysis that heritage cannot exist in a purely tangible form. It can only be either intangible or tangible but

with intangible properties, making it IN-Tangible. This is because all tangible objects do have significances that appear in intangible form. For example, the textbooks as the objects of study in this research are tangible heritage materials that are made IN-Tangible through certain ideologies they represent. IN-Tangible heritage representation is corroborated by the fact that symbolic-identity heritage has been identified as the dominant indicator in the three textbooks. This implies that the tangible elements of symbolic heritage are made IN-Tangible by design through the substance of their symbolism.

With regards to gender, all three textbooks show a certain bias in their representation of women. This is evident in both the numerical representation of the different genders as well as the roles given to them in the textbooks. In terms of numbers, there are far more lexicons involving male Images than women – this will not be explored since this study is not quantitative in nature but it is essential to highlight this bias through a few examples: The men are depicted as orchestrators of activities worth commemorating as public holidays such as Columbus and Van Riebeeck; they are the powerful kings such as Shaka and Dingane; they are the political Images such as George Washington, and Presidents Roosevelt and Johnson of the USA; they are also the great warriors such as Toussaint l'ouverture, Andries Pretorius and Mpande. In contrast, the only instance where a woman is represented in a significant role is mentioned in Bottaro *et al.* (2005, p. 225) that makes allusion to "the court of Queen Isabella" – implicating the female Isabella as a monarch. Apart from this exception, women are barely explicitly represented with the only other case being that of the humiliating experience of Saartjie Baartman in the illustration of humans on display (Bottaro *et al.*, 2005, p. 227; Dlamini *et al.*, 2005, p. 307; Dugmore *et al.*, 2005, p. 241).Therefore the implication is that what is portrayed in the tangible and intangible takes on a predominantly masculine form in the text as evidenced for example by the "ghettoised" Saartjie Baartman.

Geographically, there is a desultory attempt to portray the international nature of heritage. This is nonetheless approached differently in the different textbooks. For example, in conceptualising heritage, Bottaro *et al.* (2005) appear to be very conscious of geographical representation, which can be seen as the idea of a common or shared heritage. This is evident in their use of the following examples that match different world geographical spaces: Taj Mahal (India); Elmina fortress (Ghana); Bastille (France); Fourth of July and Columbus day (USA); Haitian Bicentenary and Toussaint l'ouverture (Haiti);

Shaka, Voortrekker monument and the idea of a laager mentality (South Africa); Liverpool maritime museum (United Kingdom). Unfortunately, the choice of case studies in the book is not on a par with the impression created of heritage as a shared international phenomenon. The two case studies on Zimbabwean nationalism and Saartjie Baartman are geographically limited to the southern region of Africa. Therefore this book conceptualises heritage as an international phenomenon but provides case studies of heritage that are limited to southern African. Dlamini *et al.* (2005) on the other hand makes no contradiction in conceptualising one thing and replacing it in practice. The book is clear and consistent in its focus on the heritage of pre-colonial South Africa and by extension the sub-region of southern Africa that is manifested through the depiction of the rock art of the Khoisan, as well as the ancient civilisations of Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe. The focus of this book therefore is on the local heritage of southern Africa. In contrast, Dugmore *et al.* (2005) is more international in its representation. Though not conceptualised, the choice of lexicons linked to Columbus Day, Van Riebeeck Day, Battle of Blood River, the Bastille, Great Zimbabwe, as well as the stories of El Negro and Saartjie Baartman, are representative by implication of the heritage of the different geographical regions and people in the world. As a result it can be affirmed that the three textbooks highlight the difficulties of a shared heritage from a geography point of view – be it at international, regional, or local levels.

In addition, the race discourse was also considered for analysis. In this regard, the three books depict a paradigm shift whereby history is no longer only written by and for a particular race. The main trend in the three books is their portrayal of whites as perpetrators with power while the blacks are seen as helpless victims without agency. This is very evident in the case studies linked to humans on display. These case studies depict the 'white man' as perpetrators of the treatment of Saartjie Baartman and El Negro, who both represent the helpless condition of the black people at the time. Dugmore *et al.* (2005) captures this trend further through its choice of lexicons in the presentation of the activities of Christopher Columbus, Van Riebeeck as well as the Battle of Blood River. These examples show lack of autonomy and agency for black people while portraying the "white man" as having full control. Dlamini *et al.* (2005) presents a slightly different scenario from the one cited above. Here the focus is on the heritage of Africa as seen from the activities of pre-colonial Africa. The extensive emphasis on the art work of the Khoisan people appears to be an attempt to counteract the myth of white supremacy.

Furthermore, as a repository of heritage and culture as well as a prism through which heritage is shown, the choice of language used in the selected books was also important in understanding the nature of heritage representation. Some of the major discourses and trends in the texts were embedded in the use of language. The specific form of language here is the use of pronouns. Bottaro *et al.* (2005) makes use of personal pronouns in the first person plural and in different forms. For example the subject (we), the object (us), and the possessive (our) are the different forms used in the book to refer to heritage. Similar pronouns are also evident in Bottaro et al. (2005) in the conceptualisation section. The choice of these forms of pronouns reflects the publisher's desire to present in the textbook a shared and inclusive heritage. However, Bottaro et al. (2005, p. 231) makes use of "their heritage" to refer to specialised local knowledge as the heritage of tribal healers in South Africa. The insinuation is therefore that even though the textbooks' attempt to present an inclusive and shared form of heritage through the kind of language used, there is evidence that heritage cannot be inclusive at all levels. This realisation only adds to the complexity of the heritage concept.

Another perspective considered in the analysis was the views promulgated in the textbooks as well as the positions adopted on the heritage/history relationship. Consequently, all three textbooks present heritage as a recreation of the past whether in the form of people, events, objects, and places. This similarity is established in *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book* by suggesting that "heritage, like history, also helps us understand the past" (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 279). In Bottaro et al. (2005), the title of the heritage chapter is captured as history and heritage, to signal a relationship between the two. In spite of these similarities, the textbooks also maintain that the two are not identical. Therefore it could be affirmed that Phillips's (2006) view of heritage as a concept that fails to accept the historicity of events and denies historical time and distance is evident in the selected textbooks with regards to heritage and history. In relation to this, Dlamini et al. (2005, p. 297) submit that the purpose of the chapter on heritage was to understand how heritage "is constructed and how it is protected and conserved". A similar opinion is expressed in Bottaro et al. (2005, p. 217) where they state that "we construct our heritage out of the past in ways which make sense or are useful to us". Even though Dugmore *et al.* (2005) is not explicit on this discourse, the analysis of the case studies portray heritage as established in the two books cited above, in a similar trend. Therefore the selected textbooks conceptualisation and representation of heritage is on a par with history from the stance that

both are concerned with issues of the past. However, the textbooks distance themselves from history at the level where they conceptualise and present heritage as a construction of the present, that refuses to accept historical time and distance.

Conclusion

The findings of this study have confirmed the view expressed in the literature of heritage as a highly controversial and contested phenomenon that is difficult to assign to a specific conceptualisation. This is evident in the differences with which the selected history textbooks for this study presented heritage both in terms of style and content. The implication of this inability to harmonise the textbooks' stance on heritage means that Grade 10 learners using the different textbooks are expected to adopt these different attitudes. This is amplified by the fact that textbooks and history textbooks in particular, as with heritage, are known to be used for motives other than simply pedagogical ones. Considering the post-conflict context within which the selected textbooks were created, a partnership exists between commercial publishers and government to bring about an educational product. The conclusion in this debate is that if the concept of a rainbow nation is taken to mean 'unity in diversity' then the heritage depiction in the selected textbooks shows a certain diversity but not necessarily unity. Therefore no fully-fledged all inclusive harmonious or hegemonic heritage in the context of a multi-cultural and multi-racial society was achieved by the selected textbooks.

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Incomplete history curriculum? Teaching socio-environmental history in South African high schools.[1] From an indigenous perspective

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Abstract

The article presents a challenge to the History high schools' curriculum by depicting that among the secondary concepts currently used in the understanding of History in high schools in South Africa the socio-environmental concept has been ignored which poses a question of whether or not the high school History curriculum is complete. According to Jared Diamond, societies collapse due to diverse reasons but environment is key.[2] Hence D Woster,[3] W Cronon[4] and N Jacobs argue that the environment does not just represent a historical backdrop, but is an agent in its own right, providing a "material base for the power to dominate others" as well as the "power to endure domination".[5] The case study of forced removals from Lady Selborne in 1961 and resettlement in Ga-Rankuwa in Pretoria demonstrates that forced removals from Lady Selborne did not only result in people losing their historical lands, material possessions, homes, history and their sense of being and connectedness but they also lost their attachment to their inheritance – the environment which resulted in their being apathetic towards environmental issues. Thus, the article proposes the inclusion of socio-environmental concepts in history which will provide a crucial step in terms of inculcating environmental activism and ethics among the youth of South Africa.

Keywords: Teaching History; Incomplete curriculum, Lady Selborne; Ga-Rankuwa; Socio-environmental perspective; Forced removals.

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1 High schools in this article implies grade 8–12.

2 D Diamond, "Why societies collapse" (available at: http://www.ted.com/talks/jared_diamond, as accessed on 28 June 2013).

3 D Worster, "Theories of the environmental history", *Environmental Review*, 11(4), 1987, pp. 251-253.

4 W Cronon, "Modes of prophecy and production: Placing nature in History", *The Journal of American History*, 76, 1990, pp. 1122-1131.

5 N Jacobs, *Environment, power and injustice: A South African History* (Cambridge, University Press, 2003), p. 219.

Introduction

From as early as the 1960s and 1970s there have been warnings by ecologists, organisations such as Friends of the Earth and Zero Population Growth and the media about imminent universal environmental disasters and suggest that drastic changes must occur to change the prevailing pattern of environmental misuse.[6] Environmental activists have also recently echoed the same chorus. The Jared Diamond video had an enormous impact on me revealing how important the environment is in contributing to the downfall of all societies.[7] Socio-Environmental studies are important, and provide more than a backdrop to power struggles as this article demonstrates. Hence Merchant argues that "nature is a whole of which humans are only one part" which explains that a person is part of the environment and through it holistic life is also realised.[8] JC McCann takes this further stating that; environmental factors influence historical changes[9] and that historical transformation impacts on the environment. For this reason, this study deviates from E Croll and D Parkin, who argue that, "the study of nature can be studied separate from human society".[10] This view has been interpreted as a basic "western" philosophy on nature, perceiving nature from a mechanical perspective whereby humanity and its environment are compartmentalised. This is not the normative African indigenous world-view that perceives nature and humanity interacting in a holistic way. The latter view calls upon negotiation and interaction with nature while the former emphasises its manipulation and domination. In this article I argue that humanity and nature share a dynamic collaborative relationship and that both require each other for survival. Historians have often neglected the environmental perspective and relegated it to the writings of geographers and the like, but increasingly historians of Southern Africa are integrating the

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6   RB Stevenson, "Schooling and environmental education: Contradictions in purpose and practice", *Environmental Education Research*, 13(2), 2007, pp. 139-153.
7   D Diamond, "Why societies collapse" (available at: http://www.ted.com/talks/jared_diamond, as accessed on 28 June 2013).
8   C Merchant, "The theoretical structure of ecological revolutions", *Environmental Review*, 11(4), 1987, p. 267.
9   JC McCann, *Green land, brown land, black land: An environmental history of Africa 1800-1990* (Oxford, Heinemann Portsmouth, 1999), p. 48.
10 F Croll & D Parkin, *Bush base: Forest farm: Culture, environment and development* (London, Routledge, 1992).

environmental dimension into their social and even economic and political history which is one of the aims of this article.[11]

In this article some omissions in the South African History curriculum are exposed. This article seeks to investigate the South African high school History curriculum to indicate the deficiencies embedded in it that reveal its incomplete nature in the study of History. Peoples differentiated by race, ethnicity, class, gender and generation have different access to power and therefore different relations with the environment. As W Cronon notes, Environmental History should seek to "probe the level of the group to explore the implication of social division".[12] The study of the environment should not be relegated only to Science and Geography as has been effected in the United State of America[13], Australia[14] and Britain[15] where environmental studies have been taught. It has been based on nature, outdoor studies, and conservation studies with the purpose of encouraging learners to appreciate the natural environmental world through first hand observation. Environmental studies in Science and Geography focus on developing knowledge skills and awareness regarding natural resources and their management.[16] The foci of such disciplines and their conservation ideologies favour middle class and liberal democratic values and ignore urban and poor class environmental problems and ideologies in which the majority of people lived.[17] Thus there is a need for Socio-Environmental History in schools. There has been a discrepancy in the manner in which the History curriculum has been constructed as it excluded the most important aspect of Social History which is Socio-Environmental studies. The focus on how diverse communities engaged with the environment

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11   See B William, "Environmental degradation in South Africa" (Paper, 15th Biennial Conference of the South African Historical Society, Rhodes University Grahamstown, 2-3 July 1995); F Khan, "Contemporary South African environmental response: An historical and socio-political evaluations with particular reference to blacks" (MA, UCT, 1990); S Swart, "The ant of the white soul: Popular natural history, the politics of Afrikaner identity, and the entomological writings of Eugene Marais"; W Beinart & J McGregor (Eds.), *Social history and African environments* (Oxford, James Currey, 2003), pp. 221-239; L van Sittert, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it: Comparing fisheries reforms in South Africa" (UCT, Department of Historical Studies 2002); L van Sittert, "Making the Cape floral kingdom: The discovery and defence of indigenous flora at the Cape ca. 1890-1939", *Landscape Research*, 28(1), 2003, pp. 113-129.

12   W Cronon, "Modes of prophecy and production…", *The Journal of American History*, 76, 1990, p. 1129.

13   WB Stapp, "Historical setting of environmental education", JA Swan & WB Stapp (Eds.), *Environmental education: Strategies towards a more liable future* (New York, Sage, 1974).

14   A Reid, "The essence of environmental education", *Australian Association for Environmental Education Newsletter*, 1, 1980, pp. 3-6.

15   K Wheeler, "The genesis of environmental education", GC Martin & K Wheeler, (Eds.), *Insights into environmental education* (Edinburgh, Oliver Boyd, 1975).

16   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Education and the challenge of environmental problems* (Paris, UNESCO, 1977).

17   K Wheeler, "The genesis…", GC Martin & K Wheeler, (Eds.), *Insights…* (Edinburgh, Oliver Boyd, 1975), p. 14.

from the past is not part of the Science disciplines objectives. History has to take charge of its role as stipulated in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) of 2011, Further Education and Training grade 10-12 that: "'The study of history also supports citizenship within a democracy by': ... Encouraging the civic responsibility and responsible leadership, including raising current social and environmental concerns".[18]

Hence this article advocates that Socio-Environmental History must be incorporated into the history curriculum as it will assist in meeting the objectives of teaching History; those of helping citizens to engage in collaboration towards the common good.[19] In this instance in curbing the downfall of our societies even universally we must allow students to participate actively in environmental improvement.

The approach in this article has followed N Jacobs' example, that in order to draw South Africa into broader international debates about the relationship between power and the environment, questions of local modes of land use and rural knowledge, as well as, the notion of environmental justice have to be investigated. In this instance high school curricula must include such environmental concepts in the official History syllabus. In drawing on the work of D Worster, W Cronon, N Jacobs and others, this article moves from the understanding that the environment does not just represent an historical backdrop, but is an agent in its own right, providing a "material base for the power to dominate others" as well as the "power to endure domination".[20] Also using D Worster's approach that; Environmental History must function on three levels: "first, the reconstruction of past environmental conditions, second, ecological implications of production, including technological and social considerations, third, the human perception of the environment". For emphasis, C Merchant provides the fourth approach: "the reproduction between production and consciousness".[21] Thus the approach will be the socio-environmental genre drawing from the Africanist[22] paradigm that takes the indigenous knowledge system as important in its own accord. The Africanist approach attempts to assert the importance of Africans in the making of history. In this article the genre is relevant as it demystifies the Socio-Environmental History of Africans from their own perspectives and

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18 Department of Basic Education, Republic of South Africa (2011), *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS): Further Education and Training phase 10-12*, 2011, p. 8.
19 KC Barton & LS Levstik, *Teaching history for the common good* (Routledge, 2013).
20 N Jacobs, *Environment, power and injustice: A South African History* (Cambridge, University Press, 2003), p. 219.
21 N Jacobs, *Environment, power and injustice...*, p. 21.
22 A Mazama, *The Afrocentric Paradigm,* Africa (Trenton, World Press, 2003), pp. 3-4.

shows that they also played an important part in the making of their own history.

While this article does not wish to neglect the weight of political, economic and social factors in the History curriculum, it argues that, ignoring Socio-Environmental studies will lead to the production of learners who have no understanding or even appreciation of how socio-economic and political events have impacted on and been impacted by the environment.

South African history curriculum: Incomplete?

The South African History curriculum purports to ensure that it promotes human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice through content and context chosen for the syllabus.[23] It also mentions the importance of valuing indigenous knowledge systems: by acknowledging the rich history and heritage of South Africa as important contributors to nurturing the values contained in the constitution. A scrutiny of the high school History syllabus content reveals there is lack of such knowledge systems, and if any, the emphasis is mainly on Western ideologies. Hence MA Crew argues that, "democracy is let down by incomplete curriculums".[24]

To promote indigenous knowledge systems the continuous assessment task in grade 10 on heritage or oral History can be achieved using the topic of Myth of Origin and environmental ideologies as an analogy. Myths among the Sotho-Tswana are entrenched in stories, poems, parables, songs and idioms. They illuminate what is "truly human and can also propagate an apparently naïve view of human aspiration and human destiny".[25] Myths constitute education in terms of morality, ethics, environment and creation. J Waardenburg argues that through myths "world and life can be seen in their real nature. Profound truth is communicated in the form of a story", and that "in myths what is authentic is not the details of the story itself but the deeper meanings which become present to both teller and listener only in the act of telling".[26] It implies that people are able to express their understanding of reality not only through stories but also through rituals, actions and gestures.

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23 Department of Basic Education, Republic of South Africa, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement…* , p. 5.
24 MA Crew, "The failure of the National Curriculum: The Telegraph"*,* 2009 (available at: www.telegraph.co.uk >comment< letters, as accessed on 3 September 2013).
25 B Lornergan,"Reality, myth, symbol", A Olson (Ed.), *Myth, symbol and reality* (Notre Dame & London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1980), p. 3.
26 J Waardenburg, "Symbolic aspects of myth", AM Olson (Ed.), *Myth, symbol and reality* (University of Notre Dame and London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1980), p. 53.

There has been much disagreement over the authenticity of myth in terms of historicity, with historians and anthropologists such as Raglan arguing that myths are simply untrue historically.[27] Arguments like these obscure what is perhaps the central aim of myth in all cultures: being a teaching tool for past, present and future generations. This means that myth has history in itself and gives people a sense of identity and direction.[28]

The indigenous peoples' myths of origin differ from one group to another. The southern Sotho group believe that the first people emerged from the "bed of reeds" in Ntsoana Tsatsi, a hill in the eastern Orange Free State.[29] According to FD Ellenberger, a missionary in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, T Abbouset of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society visited this place in 1836 and confirmed that the Basotho legend identifies a cave surrounded by marshes and reeds from which they believe themselves to have emerged.[30] This place is a heritage site and the syllabus can include such a study to strengthen environmental awareness in students that it has been part of pre-colonial Africa. The myth has environmental significance because it illustrates to the community that plants are important and are related to humanity, and thus have to be treated with respect. Another myth of origin held by the Sotho-Tswana maintains that they emerged from "the hole in the ground".[31] It states that men, women, children and their livestock emerged together from the hole. The Batswana locate the hole at Ga-Ditshweni (the Place of the Baboons) in Bophuthatswana, at Ga-Loowe in Botswana and near Orangeville in the eastern Orange Free State.[32] Some claim that there is evidence of humanity's origin in such places because there are footprints of people, animals and a one-legged person in the rocks. The large one-legged footprint, according to the Sotho-Tswana, was that of Loowe, the agent of God (*Modimo*). The myth of the "hole in the ground" was widely held even into the 1970s by the older generation[33] and is still prevalent today, especially

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27 G Schrempp, "Introduction", G Schrempp & W Hansen (Eds.), *Myth: A new symposium* (Bloomington, and Indiana Polis, Indiana University Press, 2002), p. 3.

28 Wiesel (1990) cited in G Schrempp, "Introduction", G Schrempp & W Hansen (Eds.), *Myth: A new…*".

29 The myth of origin from the "reeds" as held by the Sotho-Tswana is similar to the Nguni group but most could not locate the actual place as the southern Sotho's did. Members of the amaZulu still celebrate the myth by organizing *uhlanga* (reeds) dance once a year where women and men will carry reeds parading and dancing. Such a celebration is a symbol of commemorating their Zulu culture and origin. Cited in G Setiloane, *African theology: An introduction* (Johannesburg, Braamfontein, Skotaville Publishers1985), p. 6; AT Bryant, *The Zulu people* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1949), p. 27.

30 FD Ellenberger, *History of the Basuto ancient and modern* (New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 18.

31 G Setiloane, *African theology...*, p. 7.

32 G Setiloane, *African theology...*, pp. 7-8.

33 G Setiloane, *African theology...*, pp. 6-7.

among those practicing African culture[34]. The importance of the myth is that it teaches people the significance of communal unity because it states that people and animals emerged from the ground simultaneously. Animals are accorded great respect and the Sotho-Tswana use some as totems or cultural emblems, which is an environmental didactic device that teaches people to care for animals and to avoid abusing them or adding to their depletion. The site of origin in the "ground" is also important environmentally as it indicates the importance of the earth as "mother" because it gives birth to people and accommodates the dead.

Such memory and oral history is rich and cannot be left untold to the current and future generations. It is CAPS that explains history as a study that enables us to understand how past human action affects the present and influences our future, and allows us to evaluate these effects. Such history is rich and can assist in ensuring that the nation's environmental problems are carried by all citizens as they all learn about them from different contexts. But, unfortunately the curriculum is incomplete as it has a missing link in that it theoretically promotes environmentalism but practically in its syllabus content outline of themes such concepts as environmentalism and indigenous knowledge are lacking. The CAPS document emphasizes issues of environmentalism including conservation, which are universally important in helping any nation not to fall, as Jared David has attested, however the curriculum entails little if any related issues such as how historically the environment was conserved.[35]

South African history curriculum and socio-environmental history

The debates in History teaching have ignored the socio-environmental importance of history till of late. This is because schools "historically were not intended to develop critical thinkers, social inquirers and problem solvers, or active participants in environmental and political (or even educational) decision making".[36] This view shows clearly that our History curriculum by omitting environment as its theme lacks the core primary concept of history. For this article Socio-Environmental History would focus on highlighting the importance of human agency in shaping their environment. It will also

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34 There is one religion "African Traditional Religion" but different cultural and traditions are embedded therein. Like Christianity, it is one religion but contains different practices and doctrines.

35 Department of Basic Education, Republic of South Africa, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement…,* pp. 5 & 8.

36 RB Stevenson, "Schooling and environmental education…", *Environmental Education Research*, 13(2), 2007, pp. 139-153.

assist in improving the quality of life of all human kind in our universe regardless of gender, race and class while finding ways to ensure that no nation should grow or develop at the expense of another and that the consumption of no individual should be increased at the expense of the other individual. Educational sociologists have described the role of the contemporary schools as being that of transmitting cultural knowledge, skills and values. The problem in industrialised countries is the diverse cultures and there must be a choice of which culture to adhere to. According to W Apple these choices between the diverse cultures are mainstream or dominant beliefs, values and norms shared by those who have political power in society.[37] South Africa purports to be a multicultural country which implies that over and above the western cultural context it embraces it must also practically assimilate all beliefs including African culture in curriculum planning. As CAPS states that "the study of history supports the citizenship within the democracy of South Africa by upholding the values of the constitution and helping people to understand such values".[38]

  The roots of South Africa's past have pivoted on issues surrounding the environment, land and the plans regarding land use. The CAPS grade 10-12 document in Section 2 number 2.1 also shows the importance of history in that regard by mentioning that: "the study of history has to encourage civic responsibility and responsible leadership, including raising current social and environmental concerns" but the syllabus does not live up to the aims set there in, because nowhere in the syllabus content are environmental issues prescribed. South African history has included land and environmental issues and by excluding the concept it is truly not living up to what CAPS purports. In this country since 1652 when Jan Van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape of Good Hope there have been active attempts to dispossess the Africans from their land, to reshape their environment and to describe or "imagine" the land in the mental paradigm of the white settlers.[39] As a result land dispossession was executed on the basis of environmental racial apartheid and discrimination. The powerful white colonialists drew strength from its relationship with the environment in ways that entrenched their hegemony and retained their positions by manipulating beneficial uses of the land against the powerless Africans (either in terms of class, race or even gender).[40] The British colonial

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37 W Apple, *Ideology and curriculum* (London, Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1979).
38 Department of Basic Education, Republic of South Africa, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement…*, p. 8.
39 A Crosby, *Ecological imperialism: The biological expansion of Europe 900-1900* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 94.
40 N Jacobs, *Environment, power, and injustice…*, p. 4.

state and its successors the National Party continued to entrench oppressive systems that drastically restricted African access to land and defined it from the white settler social context which is also part of the syllabus perspective – western in approach. As a result environmental discrimination occurred and many indigenous people of South Africa veered towards being apathetic about environmental issues; illustrated in many case studies such as Lady Selborne, District Six and Cato Manor. This is a cause for concern for the education system to ensure that the environment also forms part of the core concepts used in History. Environment, many will say belongs to Geography but fail to understand that, "the cognitive study of learning and instruction in History, as with the cognitive study of virtually any subject matter domain, tends to focus on how the particular subject matter is acquired and how individual reason within the context of that domain".[41]

Socio-Environmental education (History - my emphasis) is also important because it is concerned with social, political, economic and cultural upliftment of communities in terms of ensuring justice in a holistic way. It is also concerned with measures and strategies of dealing with environmental exploitation. However, there are challenges to Socio-Environmental History objectives that encourage communities to be active players within their environments as they undermine social stability by creating conflict, since they challenge the dominant interests and offer different value systems.[42]

The adoption of the environment as a primary concept in the History curriculum tallies with the democratic, nation building and skills empowerment advocated – by the new CAPS. It advocates learning that is holistic and co-operative and the mastery of knowledge and skills in the Environmental History is demonstrated by students' actions in real situations whereby they make decisions on environmental issues rather than only writing essays and engaging in oral presentations.[43] By incorporating environment as a theme, the History syllabus will aid in the reusable past of history as a tool in shaping the collective mind as the environment is the soul of the nation. The Sotho-Tswana say it is "lefa" – inheritance. It will be a quantum leap of direct intervention in ensuring that the History syllabus breaks out of the narrow nationalistic straight jacket in which it has lived for so long. This

41 JF Voss & M Carretero, "Introduction", JF Voss & M Carretero (Ed.), *Learning and reasoning in History* (London, Portland, OR Woburn Press, 1998), pp. 1-5.
42 RB Stevenson, "Schooling and environmental education…", *Environmental Education Research*, 13(2), 2007, p. 145.
43 RB Stevenson, "Schooling and environmental education…", *Environmental Education Research*, 13(2), 2007, p. 147.

concurs with G Partington's criteria of historical significance because indeed Environmental History covers the five aspects of what he terms as important in History.

- Importance - to the people living at the time

- Profundity - how deeply people's lives have been affected

- Quantity - how many lives have been affected

- Durability - for how long have people's lives been affected

- Relevance- in terms of the increased understanding of present life.[44]

  Thus Socio-Environmental History is of historical importance as it affects all societies on a daily basis and many unfortunate people die due to environmental tragedies. Traditionally History textbooks and the curriculum per se have carried an implicit message that historical significance should be ascribed to white, middle and upper class males in positions of power or authority and the exclusion of important national history has occurred. Nowadays with greater recognition of nation building and democratic principles the South African History curriculum embraces the previously marginalised, women and the other racial groups who are non-white but historical significance remains highly problematic. Studies by KC Barton & LC Levstik[45] indicate that the concept of historical significance is shifting and continues to be contested. As S Levesque has argued that it is because "teachers, students, and people in general, no less than historians, confront the study of the past with their own mental framework of historical significance shaped by their particular cultural and linguistic heritage, family practices, popular culture influence, and last, but not least, school history experience".[46] Themes such as conflict over land have been a major problem in South Africa as many people were forcibly removed from their land due to racial discrimination during the colonial and apartheid periods which impacted negatively on environmental issues in the country and can now be studied and included in the curriculum as is exemplified in this article. In the twentieth century, the laws that guided forced removals accumulated from the 1913 and 1936 Native Land Acts, the Influx Control Act of 1945, the 1950 and 1956 Group Areas Act and the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act of 1959. By 1994 these laws

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44 G Partington, *The idea of an historical education* (Slough, NFER, 1980), pp. 112-116.
45 KC Barton & LS Levstik, "'It wasn't a good part of History', National identity and students' explanations of historical significance", *Teachers College Record*, 99(4), 1998, pp. 478-513.
46 S Levesque, "Teaching second-order concepts in Canadian history: The importance of historical significance", *Canadian Social Studies*, 39(2), 2005, p. 1.

had been responsible for the forced removals of almost 4 million people to so-called black designated areas; resettlement areas – Ga-Rankuwa (Pretoria), KwaMashu (Durban), Langa (Cape Town) to mention but a few. Many of such resettlement areas are environmentally degraded due to the impact of forced removals.

Environmental history in practice for a high school curriculum: The case study of Lady Selborne's forced removals

Lady Selborne (currently known as Suiderberg) was home to many indigenous people who were displaced due to the Group Areas Act of 1950 with some relocated to Ga-Rankuwa. The focal group chiefly chosen are the Sotho-Tswana because they were the majority in Lady Selborne around the period under study. In the 1950s there were 1000 Sotho-Tswana, 321 Ngunis, 167 Shangaans, 125 Coloreds, 97 Whites, 6 Indians and 5 Vendas in Lady Selborne.[47] The Sotho-Tswana ascribed the land with a sacred character: it had the potential to build the people or destroy them; hence the Sotho-Tswana believed that they had to care for it as their inheritance from ancestors to be preserved for the future generations. Land was perceived as a home for the living, the dead, animals and plants and these components had to live co-operatively to ensure a sustainable life for all. Subsequently if one component failed to co-exist with the others, it would mean a disturbance of the entire cultural, social and ecosystem of the Sotho-Tswana and would lead to disaster, either natural or social.[48] This meant that land and the environment had to be respected, an idea expressed as *gotlhompwa* in Setswana – which refers to "avoidance rules between persons and between persons and certain places and objects". [49] This implies that in African culture and tradition certain people, places, animals are avoided as a sign of respect. Colonial officials largely misconstrued the African understanding of nature and the environment as it was the perception of the subordinate subjects: totally different from the way they related to and understood the environment. This is the challenge which Carruthers refers to, historiographically; "issues relating to indigenous knowledge [are neglected], [simply] are touched upon rather than explored

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47 J Carruthers, "Urban land claims in South Africa: The case of Lady Selborne township, Pretoria, Gauteng", *Kleio,* XXX11, 2000, p. 12.

48 M Kunene, *Anthem of the decades: a Zulu epic dedicated to the women of Africa* (London, Heinemann, 1981), p. xxiv.

49 H Kuckertz, "Ukuhlonipha as idiom of moral reasoning in Mpondo", P McAllister (Ed.), *Culture and the common place* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1997), p. 312.

in any detail" and this poses the problem with which this article wrestles.[50] This article suggests that the ideology of land for indigenous Africans has deep meaning as it is enmeshed in religious rites and beliefs. The environment and our anthropogenic engagement with it play a major and changing role in this ideology of our engagement with it and require delineation. Changing ideas about respect for land, environment and nature in specific African communities warrant closer examination and delineation, focusing in particular on how the ideology has changed over time in reaction to socio-political changes.

The history of forced removals has been studied from different aspects (Afrikaner nationalistic, Africanist, Liberal and Revisionist perspectives) and has been highly politicised and other aspects such as the socio-environmental scope have been neglected or only briefly mentioned. The article by MC Kgari-Masondo detected a lacuna, which is important to expose and that is the socio-environmental aspect of land dispossession.[51] It gave vital explanations of the existence of environmental history of the Sotho-Tswana and affirmed the proposal about re-languaging "environment" to unlock the environmental history of Africans. Sotho-Tswana conservation ideals which are termed *go boloka tlhago* held that nature has to be preserved for future generations through rituals and the ethic of *hlompo* (respect) of physical sites (graves, shrines) and mental constructs (laws, values, ethics and totems). Due to land alienation through the process of forced removals, the new residents of Ga-Rankuwa experienced problems in their relationship with their environment. This is highlighted by Khan, who states that:[52]

> *The question of land is a crucial factor and its bitter, divisive legacy has to be considered when examining South Africa's environmental history, particularly since it is within the context of the land that most blacks take stance on environmental issues.*

A political and environmental brief

Lady Selborne was located against the south slope of the Magaliesberg some sixteen kilometres northwest of Pretoria's city centre. It was established

50 J Carruthers, "Environmental History in Southern Africa: An overview", S Dovers et.al, *South Africa's Environmental History Cases & Comparisons* (Athens, Cape Town, Ohio University Press, David Philip,2002), p. 7.
51 MC Kgari-Masondo, "A home makes one Motho" – the idea of "Humanness", "Home" and History in Lady Selborne's forced removals, circa 1905 to 1977, *Historia,* 53, 2008, pp. 70-97.
52 F Khan, "Contemporary South African environmental response: ...", p. 15.

in 1905 as a township where black Africans could own land.[53] Land was available to different racial groups in the township, including black Africans seeking work and accommodation. In other words all races could own land in Lady Selborne. The area was surrounded by some white settlements such as Daspoort, Hercules and Innesdale,[54] and was established through a "coloured" syndicate that purchased a portion of a farm (Zandfontein) through their agents, T Le Fleur and CM de Vries. Ownership of the farm was transferred to De Vries on the 26 September 1906, with 440 plots available for purchase to the public.[55] The Minister of Native Affairs approved Lady Selborne as a place for the residence of black Africans in 1936. Inter-racial land-ownership occurred because the sellers did not discriminate between buyers and this resulted in *de facto* integration. The target market, small plots and low prices prompted the Transvaal surveyor-general to refer to Lady Selborne as "practically a location".[56] It was named after Lady Beatrix Maud Cecil Selborne, whose husband was High Commissioner of South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies until Union in 1910.[57]

Through the policy of Forced removals the National Party government implemented rigorous evictions of the community of Lady Selborne through the passing of the Group Areas Act of 1950 which officially paved the way to land dispossession in Lady Selborne. A letter dated 12 November 1949 from the provincial secretary of the Transvaal province to the secretary for finance clearly illustrates this desire to destroy Lady Selborne with an eye on "controlling the area".[58] Lady Selborne as a township grew and was later that year incorporated into the city of Pretoria with 1952 registered properties.[59] J Carruthers has pointed out that "from the outset, the residents of Lady Selborne were politically sophisticated and resisted the ever-enveloping tentacles of state control over their daily lives".[60] The residents continued to complain about high rates and underdevelopment but were ignored by the Hercules town council. Property prices were inflated: about £500 per

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53 Central Archives (CA), Pretoria, Transvaal Education Department (TES), Reference 4134: Report of the Departmental Committee, "Statement embodying particulars and survey of the affairs of Lady Selborne", 1949, p. 61.

54 CA, TES, Reference 4134: Report of the Departmental Committee, Statement embodying particulars and survey of the affairs of Lady Selborne, 1949, p. 61.

55 See J Carruthers, "Urban land claims in South Africa…" *Kleio,* XXX11, 2000, p. 26.

56 Transvaal Archives (TA), Pretoria, Governor of the Transvaal Colony (GOV), Reference 828/PS17/65/05: Letter, Le Fleur (land buyer)/Lord Selborne (Government official), 21 November 1905.

57 TA, Pretoria, GOV, Reference 828/PS17/65/05, Letter, Le Fleur/Lord Selborne, 22 November 1905.

58 CATES, Reference 3900 F19/269: Letter, Provincial Secretary/Secretary for Finance, 12 November 1949.

59 TK Sonjica, "Group Areas Act Ethnic Cleansing", 2002, (available at: Land.pwv.gov.za/journal/fourland.html, as accessed on 18 March 2005).

60 J Carruthers, "Urban land claims in South Africa", *Kleio,* XXX11, 2000, p. 2.

stand in order to prevent more blacks from buying plots in the area while the neighbouring white areas plots were lower: around £90 to £250.[61] The National Party government promised to destroy Lady Selborne, portraying the township as an overpopulated health hazard, and delegated the task to the Pretoria City Council, which had already made such a proposal.[62] Its argument was essentially that the area was a "Black Spot", unwanted so close to whites.[63]

By 1956 the Pretoria City Council finally decided to destroy Lady Selborne but needed a firm Act to support this aim.[64] The council's frustrations stemmed from the fact that no rezoning of Pretoria could be implemented without Lady Selborne as a "Black Spot" within white settlements. This hurdle was overcome in 1956 through the passing of the Group Areas Amendment Act, which gave power to the Group Areas Board to deal with areas approved for the residence of blacks. The coup de grace was delivered by Proclamation no. 104 of 20 October 1961, which declared Lady Selborne a white area.[65] Removals of residents started in November 1961 by the police.

Interviews were conducted by the author, assisted by Dr. Sibusiso Masondo; a Lecturer at the University of Cape Town who assisted with the transcribing. The field-work was conducted over a period of one year from June 2004, again in March and April 2006 and lastly in September 2006 in Ga-Rankuwa, mainly among the Sotho-Tswana who were displaced from Lady Selborne between 1960 and 1969. The number chosen was determined by the availability of individuals. The criteria used in choosing informants was that they had to be people who were actively involved in forced removals and had knowledge about Lady Selborne and Ga-Rankuwa. The above criteria limited numbers as most people who were involved had died. The number of people interviewed were all men and women over the age of 45. The residents of Lady Selborne were attached to each other and their environment.[66] The local sense of identity was able to cut across religious, cultural, racial and class

61 CA, TES, 4134, Report of the Departmental Committee Statement embodying particulars and survey of the affairs of Lady Selborne, 1949, p. 62.
62 CA TES, 4134, Report of the Departmental Committee Statement embodying particulars and survey of the affairs of Lady Selborne, 1949, p. 64.
63 M Horrell, *The Group Areas Act – Its effects on human being* (Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1956), p. 48.
64 M Horrell, *The Group Areas Act…*, p. 48.
65 *South African Government Gazette*, 92(2), Pretoria, Authority, 6 October 1961, p. 3.
66 MC Kgari-Masondo (Personal Collection), Interviews, R Kgari (Domestic worker, Isando, Johannesburg), 25 June 2004, W Kgari (Assistant Secretary, Bonus Card/Uni-bank, Pretoria City Centre), 27 June 2004, T Tshweni (Domestic worker, Isando, Johannesburg), 28 June 2004, Sekhu (Housewife), 28 June 2004 and M Manamela (Housewife), 30 June 2004.

divides. The community lived together with different races and could assist each other despite such differences. According to an interviewee, R Kgari, business owners were able to assist all races equally if they had no money which was a sign of interdependence on one another as a community.

The State alienated the community of Lady Selborne from their environment by reducing access to land and water,[67] and used "scientific" conservation policies to limit both by introducing high bond rates as a measure for preventing blacks from buying property in the township. This alienation did not cause them to disengage with the land in terms of subsistence farming, and they remained committed to cultivation because most forms of entrepreneurship such as owning businesses were denied them through poverty and expensive rent and bonds. Residents tried to retain environmental control by actively involving themselves in the managing of their area through the health and village committees which were not very successful because all the power rested within the Hercules Town Council. People were made more politically aware and active through health and village committees and political organizations such as the Black Sash, the African National Congress, the Communist Party and the Pan African Congress, which motivated the community to resist its displacement.

Success in community mobilisation in fighting against high rates in the 1940s motivated the residents to fight against the forced removals of the 1960s, albeit with little success. Forced removals destroyed the community spirit and environmental attachment that the residents had enjoyed since 1905. Displacement from Lady Selborne meant a withdrawal from history for many residents because their land had given them a sense of their own history since 1905. They were now forced to construct a new history while they would always have a nostalgic attachment to Lady Selborne.

Ga-Rankuwa was one of the resettlement areas identified to accommodate some of the former residents of Lady Selborne. The area was established in 1961 with the purpose of accommodating African communities who were displaced through the Group Areas Act from Lady Seborne, Bantule, Newclare, Marabastad, Rama, Eastwood and other neighbouring farms. The area was named after the Bakgatla headman, Rankuwa Boikhutso. "Rankuwa" means "we are accepted". Then the word "Ga" was inserted by the community to imply "we are not accepted" because they complained about the soil that was red and infertile as well as the under resourced conditions of the area.

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67   J Carruthers, "Urban land claims in South Africa…", *Kleio,* XXXII, 2000, pp. 28-29.

The area was proclaimed a township by Proclamation 448 of 1965 and was allowed to accommodate Africans from diverse ethnic groups including the amaNguni, Vendas and Shangaans.[68]

Those who moved from Lady Selborne had no sense of historical continuity in Ga-Rankuwa and a feeling of historical rupture emerged from the forced nature of the removal. The Sotho-Tswana saw a person as a constant work-in-progress, not a state of being but a state of becoming. This means that the Sotho-Tswana definition of a person which was their inborn belief and philosophy of life was disrupted and arrested through the loss of land. Those resettled became apathetic towards the environment, were reduced to dependency and existed in a state of feeling "less human" called *sefifi* (bad luck). Forced to focus on survival strategies, many residents of Ga-Rankuwa saw environmental issues as inconsequential. They romanticized the past life in Lady Selborne but did not implement its lessons. This can be termed "resettlement memory reversal" because the resettled tend to restart their historical journey using their memories, often causing misery and rejection of the present. This was a mental state of mind of displaying their resistance of their new settlement. Hence Zwingman argues that:[69]

> When life is threatened the reaction is physical but where total loss of love is involved the reaction is mental. People suffering from "uprootal" and reacting negatively are in a "borderline state" and their behaviour cannot be measured and judged by the norms of ordered intact society.

Many former residents of Lady Selborne changed their relationship with their environment in the resettlement area as a means of protesting against their loss of "home". The cycle of poverty in Ga-Rankuwa meant that, even though many former tenants may have felt "humanised" by their new position as land owners, few could manage to pay to develop their new property. Underdeveloped infrastructure and lack of recreational facilities such as cinemas and sports facilities in Ga-Rankuwa heightened nostalgia for Lady Selborne. Some felt that the new community had potential but most deemed that the community spirit that prevailed in Lady Selborne was non-existent in Ga-Rankuwa. This represented a key failure of resettlement as the Sotho-Tswana saw community as a vital means of defining the self. This exposed that for some of the interviewees the new area would always be

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68   CA, Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAO), Reference 7818T60/2/1547/1: Memorandum, the Tswana Vigilance Committee, Commissioner General Tswana Territorial Authority, no date. The memo mentions that there were also amaZulu and amaTsonga in Ga-Rankuwa.
69   M Nash, *Black uprooting from white* (Braamfontein, South African Council of Churches, 1980), p. 78.

the "other place'"and not "home".[70] The concept of "home"[71] was dynamic from immovable to movable 'home' hence some residents began engaging with the environment through food production, which illustrates that "hard times, however do not dictate that history be about decline, degradation, or victimisation".[72] Land restitution also is an illustration of this. When asked about whether the former landlords wanted to be reinstated to Lady Selborne, they answered unanimously in the negative. The narrative of land restitution and movable home also highlights the resilience of community ideas and practices towards the land, which were increasingly challenged by the agenda of outsiders such as those who had businesses but did not stay in Ga-Rankuwa.

The move from Lady Selborne to Ga-Rankuwa caused massive shifts in people's perceptions of themselves, others and the environment. Removals represented more than social injustice, it meant environmental injustice. It has been argued by MC Kgari-Masondo that the community of Lady Selborne cared for the environment and interacted with it (and each other) relatively harmoniously.[73] Though there were problems such as the absence of running water and a proper sewerage system, the residents were largely content and in the beginning did not pay high rates at.[74]

High rates in Lady Selborne were later instituted after the installation of taps. For many interviewees, such as former landlady Mrs Sekhu, the introduction of rates for water actually interfered with traditional subsistence patterns because it controlled the amount of water to be used as compared to the wells where they could utilise water the way they wanted.[75] There were also environmental power issues that undermined unity in the township. Many former tenant interviewees displayed dissatisfaction towards this class-stratification.[76] The interviewees did not consciously experience land ownership in terms of class distinction in Lady Selborne, but critical analysis reveals such divisions, albeit subtle. Powerful landlords arrogated the most advantageous environmental resources to themselves and could engage in cultivation while denying their tenants access to food production.[77] According to N Jacobs, the issue of

70 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, T Tshweni, 28 June 2004, Andrew (Secretary, Pretoria Municipality), 28 June 2004 and M Manamela, 30 June 2004.
71 See MC Kgari-Masondo, "A home makes one Motho…", *Historia,* 53, 2 November 2008, pp. 70-97.
72 N Jacobs, *Environment, power, and injustice…,* p. 208.
73 MC Kgari-Masondo, "A home makes one Motho…", *Historia,* 53, 2 November 2008, pp. 70-97.
74 MC Kgari-Masondo , Interview, R Kgari, 25 June 2004.
75 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, Sekhu, 28 June 2004.
76 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, I Mvula (Domestic worker, Johannesburg), 24 June 2004, E Mohlahledi (Housewife), 29 June 2004, P Matlaila, (Security guard, Bartley's Bank, Pretoria), 29 June 2004, M Matlaila (Domestic worker, Pretoria), 29 June 2004 and M Madumo (Housewife), 30 June 2004.
77 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, M Madumo, 30 June 2004.

power is a significant consideration in environmental history "and in order to understand the historical dynamic between people and the biophysical environment, it is necessary to identify influence, authority, and material advantages in society".[78] However, while capitalist production certainly existed, there is evidence to suggest that people in Lady Selborne collaborated with each other and shared food such as vegetables and fruit with those that needed assistance.[79]

Much of this changed in Ga-Rankuwa, as landownership became a benchmark for class and the construction of identity. As Cohnert, *et al*, have argued, "apartheid era spatial configurations continue to shape group identities".[80] Yet, the former tenants of Lady Selborne had been relegated to the lower strata of the community in Lady Selborne and actually saw their humanity being affirmed by resettlement in Ga-Rankuwa, even though they leased their plots. In contrast, former landlords persisted in using their previous status as the upper class to pursue their struggle to return to Lady Selborne. They also manipulated their new-found status of "have nots" as a symbol of solidarity with their former tenants in order to fight displacement.

However, this was unsuccessful and there was no active fight against resettlement in Ga-Rankuwa because there was little common ground between tenants and landlords as the former were initially happy in the relocation area while the latter were enraged by the absence of free plots. Those who managed to buy plots constituted the upper class, which carried with them the status of *batho* (humans).[81] More so the relocation area came with its environmental injustice and historical rupture.

Ramifications of forced removals

According to B Bozzoli "the roots of our present system of exploitation and oppression have had to be sought and exposed through re-examination of the past".[82] This implies that, the idea that the environmental problems that plague Ga-Rankuwa can be traced back to its history. Harris states "to be open

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78 N Jacobs, *Environment, power, and injustice…,* p. 211.
79 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, R Kgari, 25 June 2004.
80 Cited in S Horstmeier & S Cornelissen, "The social and political construction of identities in the New South Africa: An analysis of Western Cape province", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40(1), 2002, p. 57.
81 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, R Kgari, 24 June 2004, T Tshweni, 28 June 2004, Sekhu, 28 June 2004, V Maphalare, (Housewife), 28 June 2004, E Andrew 29, June 2004, E Mohlahledi, 29 June 2004, P Matlaila, 29 June 2004 and M Manamela, 29 June 2004.
82 B Bozzoli, "History, experience and culture", B Bozzoli (Ed.), *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal* (Braamfontein, Ravan Press, 1983), p. 1.

to the past is, simply, to be open to the roots of what we are, the past is the contrast and perspective for the present".[83] Implicit to Harris's hypothesis is the idea that environmental problems – particularly those of land scarcity, land degradation and dispossession – have to be researched from the perspective of the past. In this article both the historical socio-environmental perspective with an Afrocentric approach have been used, which have briefly facilitated the exploration of the Sotho-Tswana perceptions of the environment. Many scholars who deal with forced removals have explored the ramifications of the process in changing the lives of black people[84] while some scholars have gone beyond the social sphere and focused on the environmental impact.[85] Such analyses, however, have not included the changing and historically-constructed meaning of land within the forcibly removed communities and its relationship with social identity.

The rights denied the residents of Ga-Rankuwa include access to sufficient food and water, infrastructure, employment, quality education, shelter, a healthcare system and a healthy environment. The South African Human Rights Commission on Economic and Social Rights argues that the present situation of poverty is a legacy of apartheid policies that violated black people's rights to enjoy a better life.[86] Land alienation was used as an instrument in ensuring that the community of Ga-Rankuwa lacked political rights and environmental freedom. In terms of environmental freedom, the relocated were not allowed to achieve their human potential in relation to their environment. The consequences of displacement suffered by the African community of Lady Selborne were far reaching because their land ownership system generally prohibited alienation of right to own land.[87] Interviews conducted in Ga-Rankuwa reflect this powerfully entrenched notion in which the land and the Sotho-Tswana are inextricably interlinked and in which human identity rests on the notion that without land a Mosotho/Motswana is not a "real person".[88]

83 Cited in F Khan, "Contemporary South African environmental response…", p. 3.
84 See M Nash, *Black uprooting from white...*; L Platzky & C Walker, *The surplus people: Forced removals in South Africa* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985); D Cosmas, *The discarded people: An account of Africa resettlement in South Africa* (London, Penguin African Library, 1971).
85 N Jacobs, *Environment, power, and injustice... .*
86 South African Human Rights Commission, *Economic & Social Rights SANGOCO's Report on Poverty and Human Rights*, V (Johannesburg, South African Human Rights Commission, 1999).
87 MLM Mbao, "Undoing the injustices of the past: Restitution of rights in land in post-apartheid South Africa, with special reference to North West Province, *Journal for Judicial Science*, 27(2), 2002, p. 90.
88 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, I Mvula, 24 June 2004, R Kgari, 25 June 2004, J Motshetshane (Supervisor Cleaning Staff, George Mokhari Hospital, Ga-Rankuwa), 27 June 2004, W Kgari, 27 June 2004, T Tshweni, 28 June 2004, L Tshweni (Assistant Mechanic, Nissan, Rosselline, Pretoria), 28 June 2004, Sekhu, 28 June 2004, V Maphalare, 28 June 2004, Maphalare (Entrepreneur, Ga-Rankuwa), 28 June 2004, E Andrew, 28 June 2004, E Mohlahledi, 29 June 2004, P Matlaila, 29 June 2004, M Matlaila, 29 June 2004, M Madumo, 29 June 2004, M Manamela, 29 June, J Kekana (Entrepreneur, Ga-Rankuwa), 29 June 2004, 1 July 2004.

This explains why ideologically "nature" for the Sotho-Tswana is not an object for human exploitation but exists in a dialogue with humans.[89] This implies that the environment was perceived as part of humanity's source of existence and sustenance, and that environmental degradation is criminal. Despite the testimony of interviewees, historical analysis of the period from 1940 to 1960 indicates some level of environmental degradation in Lady Selborne. Overcrowding certainly contributed to the exhaustion of natural resources. For example, resorting to dung as fuel source indicates some depletion of firewood. This is due to romanticism of the past by interviewees, which ignores the coexistence of capitalism along with traditional ideology. Hence Jacobs proposes that:[90]

> *Environmental historians must account for the social dynamics that feed it, and they should consider social divisions in relations with the biophysical, but populism requires the same critical examination as given the official received wisdom, and we must maintain a critical distance from its values and proposals.*

Lady Selborne's scenic beauty heightened its residents' sense of loss, as if the loss of property, identity, means of sustenance, neighbours, friends, family, soil and continuous history were not enough. The township had greenery, bush, river and fertile soils.[91] The residents were able to engage in food production through planting vegetables and fruit due to the fertility of the soil structure. According to interviewees they "could cultivate virtually anything on their land".[92] This implies that on the basis of the Sotho-Tswana custom the environment actively rendered the history of the community of Lady Selborne "alive". Thus J Illiffes' hypothesis that "the natural world offers a context in history not as a discrete historical actor" is dismissible in this context because the environment provided for the community of Lady Selborne in a dynamic way and they in turn preserved and cherished it.[93] Resettlement in Ga-Rankuwa meant the end of Lady Selborne's Socio-Environmental History for residents and the end of the semblance of environmental justice that the upper strata of landlords had enjoyed in their former township through ownership of private property. They had to begin new lives, histories and friendships in

89 GM Setiloane, *African theology…*, p. 40.
90 N Jacobs, *Environment, power and justice…*, p. 217.
91 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, I Mvula, 24 June 2004, T Tshweni, 28 June 2004 and M Manamela, 29 June 2004.
92 MC Kgari-Masondo, Interview, I Mvula, 24 June 2004, R Kgari, 25 June 2004, J Motshetshane, 27 June 2004, W Kgari, 27 June 2004, T Tshweni, 28 June 2004, L Tshweni, 28 June 2004, Sekhu, 28 June 2004, V Maphalare, 28 June 2004, P Maphalare, 28 June 2004, E Andrew, 28 June 2004, E Mohlahledi, 29 June 2004, P Matlaila, 29 June 2004, M Matlaila, 29 June 2004, M Madumo, 29 June 2004, M Manamela, 29 June, J Kekana, 29 June 2004, 1 July 2004.
93 Cited in C McCann, *Green land, brown land, black land: An environmental history of Africa 1800-1990* (Oxford, Heinemann Portsmouth1999), p. 47.

Ga-Rankuwa, where environmental resources were poor.

Conclusions

The state has to ensure that the History curriculum in South African high schools embraces all cultures as it purports to be a democratically aligned education system. It has to embrace the ethic of the usable past as History is the study of the past and present based on evidence, studied to assist communities not to repeat the mistakes of the past. Thus, History has to include pivotal themes such as the environment as it has been illustrated in this study through the case study of forced removals of the former residents of Lady Selborne who were relocated in Ga-Rankuwa. The article argued that to preserve and ensure environmental renaissance in black areas the state has to recognise and involve participation of diverse communities in environmental issues and not ignore their cultural historical facet as it is a crucial usable past that entails the traditional African customs and beliefs in attaining socio-environmental justice for the public. The first crucial step as this article has proposed is the adoption of Socio-Environmental History as part of the History curriculum. Jacobs proposes that even though the national constitution can be progressive there must be open participation in democratic decisions in South Africa or communities will again be faced with unfair state intervention.[94] This implies that South Africans need to build not only new societal relationships but also new relationships with their environment.[95] The issue of forced removals remains controversial in South Africa and raises questions that require profound resolutions to ensure that the communities affected are left satisfied and participate in the development of their areas and through History teaching this will be a positive step towards environmental improvement in South Africa.[96] As this study has shown, the pernicious legacy of forced removals still resonates in those displaced from Lady Selborne and these perceptions resulted in the degradation of the resettlement area's environment. Some residents adopted passive resistance, characterised by non-participation in environmental issues, because they felt aggrieved by displacement. This study proposes that the relocated community of Ga-Rankuwa needs to participate through decision construction in the political, social, economic and environmental making of their location to

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94 N Jacobs, *Environment, power, and injustice...*, p. 221.
95 S Horstmeier & S Cornelissen, "The social and political construction of identities…", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40(1), 2002, p. 56.
96 MLM Mbao, "Undoing the injustices of the past…", *Journal for Judicial Science*, 27(2), 2002, p. 91.

achieve this.

This study argues that environmental scholars have dealt with the issue of environmental activism but not within a historical context and also not proposing for it to be part of the History school curriculum. The key to inculcating environmental activism has been through education programmes and the eradication of the legacy of apartheid.[97] The drawback of such a proposal is that it fails to consider that for blacks to participate in environmental issues, their perception of themselves must be transformed through land redistribution, and environmental policies, which should balance traditional and western science methods and theories via a new paradigm that allows discussion between these two discourses. Practical views relevant to the South African context should be adopted, and should accommodate traditional laws on land and land use. Although this article has tried to fill the lacuna, still more research on changing black perceptions of the environment or the causes thereof is necessary. It is important to deal with education from within indigenous cultures and using indigenous environmental beliefs and laws within the frame-work of the modern democratic constitution, in order to rehabilitate black environmental activism through negotiation with western science environmental activism.

The different meanings people attach to land and the relationship of land rights to power and wealth are helpfully delineated by case-studies such as the Ga-Rankuwa situation. Such case-studies could be incorporated into high school history syllabi. Students would analyse community and government responses to environmental injustices, and critically assess strategies to promote more ecologically sound and socially just practices. Students should be offered education that includes a useable past of traditional African customs and beliefs that enables them to confront the propagandistic messages of power elites and to continue the project of progressive social transformation and liberation entailed in the New South African constitution. By introducing environmental education in the History curriculum learners will be able to understand how segregationist policies and forced removals led to widespread environmental damage in addition to changing the lives of many black people such as those displaced from Lady Selborne and relocated in Ga-Rankuwa in the early 1960s. Illustrating how segregationist and apartheid land-related Acts led to displacements and exposed blacks to a vicious cycle of poverty and destruction of cultural and economic systems. This theme will also tally with an explanation of causes and consequences that the effects are still visible even

97   F Khan, Contemporary South African environmental response... .

in the landscape of South Africa. Further participatory research on Socio-Environmental History and the History curriculum would, however, need to move beyond identification of the significance of the integration of the primary concept of environment in history to researching other themes currently in the History curriculum and attempt to tease out the environmental aspects of the subjects.

Restoring the generations? – A preliminary literature review exploring the educational potential of the "Zeugen der Shoah" DVDs[1]

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Abstract

This article is a preliminary literature review undertaken for a proposed research project, surveying the field of research concerning the use of digitised video-testimonies with Shoah survivors in German history classrooms. It is set against the argument that up to now, the perpetration of Nazi atrocities has largely been treated with silence at the family level, and that this has negative psychosocial consequences. The literature review investigates to what extent educational DVDs with Shoah survivors could present an opportunity to break this silence and thus to restore generational relationships at the social level. These educational media allow learners to not only receive first-hand audio-visual accounts of what the Shoah witnesses experienced and thus to be emotionally and empathetically engaged with history learning. Learners are also made aware of the constructed nature of historical knowledge. As a result, they may begin to question how they know what they know, and what validity and consequences this knowing has. Existing pilot studies based on social-psychological analyses of learners' responses to the topic of Nazism, as well as a study about learners' interaction with the DVD series in Germany has shown that learners are interested in this topic, including the question of responsibility, but that they defy external pressure to feel guilty. They tend to develop sophisticated analytical competencies when their empathy is involved. The article could help teachers in other contexts, where sensitive topics need to be taught, to gain fresh perspectives on what to consider when teaching "difficult" content.

Keywords: Emotions in history education; Empathy; Generational silence; Guilt; Responsibility; Shoah research; Video testimonies as educational media.

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[1] *Zeugen der Shoah* means "witnesses of the Shoah" (available at: www.zeugendershoah.de and http://www.cedis. fuberlin.de/cedis/projekte/zeugen_der_shoah/index.html). There is another, similar resource published by the *Freie Universität* (Berlin) called "*Zwangsarbeit* (forced labour), 1939-1945, *Erinnerungen und Geschichte* (memories and history)".

Background

Albert Einstein (1953) once said that "die Welt ist mehr bedroht durch die, welche das Übel dulden oder ihm Vorschub leisten, als durch die Übeltäter selbst", or "the world is more threatened by those who tolerate evil and are connivers in it, than by the evildoers themselves" (my translation). A more popular version of the above quote reads as follows: "the world is too dangerous to live in not because of the people who do evil, but because of the people who sit and let it happen." These well-known words rang all too true before and during the time of World War II in Europe. The generation involved directly as perpetrators or indirectly as bystanders in the war atrocities in Germany faced the aftermath with an attitude of dissociation, repression and taboos surrounding guilt (Assmann, 2006a:98) These became manifest as a "veil of silence" (Bittner, 2011:25). This "veil of silence" (see also Assmann, 2006a:103) is what characterises those who "sit and let evil happen". In the light of European Christian anti-Semitism expressed through large-scale bystander behavior at the time of National Socialism, Bittner (2011:29) argues that to this day this silence continues to manifest itself through indifference and apathy. Both are marks of a "genetic defect", which Christianity has been carrying with it since its separation from its Hebraic roots. The DNA of Christ is rooted in the God of Israel, but Christianity, by and large, has mutated itself from this root by forcefully cutting out the "Israel" part of its DNA (see Goldstein, 2012, ch.7 on the history of Christian anti-Semitism). What happened to the Jewish people in Germany and Europe during the Nazi period is, I would argue, evidence of what can happen when this mutation is left to take its unbridled course.

The "veil of silence" is the main concern in this research. It has been consistently passed down to generations and has negative psychosocial consequences. Bittner (2011:26) shows that more than three-quarters of all German families are affected by the guilt and trauma of the Second World War. The consequences of the inherited silence, which Assmann (2006a:176-177) argues is to be understood as an "active concealment of the truth" at the family level[2] and as a strategy for the repression of guilt, include psychological alienation, fear and angst, blockages, troubled relationships, inner rigidity (Bittner, 2011:26) as well as a deformed spiritual life (Bittner, 2011:109).

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2   Assmann (2006a:25) distinguishes between communicative (or conversational) and cultural remembrance. Communicative remembrance is established by physical proximity, regular interaction, common living arrangements and shared experiences. Cultural remembrance is passed down through the media and other forms of institutionalisation. As such, they have a fixedness and continuity beyond the family (Assmann, 2006a:32).

According to psychologists, the 35-50 year-olds of today (who could represent the teachers) suffer from diffuse identity: they feel dis-rooted and are on a constant search for securing their identities (Bittner, 2011:167).

The fourth generation, that is the great grandchildren of those who experienced the Nazi period (represented by today's teenagers), some argue, is ready, able and willing to confront and question the silence of their forefathers. Assmann (2006a:114) notes that the descendants of the perpetrator generation are "not" responding to this dark chapter in their history with forgetting, but instead take on responsibility by stabilising the chapter in collective (or cultural) memory and by integrating it into their collective self-images. Bittner (2011:175-6) shows that the fourth generation is much more open than their parents were to pass down a "more correct" version of their family history. For the fourth generation children the "caricature" of the oppressed German people of the interwar period is fading more and more. They can identify with the victims without feeling that they are betraying their own families or that they are rebelling against them (Bittner, 2011:175-6). They are not indifferent. Don Krausz,[3] a Holocaust survivor who engages with school learners in South Africa, confirmed that German children ask him only one question, namely, "Do you hate us?" (personal communication, 17 September 2013).

The educational media to be researched

It is against this background that I propose to research how a selected group of German youths responds to a new set of educational media about the Shoah. This media consists of video-testimonies of Holocaust survivors on DVDs, derived from Steven Spielberg's Visual History Archives (VHA). The University of Southern California (USC) Shoah Foundation Institute has worked together with the *Freie Universität* in Berlin to incorporate 12 testimonies of Holocaust survivors into an educational programme especially designed for German school learners. The USC Shoah Foundation's overarching aim is to overcome prejudice, intolerance and fanaticism, and the sorrow that they cause, through the use of their pedagogical tool, which is the archive of the video-recorded testimonies of the witnesses of the Shoah. Kushner (2006:275) notes that while huge amounts of energy have been

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3   Don is a Dutch/South African Holocaust survivor who came to South Africa in 1946. Since 1985 he has been talking to high school learners about his experiences as a young teenager in the death camps where he spent two and a half years.

spent on creating video archives such as the VHA, the question of how these materials are to be used beyond the merely illustrative seems to have been left unexplored. While from the outset the VHA materials were intended to be accessible to succeeding generations and used for educational purposes, it was not clear how this was to be done (Lücke, 2009). It is precisely this area of need that the research with the DVD series seeks to address.

Not only do learners receive first-hand audio-visual accounts of what these witnesses experienced, they are also made aware of the constructed nature of historical knowledge. Why is this important? Because there are debates within the discipline of history around the question of whether history is a science or an art. The dominant view holds that history is an empirical-analytical-representationalist, positivist science. The role of the historian is to uncover, discover, reconstruct or in any other way to re-present, as truthfully (depending on what the evidence permits) as possible, that which "inheres" in the past (Munslow, 2012). The alternative group's view, represented partly by White, Jenkins, Rosenstone, Cohen Ankersmit and Munslow, is that history belongs to a different ontology. It is a discursive, inventive, literary, creative, intuitive, fabricated and aesthetic art of narrating stories from the past, as determined by the authorial choices historians make (consciously or not) (Munslow, 2012). It relies to a large degree on "verbal artistry" (Langer, 2006:305). The construction of history by way of life stories belongs to the latter type of ontology: "any life story, whether written autobiography or an oral testimony, is shaped not only by the reworking of experience through memory and re-evaluation, but also always at least to some extent by art" (Chamberlain & Thompson, 1998, quoted in Kushner, 2006:285). If learners understand that the very nature of historical knowledge is contested at the level of creation in academia, then they may also question some of the deep-seated assumptions they hold as a result of socialisation. They may begin to question how they know what they know and what validity this knowing has.

Reiter, who belongs to the "history as art" camp, asks: which linguistic devices, and which genres do the survivors rely upon to communicate their experiences? How does literature in the broadest sense, and language and genre more narrowly, become a means of coming to terms with life?" (Reiter, 2000: 2). These are the kinds of questions posed to learners by the "Zeugen der Shoah" DVDs. A central aim of the learners' activities is to analyse and understand how the "form" of the medium influences the(ir) meaning-making of the content. The activities require learners to pay attention to

following: ideas concerning the language (how the interviewee uses words, phrases, dialect and to observe what s/he does not say) and also what happens beyond the spoken word (body language, silences, gestures, staring into space); the situation surrounding the interview (how the questions and style of the interviewer influence the interviewee's responses); the use of technology and setting (how the camera angles and lighting influence what is said); and, finally, to reflect on changes within their own perspective as a result of a second or third viewing. In conjunction with thinking about the content or "what happened", learners are also encouraged to interrogate the meaning of concepts such as oral history, visual archives, identity, language, memory, commemoration and a host of other highly complex issues when they work with the tasks ("Zeugen der Shoah" - school learning with video-interviews: DVD guide for educators, 2012).

The makers of the software had specific competencies in mind when designing the educational activities. These are common to German history curricula and can be summarised as follows:

- Analytical and interpretive competence: critical reading of sources, historical contextualisation of what is seen and heard;

- Judgement competence: relationship between the testimonies and own historical consciousness;

- Media and methodological competence: independent handling of the video testimonies and own design of videos;

- Narrative competence: designing own historical narratives and finding answers relating to the present (see Barricelli, 2012:46-47).

Objectives and research questions

Jonathan Jansen, a South African expert in pedagogy and race relations, points to new post-conflict curriculum knowledge and a post-conflict pedagogy that he terms the pedagogy of compassion or reconciliation. This is a response to critical theory's tendency to undermine the "… possibilities for a post conflict pedagogy that recognises the pain and trauma on both sides without the need for slippage into moral relativism" (Jansen, 2009:156). At the philosophical centre of this pedagogy is an "epistemology of empathy" that takes seriously the experiences of both the perpetrators and victims (Maodzwa-Taruvinga & Cross, 2012:134, my emphasis). Although the video testimonies are clearly about the victims of the Shoah, Jansen's argument suggests the need

to consider, with equal weight, the experiences of the so-called perpetrators (whether as active killers or as passive bystanders), which the majority of the fourth generation of German children represents. The research is thus about the children of the perpetrators, and not about the victims as such. If it is true that they still live under the dark veil of silence of their forefathers, then it is imaginable that through engaging with this epistemology of empathy, which is central to the video testimonies, they could be motivated to ask questions, talk, discuss, debate and so to break the silence. In turn, this could lead to transformed relationships.

The objective of the proposed research project is to find out, "firstly", how school learners aged 15 to 18 in German schools respond to these educational media with a specific focus on empathy (see subsection). The "second" objective is to find out how learners respond to the idea that history is constructed, in this case through video testimonies. To do this, some of the research questions would aim to find out whether the above competencies (narrative, analytical-interpretive, judgment, media and methodological, and narrative) are realised. The activities included in the DVD series require learners to develop and use these competencies. By analysing learners' written responses, it is possible to assess the degree to which they are developing and using these competencies. What do these competencies imply about breaking the silence between the generations?

These objectives are designed to address a specific gap in textbook and educational media research. The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany states that up to now the main focus of such research has been "primarily with the content of the media, with only occasional attempts to investigate the ways in which media are used in the classroom" (Georg Eckert Institute website, 30 November 2013). There are a range of research methods are available to investigate this neglected area of reception studies; namely interviews, questionnaires, ethnographic observations, conversation analysis, and discourse analysis. In general, theoretical orientations draw on social and cultural theories such as discourse and media theories, actor-network theory, practice theory, and theories of memory (Georg Eckert Institute Website, 30 November 2013).

More specifically, concerning the topic of investigation here, there can be little doubt that listening to testimonies by Shoah survivors involves emotional engagement at some level. Given this emotive nature of the subject matter, Brauer & Lücke (2013:23) point out that some researchers start with

the premise that emotions in history learning are cultural constructs that need to be analyzed as discursively generated structures. Others approach the subject from an observational-analytical perspective. All these tie in with the Georg Eckert Institute's proposed theoretical and methodological approaches to educational media reception studies. According to the Institute, in most general terms, work in reception studies investigates how practices of media-use generate meaning, and to which conflicts of interpretation they give rise. Based on these considerations, as well as the research interest, the proposed research questions of the study are:

1. How do groups of predominantly German learners aged 15 to 18 interact with the "Zeugen der Shoah" educational media?

2. What is the role of the concept of "epistemology of empathy" and the role of the concept of "history-as-art"?

3. Do learners develop the named competencies (analytical, judgement, media and narrative), and how can we measure this?

4. What are the implications of the development of these competencies for breaking the "veil of silence"?

Clarification of some key concepts

Doing history by using video testimonies

The genre of video testimony is relatively new, as it started in 1981 with the Fortunoff Video Archive at Yale University (Kushner, 2006:276). It can be compared to two other genres, namely biography and oral testimony. When compared to (auto)biography, Assmann (2006b:264-265) points out that video testimonies about the Shoah defy all common patterns in narrative construction. This is because:

> ... in the case of these video testimonies, memories do the very opposite [of having a coherent construct of a biography]: they shatter the biographical frame. While the genre of autobiography creates meaning and relevance through the construction of narrative, the relevance of the video testimony solely lies in the impact of the historical trauma of the Holocaust. It registers events and experiences that are cruelly meaningless and thwart any attempt at meaningful coherence. It presents an incomprehensible event that defies all patterns of understanding.

When compared to other oral sources, Assmann (2006b:266) shows that usually such oral sources serve to ascertain the truth-value of something (she is referring to court testimonies specifically and not to oral history generally).

By contrast, video testimonies about the Shoah are as much, if not more, about the person who puts forward the testimony representatively for the dead, than about the truth-value of testimony itself. In fact, it is well known that video testimonies often veer off "the truth" for various reasons and that therefore they cannot be used as substitutes for "the facts". This is an aspect that the "Zeugen der Shoah" teacher guides stresses. Having said that, it is equally true that "it is at least as dangerous to rely on [written German documents] as it is to rely on oral testimonies" when ascertaining the truth-value of the past (Bauer, quoted in Langer, 2006:300-301). "Generally speaking", Bauer argues, "testimonies are one of the most important sources for our knowledge of the Holocaust, because the Germans tried to murder the murder[ed]: they tried to prevent Jews from documenting what happened." (Bauer, quoted in Langer, 2006:301).

Even written records can be unreliable. Welzer (2007) analysed a large number of written historical documents, namely interrogation reports containing Nazi perpetrators' defending claims in court hearings when they were questioned about the crimes of mass executions of the Jewish people in the Ukraine. Some of these written documents contain statements about the accused's supposed acts of "help" and "kindness" towards some of the victims. Welzer (2007: kindle location 3413 and 3259) convincingly argues that the truth-value of such claims must be questioned, firstly because they cannot be verified (seeing that the court hearings happened decades after the event). The second reason is that such claims are completely at odds with the perpetrators' overall mass-murderous actions aligned with their unquestioning agreement about the "correctness" and support for the "necessity" of the mass shootings. Therefore any historical source, whether oral testimonies or written records, cannot be taken as the given "truth". Langer (2006:299) notes that historians are trained to work with archival materials as if written documents, with "their texts permanently inscribed on paper, were somehow endowed with an authority denied to verbal sources." However, as the examples show, one type of historical source is not necessarily more reliable than another. The "history-as-art" scholars stress that there is no such thing as objective, truthful, representational history because the past cannot be re-presented from a perspective outside of present motives. It can never be value-free, in other words.

One major characteristic of the medium of oral testimony is that they are complex, given that they not only have an unusually direct emotional impact,

but also because they are mediated by frame conditions (Hartman, 2006:250), meaning that they are displaced in time. They often touch on issues such as being exiled, involuntary displacement and even being exiled from language itself (Hartman, 2006:250). This opens up a new area of scholarly investigation in in that it bridges the gap between social science (represented here by history) and the humanities (represented here by literature). It is because of this bridging that the "history-as-art" concept needs be investigated further. Kushner (2006:282) argues that how a person puts their life experiences in a coherent way tells us as much about their life now as about their past, "for all are bound together in creating the individual's identity".

 This is confirmed by Shekel & Urschel-Sochaczewski (2012:40) who note that video testimonies play just about no role in German literature or language lessons, but that there is plenty of scope for overlaps between literary themes with which learners can identify, and those addressed in the DVDs. These are: familiar situations, friendships and love affairs, school and leisure time (Shekel & Urschel-Sochaczewski, 2012:40). By creating such bridges between the victims' and the recipients' identities, it is possible that the silence can be broken more easily, especially if learners appreciate that Holocaust oral history is not just about information and communication, but also a "reflection of the courageous effort to overcome silence" (Hartman, 2006:251). If learners see how the breaking of the silence is modelled by the oral witnesses, it is possible that they respond with exploring and expressing that which has been kept silent from their lives. If the video testimonies are regarded as a form of art, then this is not unlikely, considering Assmann's argument (2006a:216) that "art is not only a medium for the representational portrayal of memory, but also […] a social impetus for the freeing of blocked memory" (my translation).

 What makes the medium of video testimonies advantageous particularly in school settings is that they have a mediating function in terms of the question of responsibility and guilt. Bothe & Sperling (2013:210-211) describe the interaction between the oral witnesses who do the narrating and the listeners who receive this narration as a "secondary dialogue". It enables listeners to receive the witnesses' testimonies in more intensive ways, given that they are actively involved as agents in handling the medium. Although the listeners obviously cannot talk back to the witnesses, the concept of a "secondary dialogue" allows for a secondary witnessing in the sense of taking on responsibility for the memories in a way that is "not forced" (Bothe & Sperling, 2013:210-211). This is an important point, given that many

German learners find their teachers' (and other institutionalised) subtle and not so subtle pressure to feel remorseful or guilty rather offensive. They react against it with defiant behavior (more on this in a subsection later). It is important, as Assmann (2006a:202) has argued, that guilt and suffering are not seen as mutually exclusive categories. If we think about them as "either or" categories, we will find ourselves in a "cul-de-sac". She argues that we need to acknowledge that we cannot remove the suffering of the German people during and after the Second World War by referring to their memories as politically incorrect and therefore as invalid. "There is such a thing as a human right to have one's own memories that cannot be removed by censorship and taboos" (Assmann, 2006a:202, my translation).

Addressing questions of conscience through empathy

The idea of conscience is a difficult topic to discuss within the discipline of (history) education, but it is a central part of this research. "Conscience" could well border on the raising of theological questions. For example, Don Krausz, the Dutch/South African Holocaust survivor mentioned earlier, who confesses to be an atheist, nevertheless uses the idea of "God within" when teaching teenagers about the concept of conscience (personal communication, 17 September 2013). I would argue that conscience has something to do with empathy, moral understanding and emotions (Morgan, 2013:55-56). Briefly stated, empathy is about "…feeling what the other person feels, understanding the other from a distance (telepathy), or more generally to understandingly engage in other people's lives" (van Manen, 2008). At its basic level empathy is a feeling of the world in and through another person and it is bodily experience (Mensch, 2011:21). Empathy allows us to "tune into the interpretive patterns of others" (Marsal & Dobashi, 2011:91). Three related considerations emerge from this working definition of empathy.

The first consideration is that empathy, because of its attachment to emotions that are experienced by all human beings, plays a role in almost every known culture and religion (Weber, 2011:8). Moeover, because of its bodily or sensual characteristic, it has significance for aesthetic understanding (Weber, 2011:8) and is crucial for learning (Mensch, 2011:21). This way it can fall within the broad study of reenactment as applicable to the study of history (Agnew, 2007:300). Reenactment involves "reinserting the body into history", (De Groot, 2011:597), which is what these video interviews do through the

narratives of the witnesses.[4] This reinsertion occurs through an emotive or affective connection because "we do not experience our belonging to history as knowledge but first as a 'sensation [*Empfindung*], a feeling'" (Walser, quoted in Von Moltke, 2007:17). Or, another way of putting it would be to accept that it is possible to emotionally "know" something because, as some argue, the very process of writing history is a sensory, emotional or affective process, seeing that emotions govern both the choices of topics and the ways in which research is approached (Robinson, 2010). In her review essay on how archival work is essentially emotional, Robinson refers to Watson's appreciation that "bodies also think, minds also feel" (Robinson, 2010:515).

The second consideration is that empathy is not opposite to rationality. Seeing that it is:

> *not just a feeling "in" the other but also responding "to" this other, [but that] empathy requires rationality. Thus, the empathy that opens us up to the plight of the other can be felt as the call of conscience. Empathy allows the other to call us into question in our positing of the world. Having raised this call, however, empathy cannot evaluate it. It cannot tell us whether the call is legitimate. Neither can it inform us how we are to respond. Only reason can provide this service. It gives "sight" to empathy, allowing it to transform itself into practical action* (Mensch, 2011:24).

The connection between emotions and rationality was evident in a pilot project at the Freie Universität Berlin, where between 2008 and 2010 school learners participated in working with the video interview materials. Wein (2012a:36), a researcher working with the high school learners, found that empathy and analytical competence did not show up as opposites, as it has been conceptualised until recently by professionals.[5] The study showed results contrary to such expectations: the learners worked with the oral reports of the witnesses with more sensitivity, insight and accuracy (in terms of developing and communicating arguments on evidence) "because" their empathy was involved in such a direct way. Hartman (2006:254) describes how testimonies by Shoah survivors speak to a wide variety of audiences, because they "are able to touch heart as well as mind: they appeal to a human commonality that does not imply uniformity." Hence, another advantage of empathy is that it can help unite the heart and the mind through the conscience.

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4   Bruner (1996:90) notes that the stories we tell are very powerful in that they can lead people to either live together, or to maim and kill each other.

5   It should be noted that this dichotomy is losing its hold. The newly published book edited by Brauer & Lücke (2013) contains 14 essays from authors with very different methodological and theoretical orientations. However, what they have this in common is that all of them dissolve the dualism between emotions and cognition in the context of historical cultural epistemologies.

Following on from this connection between emotions and rationality is the third consideration, which is that empathy can also involve active engagement, or at least, a feeling of compulsion towards action. This was shown in an example from the "Zeugen der Shoah" pilot project in a response by a 15-year old female pupil to one of the oral witnesses who was a rescuer of Jews during the Nazi period: "Then I recalled all the anger that I had towards Hitler and his consorts. I then had the desire to help [the witness to rescue victims]" (quoted in Wein, 2012b:33, own translation). Connecting emotionality with compulsions to act can of course also go in different, less desirable directions, such as terrorism or extremist hate-crimes. However, because empathy is not just pure, raw emotion, but a combination of emotions with rationality, it should not be connected to negative action like hate-crimes. Nevertheless, this "danger" does come up in some researchers' analysis of empathy. For example, Brauer (2013:89-90) explains that empathy is not just about walking in another's shoes, but also about slipping back into one's own shoes and feeling irritated at how different it feels. This irritation, she explains, could ideally be the starting point of historical learning. It implies that empathy is not just a bridge to the world of another, but also that one learns more about "oneself" than about the other. By first perceiving and then possibly integrating the other into the self, Brauer reasons, learners increase their awareness and thus improve their judgement competence.[6] Better judgement competence arguably leads to better-reasoned action.

Some findings about Shoah education in Germany from recent studies

Whereas in previous decades history and history education could be understood as belonging to the "textual turn", as informed by textuality and theories of language, there can be little doubt that the last fifteen years or so have been characterised by an "affective turn",[7] based on models learned from performance, cultural studies and other humanities disciplines (De Groot, 2011:598). Indeed, emotions, affect and subjectivity have become central concepts in the study of the didactics of history. Just a few months ago a book was published in Germany, collecting essays on this very topic (see Brauer & Lücke, 2013). These essays explore the function and place of emotions

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6   Judgement competence does not mean judging historical actors, but rather an ability to assess whether an opinion, thesis or action is reasonable or not.
7   In addition, Assmann (2006a:115) - in the context of describing transitions in political history - refers to an "ethical turn" in the cultural praxis of remembering, where concepts such as recognition and responsibility play a special role.

in individuals' past lives that have been appropriated as history. Part of this exploration is based on the idea that emotions are not only topics or themes in the learning of history, but that they are also a "constitutive part" of the learning process itself (Brauer & Lücke, 2013:14, my emphasis). "It is always the idiosyncratic, productive handling of the dimension of emotionality as part of combining experience, knowledge and communication, that makes history learning a unique process of appropriation" (Brauer & Lücke, 2013:22, my translation).

Just over a year ago (2 September 2012) the "werkstatt.bpb.de"[8] called interested teachers and other educators to test the "Zeugen de Shoah" DVDs, and to participate in their further development. It is this call to which the proposed research is responding. The DVD series are also designed to be used in English lessons (especially for the teaching of media analysis), given that four of the interviews are in English with German subtitles. The kinds of issues that emerge from such a study can be illustrated by Lücke's (2009) essay about how learners in the mentioned pilot study worked with an English video testimony. Issues central to this study were around translation, meaning making and the relationship between subjectivity and language.

There are other German publications authored by the researchers who were in some way involved with the DVD production. These publications do several things: they theorise about the genre of video interviews in relation to the pedagogy of Holocaust-teaching; they offer critiques about the "Zeugen der Shoah" DVDs as historical sources; and they document initial responses from learners who participated in pilot projects in Berlin (as mentioned earlier). Unlike the DVDs sold for school use, the pilot projects included a video-making component during which the learners created their own short productions based on the unedited video testimonies. The DVDs for school use do not contain such a production task and neither do they contain the full two hour-long versions of the video testimonies. The school DVD video interviews are edited to half hour each. In the section below I will concentrate on how learners responded to the materials in these pilot projects as I summarise and translate the most important findings in three of the German publications (Brauer & Wein, 2010; Barricelli, Brauer & Wein, 2009; and Lücke, 2009).

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8   DBP stands for "Digitale Bildung in der Praxis" (Digital education in practice) and is an online workshop aimed at communicating contemporary history in the everyday lives of German schools as well as in non-school education against a background of current challenges such as migration and digitisation (own translation) (available at: http://werkstatt.bpb.de/uber-2/ and http://werkstatt.bpb.de/2012/09/neues-ausprobiert-material-zeugen-der-shoah/).

German children are generally sick and tired of "the way" the topic of Nazism is repeatedly hammered into them. This is an important finding because it stresses that learners are generally not sick of the subject matter per say. There is indeed a great deal of interest in the topic and learners appropriate this history as something different from other history, given that it is their own national past (Cisneros, 2008:1). So while there is interest in the subject matter, learners disprove of the way it is taught. Social-psychological analyses of how school learners respond to Holocaust education have shown that what learners disprove of is the "hidden agenda" of the teachers, when, for example, they are visiting Holocaust memorial sites (Langer, 2008:7). This "hidden agenda" concerns teachers' expectations, implicit as they are, that learners should feel a sense of remorse, guilt or sadness, or at least empathy. Often these expectations are not met, which is expressed through perceived "inappropriate" behavior at such memorial sites, such as making jokes or being noisy and thus "disrespectful" to the dead. Mostly such underlying tensions are not discussed or reflected on by either teachers or learners (Langer, 2008:7). What worries learners is that they may have politically incorrect positions towards the subject matter, and thus it becomes impossible to have open and honest discussion in class (Brockhaus, 2008:2). Teachers tend to steer learners' responses in certain directions, do not permit questions about "the positives of Nazism" and are afraid of being labeled if they allow a wider discussion (Brockhaus, 2008:5). The "veil of silence" is thus perpetuated at the institutional level.

Apart from the silence, there are also other strategies used by German learners for repressing guilt. They are sick of being constantly accused by "foreign" learners of Nazi crimes and being made to feel guilty all the time. Often their response is that the others are also guilty, for example the Turks murdered the Armenians and the Americans murdered the Native Americans (Brockhaus, 2008:7). Such responses represent one of five strategies of the repression of guilt; they are examples of what Assmann calls compensation (2006a:169-170). Compensation in this context means distraction from (or even excuse for) one's own guilt by emphasising the guilt of others, as in the above example. However, when talking about guilt repression, Welzer (2007) reminds us that this is premised on the rather optimistic assumption that the first generation perpetrators felt anything like guilt or remorse to begin with. Based on his analysis of available historical evidence, he argues that this was not the case: "indeed, the most striking and depressing common characteristic of the perpetrator statements is that an admittance of personal guilt is nowhere

to be found" (Welzer, 2007, kindle location 3818, my translation). If this source is trustworthy, then this could give us an idea about the magnitude of the generational problem.

Nevertheless, apart from compensation and silence (which has already been discussed), Assmann (2006a:170-179) identifies another three guilt-repression strategies. They are externalisation, falsification and blanking out. Externalisation involves finding a scapegoat or blaming others for the guilt. Falsification is denying the weight of the crimes of the Holocaust in German families and instead focusing on being victims of the war. Such victimhood involved three events: the bombing of German cities by Allied forces; the expulsion of Germans from east-European territories; and the mass rape of German women (Assmann, 2006a:184). Blanking out implies a kind of denial by referring to the national ideology of anti-Semitism of the time and the way this was fed into the people to such an extent that prejudices have come to live "under their skin" (Assmann, 2006a:174). They have thus become embodied into their very flesh. This type of "indoctrination" is said to impede one's ability to perceive the injustices of the system.

Given these well-developed strategies of guilt repression, it is perhaps unsurprising that attempts to develop democratic attitudes and to immunise learners against anti-Semitic and racist attitudes through the teaching of this topic cannot be demonstrated to be successful. On the contrary, the moral simplicity and unambiguity with which the topic is presented in conventional educational media prevents learners from real cognitive and emotional engagement (Barricelli et al, 2009). Cleary new methods and materials are needed, and this is a gap that the video testimonies try to address. Although there is some (German) literature on how to use video testimonies in classrooms, there is generally still a lack of experience, theorisation and recommendations when it comes to knowing how to handle the complexities of these video interviews.

The first major finding based on the pilot studies with high school learners in Berlin was that the videos are a medium that motivated the learners. The learners felt that the video interviews spoke to them directly and they felt taken in by the interviewees' visual expression of the remembering process. They engaged enthusiastically with the testimonies and debated among themselves in quite controversial ways. For example, some of their responses suggested that they view "Jewishness" as something foreign: some responses could be interpreted in a way that indicated that even during the time of the

events portrayed, somehow being Jewish must have been "abnormal" and that this perception has taken root in some learners (i.e. it has been internalised as a "truth"). The point is that because the medium was motivating, learners got engaged and expressed deeper-seated perceptions. In addition, learners showed an ability to concentrate for long periods of time (two hours of watching the unedited videos), even though this contradicts their digitally determined viewing habits. Such habits are restricted to much shorter bits and pieces of information of YouTube videos or texts on social networking sites. Even though they complained about the demanding written assignments, the researchers were astounded by the concentration that the learners showed when completing such tasks. Overall, learners found the narrated life experiences in the video testimonies more interesting, credible and memorable than textbook representations of the same subject matter.

The second major finding was that learners showed a longing for a "positive" turn of events, which could stem from their familiarity with Hollywood movies that invariably have happy endings. But it could also (or additionally) be interpreted as a desire for an acquittal of guilt or responsibility for the Holocaust, which is regarded as part of their own history. The fact that many learners commented on the "vastness" of the number of survivors (the VHA contains some 52 000 interviews) also points to this wish for "disburdening" of this past. Another point made by Lücke (2009:5), through his analysis of learners' work with an English video interview, is that language is a factor that can be interpreted as a tool that is used in the "desire for disburdening" thesis proposed by Lücke. He found that the German youth deemed an English interview more "authentic" than the German ones. He surmised that the learners' higher valuation of the English language acted as a barrier protecting them from having to transfer the horrors of the Shoah into their mother tongue, which then would make this past a much more personal and emotional part of their identities. This, ironically, Lücke (2009:5) suggests, would not make the DVDs an ideal source for approaching the Shoah in an authentic and subjective manner. Nevertheless, his research shows the importance of the connection between language and identity, which I think are important topics to explore further, especially in the context of the "affective turn" (De Groot, 2011:598) in history education.

The third major finding could be loosely grouped as those pertaining to the "history as art" perspective. Although learners showed very different responses to the "same" interviews, on the whole, they understood what it means to

treat the video interviews as "memory sources" ("Erinnerungsquellen"). They pointed to factual inconsistencies or contradictions to those of "official" (or scientific) history, and these have provided useful topics of discussion in class. However, analysing video sources that deal with such traumatic experiences requires excellent facilitation and guidance by expert teachers. After first viewing, learners often expressed irritation with the seeming "detachment" of the survivors – they should show more emotion, be more sad or more "affected". But when viewing the testimonies a second or third time, learners were able to note linguistic details and those that go beyond language and that talk to the sadness and consternation of the survivors, which they missed the first time. Overall, learners learn quickly how to notice and interpret non-linguistic details and why it is necessary to be careful with hasty interpretations. They understand the limitations of the medium and that those who have not personally experienced the horrors can never be in a position to fully understand the scope and consequences of the events (Barricelli et al, 2009:8).

The authors concluded that working with the video media could be an important experience for learners because it opens up new perspectives for engaging with history. This medium has the definite potential to enrich the learning process about Nazism and Holocaust, both in terms of content and methods. However, this is conditional upon careful preparation and guidance (a good teacher is irreplaceable). This type of work can also be used as enrichment for the preparation of learners who will visit Holocaust memorial sites.

Conclusion

I would like to return to the beginning of the article where I talked about my understanding of the problem of the "veil of silence". It seems important to assess what has gone wrong with today's generation. Bittner (2011:182) outlines it as follows: The problem in modern western democracies is that there is an advanced dissolving of all values and norms and this has become a trademark for a young, enlightened generation. The request for forgiveness seems to have been settled. Self-righteousness is booming. The modern person decides what seems attractive to him- or herself. Anything absolute seems to him or her like "a monster" that wants to force him or her in ways that compromises that person's freedom. As long as s/he does not recognise this

"monster" in him- or herself,[9] s/he is in danger of being misused, like his/her forefathers, as a hater of Jews (or another group of people), a mass murderer or a silent bystander. It has to do with establishing the concept of "This I don't do" (the absolute), as is central to Don Krausz's presentation to high school youth as part of his "moral regeneration" programme.

Once an individual makes self-(re)discoveries, for example what it is that "I don't do", it could be carried to the next level, which is the family, and then the community, cities, and finally nations as a whole. This process of discovery from individual to the collective level cannot happen either by continuing to live under the veil of silence, or by being constantly "Bible-bashed", so to speak, by hypocritical moralising voices from people in authority who do not live by the very principles they preach. People in authority could also be discarded by youths because of their possible uncertainty of their own moral standing or state of conscience in terms of processing the guilt of their forefathers. Given the well-established strategies of guilt-repression as discussed by Assmann, (2006a:1169-182), children cannot be expected to develop a sense of empathy, if their noses are constantly being rubbed in the guilt of their forefathers, as is the case with much of Apartheid education for white youths in South Africa (Hues, 2012:213). However, I surmise that empathy can be learnt through an inner brokenness. Or, to use a more apt but untranslatable German word, without a degree of personal "Erschütterung" (a type of inner trembling through shock) the monster of relativity will be difficult to recognise and question. At the same time, the veil of silence is not broken by "seeming" (fake for the sake of political correctness) discussions, where it is obvious that heart and mind are not in sync. For example, Wertsch (2000: 39) shows, through interviews with ethnic Estonians regarding their perceptions of official and unofficial history, that there is a pattern of "knowing but not believing" in the case of the official history, and "believing but not knowing" in the case of unofficial history. Could the DVD series, or resulting research for which the DVDs could possibly serve as a springboard, disrupt this pattern?

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9   Based on the context of the whole essay, I think what Bittner means here is that as long as people don't realise that the "monster of absolutes" is not a monster, or rather that is a "monster of relatives", they will not have the moral strength to withstand the small steps that lead to the type of degeneration we have witnessed in the context of the Shoah.

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Youth between identity and the market: Historical narratives among South African university students in a History "bridging" lecture room

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Abstract

The way youth speak about the past can offer important clues to how they conceptualise and emotionally negotiate the present, specifically their sense of place in a changing world and the security of their future within it. This article considers the case of youth admitted to a university through a 'bridging' programme to reflect on dilemmas of identity and class mobility facing South African youth. Based on participant-observation, working with a world history curriculum designed for educationally disadvantaged students, the researcher illustrates how widely-circulating public discourses about race and history have infused the moral and generational pressures black students report to be a constant source of tension in their lives. Their social positioning on the cusp of upward social mobility in a nation characterised by persistent, racialised economic inequalities is experienced both as a privilege and a burden. Tensions between, on the one hand, a proclaimed loyalty to communitarian interests and identities and, on the other, a desire to showcase full participation in new cultures of consumer materialism are resolved through dichotomous ways of speaking about the past. In these narratives, "History" is the term utilised for speaking of a past of traumatic events, black victimisation and social legacies which must be overcome; "tradition" is a word invoked to empower a positive sense of continuity and to fix a seemingly more secure and generous location in the present. Both languages of the past offer narrative resources for students who are negotiating a rapidly changing national and global context.

Keywords: Historical consciousness; Youth identity; Collective memory; Post-Apartheid Generation; Narratives of the Past.

Introduction

Tension between the moral claims of cultural authenticity and liberal universalism is frequently represented in temporal language as a struggle between "tradition" and "modernity", or the "old" and the "new". Yet such struggles have themselves come about through historical processes which, ideologically and structurally, are constitutive of modernity and the uneven sources of power from which authority may be drawn.[1] In this article, I argue that young black South African students are employing distinctive historical grammars to express tensions that flow from their generational and social positioning as frontline subjects of historical redress in a "new" South Africa. If we regard students not merely as learners of history, but also as bearers of a lived sense of history, an emotional politics of youth becomes visible. Some scholars have conceived of "a larger "Gramscian" task" facing historians: the need "to link the politics of history-writing to the sense of history active within contemporary cultural and political movements".[2] This task must start with the concerns of youth, both in their position as students at all educational levels and as a generation with aspirations shaped by the world they inherit.

Young university students in my history lecture room appear to find themselves in an anomalous relationship to the past. Positioned between the new national ideology of unlimited opportunity and the hard social facts which constrain achievement, the burden they bear becomes evident in the ways they speak about the past. I argue that what emerges from engaging South African university students in discussions of global and local history dramatises the ways narratives of the past inform the moral, economic and political strategies that youth have available to them as they negotiate a world of profound social inequalities.

Pedagogical context: A post-apartheid "bridging" classroom at UKZN

My reflections are grounded in observations during two years of teaching a world history curriculum in the 'bridging' programme at a South African university, the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). Micol Seigel has argued that world history is primarily a pedagogical pursuit, with the aim of

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1 These observations have been fundamental to critiques of nationalist ideology for example by E Gelner, *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1983); T Nairn, "The modern Janus", *The New Left Review*, 94, November-December 1975.

2 R Johnson *et al* (eds), *Making histories – studies in history-writing and politics* (London, Hutchinson, 1982), p. 10.

offering young people the tools to understand large scale change and provide a historical context in which to appraise it:

> *Students' receptions of world history are essential measures of the field's success, for teaching is world history's primary reason for being. The classroom is the site of its conceptualization and elaboration… "World history, as it exists today is, above all, a pedagogical field." The classroom is its proving ground.*[3]

Yet, students' responses to world history also offer a window to the intellectual and moral sense they make of their own generational and social location within national change. In the context of a university programme in which students have been selected as part of an official policy to redress an unjust national past, student responses are shaped by an awareness that they are the focus of broader concerns.

The students in my lecture room have grown up in an era known as "post-apartheid", a still-ubiquitous phrase that designates the present not only in the terms of the past but, more significantly, a past that has yet to be overcome. "The past lingers and its arm is long," observed Charles Villa-Vicencio, the then director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. [4] He was speaking specifically of atrocities committed by the apartheid state and the problem of memory suffered by its survivors. Political repression— with 60,000 political detainees imprisoned between 1960 and 1994, 130 judicial hangings, and widespread torture, disappearances, assassinations, and pre-election violence – continues to traumatise survivors and the families of apartheid's casualties. Yet the long arm of this past reaches beyond acute individual memory. Its legacy is entrenched in social and spatial divisions and profound economic inequalities patterned by race and class and in the local epidemiology of the HIV/Aids pandemic.[5] For the "born-free" generation – those born in the late 1980s who are too young to remember life under apartheid – these new realities generate their own historical imaginary and problematic of memory. [6] In this sense, of course, legacy does not merely refer to the material conditions and social relations of the present which emerge from the regional past. It resides also in the way this past is conceptualised and

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3   M Siegal, "World History's narrative problem", *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 84(3), 2004, p. 436. His quotation is of B Weinstein in 'História sem causa? A nova história cultural, a grande narrativa e o dilema pós-colonial?' *História* (Sao Paulo), 22(2), 2003, p. 194.
4   C Villa-Vicencio, *Sunday Times*, 23 April 2006.
5   For an authoritative account of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in this region, see the definitive SS Abdool Karim and Q Abdool Karim, eds., *HIV/AIDS in South Africa* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005).
6   P Gobodo-Madikizela, "Remembering the past: Nostalgia, Traumatic memory and the legacy of apartheid", *Peace and Conflict: The Journal of Peace Psychology*, 18(3), 2012, pp. 252-267.

in the kind of historical agency that is made imaginable in public discourse.

Since 1994, many civic organisations, churches and governmental bodies have worked towards nation-building and development through policies designed to promote reconciliation and to address social divisions. The continued popularity of the ANC – once a liberation movement, now a ruling party – rests in part on what it delivers in terms of reform and economic transformation, and on the visible success of its national redress policies. South Africa was widely celebrated for its relatively peaceful transformation and long-term vision that was evident in the highly public hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu.[7] Subsequent measures to redress past injustices have been implemented in various ways, including in the restructuring of tertiary education.[8] Bridging programmes were a development introduced at a number of universities, including the newly constituted UKZN.[9]

In the last two decades, the integration of urban schools combined with a rapidly growing black middle class, has ensured that the racial demographics of university student bodies have become more equitable. For its affirmative action aims, racial designations based on apartheid-era categories are tabulated by the education department at the national level.[10] The vision of the bridging programme, however, has also addressed itself to socio-economic inequalities. Yet, because disadvantaged and rural youth remain isolated from educational resources, alternative access routes to tertiary education have been created for learners who show academic promise and whose substandard matriculation scores are attributable to impoverished schooling rather than organic ability.

A pre-first year bridging curriculum for the Humanities and Social Science on two campuses at UKZN was designed to increase these students' chances of success in their studies. Every year, between 125-150 students are admitted as its beneficiaries. In operation since 2001, the programme has offered module-based and credited support for improvement in written English and

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7   C de la Rey and I Owens, "Perceptions of psychosocial healing and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa", *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 4(5), 1998, pp. 257-270; F Du Bois and A Du Bois-Pedain, eds., *Justice and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008).

8   T Barnes, "Changing discourses and meanings of redress in southern African higher education, 1994-2001", *Centre for Civil Society Research Report*, 38, 2005.

9   M Makgoba, "Opening wide the doors of learning: The University of KwaZulu-Natal's new access policy recognises that value and potential can be found in many nonconventional places", *Mercury*, 6 December 2004; UKZN, *Policy on Undergraduate Access and Admissions to the University of KwaZulu-Natal*, 2004.

10 T Waetjen, "Measures of redress: Defining disadvantage in a University 'Access' Programme", *South African Review of Sociology*, 37(2), 2006.

numeracy, and through introducing computer literacy, as well as research and study skills. In addition, a two semester world history module entitled "Africa in the World" functions as a content course through which students are challenged with academic demands typical of those they will face in their subsequent years of study. The module "Africa in the World" has introduced key, interdisciplinary concepts and debates about knowledge and its production through the medium of an Afro-centric world historical survey.[11] For two years I coordinated the world history module, with a yearly enrolment of about 115 students divided into six smaller lecture groups. During this period, and after when I returned to mainstream teaching, I was struck by the rich expressions of concern about history and identity that students brought with them into the classroom. Both the course content and the structure of the programme invited high levels of participation and discussion. It was from these daily interactions, as well as content in written assigments, that I drew the interpretations argued here.

The analysis offered is based on ethnographic observation during the course of my teaching. While further and more systematic classroom-based research is warranted, a methodology of participant-observation was sufficient to suggest trends in the language and discourses that students draw upon to speak about the past. In the following sections, I give descriptive content to some of the observations shaping my analysis and offer an interpretation of the current social pressures and aspirations that inform my students' search for authoritive ways of speaking about the past.

Targets of redress and subjects of history: ways of speaking about the past

A "typical" student in my bridging classroom was Bongiwe Madlala[12] who sat with her friends towards the front of the class. First in her extended family to attend a university, she – like most of her peers – struggled to pass her classes, to familiarise herself with new, academic discourses, to master the heavy work load and the demands of writing clearly in English (not her mother tongue). She appeared at ease in the university environment, though in consultation she admitted to feelings of inadequacy and even fear. From a peri-rural upbringing, a sense of fashion was clearly of immense concern to Bongiwe, as were other symbols of upward mobility. She sported the latest urban dress

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11 J Parle and T Waetjen, "Teaching African History in South Africa: Post-colonial realities between evolution and religion", *Afrika Spectrum*, 40(3), 2005.
12 A pseudonym. I present an individual portrait to assist in making these general observations more personal.

and hair styles. Her cell phone was positioned to be conspicuous, even when not in use. She and her friends reported to enjoy rap artists like 50 Cent and Jay-Z, as well as local Kwaito music, and to be fans of reality TV shows such as Survivor and Idols. Bongiwe simultaneously vocally and proudly identified herself as a "Zulu traditionalist", which in no way affected either her penchant for global cosmopolitan fashion nor her identity as an evangelical Christian (a religious orientation that is common in her peer group). She revealed herself, in autobiographical writings, to be in possession of the special gift of hearing her ancestors speak through her dreams and has regularly interceded for family members and friends. This gift has awarded her a valued reputation amongst members of her home community. She related that her ancestors are an important means of connecting with her lineage and sense of who she is, a vital aspect of her inherited past that informs her present.

Bongiwe's claims about herself, both verbal and visual, highlight the crucial, and frequently oppositional, pulls of identity and the market between which she must continually negotiate. On the one hand is the reality of a globalised economy, new commodities, and the prominent public discourses of development and nation-building which promise new opportunities for black youth denied to previous generations. Students like Bongiwe have expressed their desire to participate in this reality not only in their pattern of consumption (and enjoyment of specific fashion, music, technology) but in their ambitions for jobs that will lift themselves and their families out of poverty and make them players in the formal economy. On the other hand, there is the pull of local, cultural identity and students are vocally adamant in their pledges of loyalty to these roots, and genuinely pained by the cynical rejection they hear in descriptions of their generation as a "lost nation": they were vocal and clear about situating themselves in the pride in being black, being African, being Zulu. Bongiwe and her peers face the task of navigating the pressures both to be successful in the formal, globalising economy and to be rooted in communitarian identity.

The nature of these pressures are historically located and do not indicate an essential polarity. Moreover, the task of bringing together emergent tensions appears to be a common experience among first generation university students in most regions of the world. Certainly there is certainly nothing contextually specific or African about being situated on the cusp of class mobility, or about the pulls between different normative approaches to knowledge and the social world. What complicates this picture, and makes it distinctive to this context,

are the formidable realities of inequality and social division.

I argue that the way these youth speak about the past reveals what it means to be in possession of a formal history that exists only to be overcome, redressed, reconciled and rewritten. The way they express their sense of the past indicates that history has failed them, both as a subject of study and as a force circumscribing the lives of most disadvantaged people in South Africa. There are alternative narratives of the past that are kinder and more personal, and that offer more. Yet, what emerges is a dichotomy that characterises a larger ideological division in public life: the impasse between cultural and civic authority that increasingly manifests as an explanation for continuing – and often violent – divisions of gender, ethnicity and nationality.

"The problem of our history"

In classroom discussions, two principal narratives emerge about the past. One narrative is related to "history", both in its designation as a discipline and in reference to a South African, national past; the other narrative concerns cultural tradition and is related primarily to a more particular sense of local identity. Each of these narratives seems to do a kind of moral labour in relation to the dilemmas of social position experienced by the youth.

The students used the phrase "The problem of our history" as a coy way of referring to apartheid and its legacy. Persistent social problems in contemporary South Africa, such as poverty or enduring spatial, race-based segregation for example, may be invoked as "The problem of our history". The students referred to their own experiences of material disadvantage, or those of others, in this way. For example, a student typically might say something like, "I want to be a social worker because I want to be a solution to the problem of our history".

"Our history", in a temporal sleight of hand, flags all that is so obviously *still* wrong with the present. It is also a diagnosis or explanation; the spatial scope of the claim is national. "Our history" indicates that the speaker is asserting her national belonging, her claim to a broad South African identity. In some contexts, the phrase seems to be a diplomatic means of inviting me (a North American foreigner and therefore excluded from the "our" in "our history") to recognise injustices about which students do not wish to be more explicit because they know them to be obvious.

The phrase "The problem of our history" also expresses a concept of legacy, and is poignant acknowledgement by these young people that the challenges they face, and are trying to overcome, are of a making that precedes their birth. History, in this way of speaking, represents an abstract, impersonal and cruel agent that continues to plague the community. It is not a body of knowledge or a series of events to be analytically probed or theorised. It is rather a force that has created specific social and personal troubles. In this presentation, history has no specific time frame: it is the omnipresent ether of lived, contemporary problems.

History, then, is most often a pessimistic reference. This may offer some insight into reasons why numbers of school learners studying history for matric flounder. My students quite clearly do not wish to be pessimistic about their circumstances, national or personal. With terrors of HIV/Aids, as well as socio-economic pressures which dramatically impact upon their young lives, the students collectively present a front of optimism. At times, this appears to mirror the denialism that until 2008 characterized the ANC national leadership's responses to AIDS and other crises.[13] National public discourses have offered an idealistic sense of the opportunity and the fortunes inherent in belonging to a "new South Africa". Television advertising proclaiming a "proudly South African" identity, "alive with opportunity" have promoted a sense of continued national optimism.

Students take this very seriously. The new South Africa, they have insisted, is indeed a "Rainbow Nation". Bongiwe and her peers attached much value to visual manifestations of racial harmony, which they attributed to their own generation's capacity for rationality and good will. So, for example, when given the assignment of bringing to class and discussing a media image they think represents what is going well in South Africa, a large number of students brought images of black and white children playing together. Yet, they do not speak of such developments as the fruits of "history." The collective struggle which ended apartheid is rather situated as the celebrated reason for leaving the past to itself – that is, not a event within history but a leap away from history. Images of multiracial harmony, according to my students, confirm that South Africa has "moved on", left "history" behind. Why dwell on what happened before? Like pop-psychologists of national consciousness, they assert that "you shouldn't live in the past". When I have pressed individual students to tell me why they don't like to think about South African history,

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13   N Nattrass, *Mortal combat: AIDS denialism and the struggle for anti-retrovirals* (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007).

they have said, as if it is a confession, that it makes them sad; sad, in a personal way because they think about what their parents and grandparents suffered. The connection between the past and its continued legacy of inequality is clear to them, but history is something best left behind, something to "forget and forgive" – a cliché that rolls off tongues with great conviction. Indeed, with a few exceptions, students seem to be bemused by my insistence on the importance of history, as if such interest is morbid or exotic. They see history not as a continuous human story which they are part of, as agents, but as a tired discourse of black victimhood, inviting emotions of anger, sadness or even shame.

If history is one narrative that expresses a particular relationship between time and community, tradition is another. The phrase "our history" refers to an illegitimate past, a past which only serves to explain the social problems of the present. In contrast, "tradition" is a word used to describe a legitimate narrative of the past, and this is claimed in the language of "culture". Cultural tradition makes sense of the past in a positive way, a way that authorises knowledge about the past not on the basis of "what" is known (through books, lectures, empirical data, etc.) but on the basis of "who" one may claim to be (African, Zulu, Christian). Culture or ethnic claims offer a way through which students may consider their personal links to the past also in a way that provides confidence about the moral agency such links require. Unlike the disempowering legacy of "The problem of our history", cultural tradition is a discourse of empowerment. The word "tradition" delineates both a community and personal identity and invokes a past based not on chronology and change but on continuity and moral authority.

In the classroom, a student might proclaim herself to be strict followers of tradition, or will speak of "us" or "we" or "our" in ways that refer alternatively (and sometimes interchangeably) to Zulu, African, black, religious, or more local cultural imperatives. As if inviting me into some confidence, kindly conveying to an outsider who knows no better, they might explain reasons for a particular perspective or view as consistent with "our culture". This is meant to preclude debate. It is viewed as invoking a reality that has been privatised and, therefore, outside of public dispute. It is a source of authority regarded as under the protection of an ethos of multicultural tolerance and respect. In the face of a controversial classroom discussion topic which brings into potential conflict the public discourses of legal rights and the privatised discourses of culture, tradition may emerge to defend an exception to the

more widely accepted assertion. For example, while democracy is defended as an absolute good, the idea of equal rights for same-sex couples is often held by the students as being antithetical both to "our culture", i.e. to African and Christian doctrines.

"Tradition", in my students' usage, is put forth both as a narrative of the past, drawing on the authority of history, and as loyalty to particular identity or family context. Perhaps, because culture describes a domain that has been largely atomised and privatised, in part through legal-political and economic processes attendant with South Africa's particular racialised capitalist development path, it is not surprising that it has such utility as a conveyer of personal certainty. Its legitimacy is also derived from the claim, made by many students, that apartheid was a system that set out to rob Africans of culture and traditions. For these multiple reasons, tradition accommodates a positive and intimate claim on the past. In a manner I found disturbing, my students often appeared determined to confirm what Mahmood Mamdani indicts as a racist or colonialist assumption in literature about Africa – the idea that Europeans have history while Africans have culture – which his important book *Citizen and Subject* sets out problematise as an ideological effect of colonial legislation.[14]

The contrast between an affirmation of one discourse of the past and a deep mistrust of the other is not a unique feature of my classroom. Indeed, this tension and the way it provides a strategy for populist power in South Africa is becoming increasingly apparent. I wish to focus on two concerns within a more limited framework. My first concern is for students, who in their personhood is invested the task of redressing the injustices of history but whose resources for success (specifically their disadvantaged educational preparation) are hampered because of that history. The dichotomous way of relating to the past increases the individual burden they bear: on their educational achievements are placed the hopes of community and family for a better economic future. In the ideological climate that purports endless new opportunities and a past that is no longer deemed relevant except as something to "overcome". Success and failure appear to rest on the individual alone. In this sense, as Marx might allow, the past is weighing horribly and unfairly on the brains of the young, and the challenge of coping with these expectations is immense.

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14   M Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary African and the legacy of late colonialism* (London, James Currey, 1996).

A second concern is with the broader social climate in which claims about the past, linked to moral authority, are wielded by powerbrokers in a climate of intense social deprivation and inequality. The continual public re-making of dichotomous temporal categories of "traditional" and "modern", which unevenly authorise "culture" and "citizenship" – often in racial terms – serve to mobilise political thinking around persistent social divisions and inequalities.[15]

Coping at the "ground zero" of redress

The idea of living in a new era – partitioned from an oppressive history – is pertinent to the students' self-understanding as beneficiaries of a redress programme. As targets of redress, they aim to find a secure place in the new national economy and see themselves as the embodiment of what a new, reconciled national reality has to offer. Infusing their ideas about their own momentum are attendant discourses of development and modernity. The students used the word "modern" to describe their orientations and tastes as consumers, as well as their quest for education. They believed themselves to be at the crest of a wave, a generation for whom once-locked doors of opportunity are now open. If history is a record of what is best left behind, the present is a free market. Their ambitions reflect this: many arrive with the kinds of aspirations (TV presenter, entrepreneur, fashion designer, etc.) in which we see the influence of an Idols Reality TV competition model of opportunity and success; others arrive as firm believers that the new determinant to personal biography is a university degree. On their personal performance and prospects rests the weight of redress – for they are the agents of reparation and reversal, their success is meant to help right the wrongs of "our history" at that national level.

This burden was visible to me in my lecture room. Although attendance is required, students tend to flounder in doing even basic tasks on time. A few students disappear for weeks. Up until very recently, far too many had young deaths in their family, often more than one in a short time span. This has been the silent reality of HIV/Aids. Quite a few have become ill themselves. Some absences, however, are attributable to less drastic causes – social life and the usual adjustments to first-time independence from home. As students in many parts of the world do, some are coping with self-esteem issues, complex

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15 O Bass, K Erwin, A Kinners and G Maré, "The possibilities of researching non-racialism: Reflections on racialism in South Africa", *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 39(1), 2012, p. 34.

family economic situation, acute trauma and depression. Many of these kinds of conditions are explained by students within paradigms that fall outside of secular or science-based discourses. A few students each semester tell me they have returned home to receive traditional medicines which will aid them in overcoming their personal or academic challenges. Success and failure are frequently understood through a paradigm in which witchcraft, instigated by another's jealousy and ill intent, must be addressed.

One student's plight stands out as particularly revealing but was not unusual: this student faced several challenges with a sight-related disability, and learning and language difficulties. His hope was to become a social worker, but he continually failed in even basic assignments within the bridging programme. At one point, he disappeared for two weeks and then returned full of confidence: he had been away at home to see a practitioner of traditional medicine, participating in a ritual, that required the presence of his entire family, to eradicate the bewitchment that had been placed on him by someone who was jealous and who wished for his failure. This healing and cleansing, he said, would now enable him to move unencumbered by evil intent so that he could work more effectively towards academic success. Despite his hopes and the protective medicine he wore on his body, he failed his exams and subsequently faced exclusion from UKZN.

This instance revealed how, for young people, new opportunities may be accompanied by new anxieties. A young person enrolled in university is certainly likely to be a target of widespread envy. Moreover, when admission to university is through the mechanism of affirmative admissions, this can frequently be a source of self-consciousness for bridging students, who feel stigmatised as if they have been labeled "remedial", and who experience this stigmatised status as racialised. Given these complicating and overdetermined layers, it is unsurprising that students may feel that their successes are not universally celebrated, and that their failure might be best explained by the ill will of others, requiring spiritual intervention for success.

What this and other challenges demonstrate is the high stakes of academic success to many young people in South Africa, particularly those from disadvantaged educational backgrounds. The youth in my bridging classroom are, in important ways, at the vortex of the watchword campaign of transformation, vanguards of a collective hope in the future and an enduring liberal faith in education as the principle path to social upliftment. Yet, with such high stakes, students awarded alternative access via bridging

programmes shoulder a burden of risks and losses. They face accumulated debt, the possibility of failing to obtain a degree, and national trends of high unemployment. But they are also compelled to negotiate the censure of local community. Many of my students inform me that their generation is viewed by their seniors as displaying a distressing sense of individualism and personal entitlement. As one student put it: "We the youth are being defined as a lost nation, caught up in white men's desires".

Pressure to achieve does not (merely) emerge from individual ambition – on these students rest the hopes of family and community. Personal circumstances are affected by social location and the current historical moment. This is why, though the student described above represented his healing and cleansing as "traditional" (and thus legitimating it as rooted in a cultural past—as well as racialising it as an essentially "African thing"), it highlights the flexible, contemporary and responsive nature of local culture and cultural identity. It is in itself a central aspect of the landscape of modernity in South Africa, part of a changing global context. This example also shows how my students, in negotiating the uncertain opportunity for upward social mobility, make use of the various powers available to them in social worlds which are misleadingly represented as dichotomous and as belonging to distinctive cultural realities and time-frames.

The distinction that my students draw, both in their conception of the past and in the way they move between social spheres, represents a discourse and conception of time that is widely accepted. What emerges in the classroom is a reflection of broader social conflicts and concerns. As the next section demonstrates, struggles over authoritative ways of speaking about the past shape other social struggles in South Africa.

Tradition and modernity in the marketplace of History

What is at stake can be appreciated through just one example. In July 2007, a twenty five year old woman named Zandile Mpanza was assaulted in the T-section of Umlazi, a township in Durban. She was stripped of her clothing and beaten, and her home was burned to the ground. The explanation offered by her attackers was that she was wearing trousers. She had violated a local code—a code decreed by some of the men living in the worker hostels – that forbids women in the area to wear pants because they are not culturally traditional.

On the one hand, this can and should be understood as a straight-forward case of criminal violence and, in particular, an instance evidencing South Africa's notably high rates of violence against women. On the other hand, it is a case that reveals the high stakes relating to unresolved questions about the principles upon which South African democracy rests and, more specifically, the nature of the authority legitimating these principles. The assault on Mpanza in Umlazi represents one instance, among many others, in which liberal universalism (premised on a discourse of individual rights) is pitted against assertions of cultural identity and community (promoted as the necessity of pluralism and tolerance within a multicultural society). Relations of gender and the status of women were a visible and violent site of this conflict. One citizen, who was against the wearing of pants by Zulu-speaking women, argued that:[16]

> [t]he protection of human rights should not supercede our right to protect our culture, identity and our image as Africans in line with our noble ideal of African renaissance. What happened in T-section is but a prelude of more challenges to come which will seek to define our democracy… The question still remains to the woman: was the wearing of pants worth struggling for to the extent of paying such a heavy price?... Those who seek to engage in the struggle to wear pants must understand the consequences of embarking on a struggle… .

The stand off between assertions of cultural tradition and assertions of democratic rights is not easily resolvable. But resolution is further hampered by a misleading premise that informs both sides, a definition of modernity that embraces a linear and socially developmentalist conception of historical time. Traditionalists claim moral authority from the communal past; supporters of rights appeal to the modernist civic values of equality and rights among individuals. While feminist theorists, historians and political philosophers have demonstrated the ideological power that this dichotomy offers various brokers of patriarchal and populist mobilisations, it is the conception of history that operates at the level of common sense in South Africa to explain various social divisions and tensions. Yet, struggles between the grammars of "tradition" and "modernity" most certainly do not belong exclusively to post-colonial Africa. The processes by which culture is privatised and, simultaneously, divorced from the domain of the secular state and public interest, may be viewed as constitutive of the wider history of modernity and of liberal society. The social changes brought about by the transformations of capitalism, the formation of classes, of sovereignty in the form of nation-states, industrialism, science and technology – and the conflicts and violence

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16   SM Dlangamanla, Letter to the *Mercury*, 28 August 2007.

these have wrought – invite comparisons between local and remote examples. Contestations between knowledge and social organisation claimed either as "traditional" and or as "modern" are ubiquitous, whether they operate around the family, education, knowledge, law, labour power, land title or moral behaviour. The progressivist and linear frameworks of social time that uphold these contestations themselves have histories. Local encounters with imperial conquest, the processes of class formation and capitalist development, technological changes, revolution, and other processes of change, provide ample subject matter to challenge the modernisation myths that give "tradition" its moral authenticity.

The impulse might be conceptualised as a historicised cosmopolitanism, in Kwame Anthony Appiah's conception of this term.[17] It can highlight diversity of global experience without reifiying the categories of "peoplehood" that appear so easily to become the faultlines at which hard-won unities fracture. It must also deracialised world history. Africa, in world historical narratives, still frequently compounds the idea that prior to conquest, Africans had cultural rather than historical agency. The perception that "culture" can explain the behaviour specifically and exclusively of African people is a powerful and enduring expression of racial ideology, and is utilised currently and unashamedly by people of all colours in South Africa.[18]

Young people are living in the apartheid ideology's shadowy legacy. The current government is re-inscribing ethnicised cultural boundaries along the same gridlines of indirect rule and Bantustan-polities that were created by colonial and apartheid states. The ANC has recently initiated a tribal courts bill, which would place additional juridical power in the hands of apartheid created "Traditional Authorities" and would make it an offense for "subjects" under their jurisdiction to seek alternative legal counsel from civil courts.[19] Instead of being denounced as a politics of divide and rule, a familiar strategy of managing socio-economic divisions through the mechanism of identity, it is legitimised as Afrocentric and revalorised as a feature of "Indigenous Knowledge Systems". What makes this racial politics possible is a reified sense of African history as a cultural domain – privatised and exceptional.

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17 KA Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers* (London and New York, Norton, 2006).
18 For example, ANC Party president, Jacob Zuma, drew heavily on cultural explanations to explain his sexual behaviour during a trial in 2006 when he had been charged of rape. He was subsequently acquitted of this charge.
19 L Ntsebeza, *Democracy compromised* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2006).

While "tradition" and "culture" are re-inscribed in the poor, rural areas, the search for new and positive pasts is a national project in South Africa, and the histories promoted at an official level reflect an optimism for multiple kinds of ideological cohesion: national, continental, universal. The ANC government has ensured curriculum changes in history education. The apartheid lens of separate development and civilisational hierarchy has been replaced by a triumphalist agenda, with a teleological unfolding of an ANC-led democratic transformation. The creation of monuments, museum exhibitions and heritage sites create public recognition of anti-apartheid struggle and of histories that had been repressed and distorted by official history under National Party rule. Attempts to make visible and affirm the national contributions of apartheid-defined groups (Coloured, African, Indian) have been part of this effort.

The early Mbeki period was also characterised by pan-Africanist optimism, heralded as an African Renaissance, which saw the establishment of the African Union and the New Economic Programme for African Development (NEPAD). Interest in the library of Timbuktu and in early Chinese maps of Africa that predate European cartography helped to defer Eurocentric understandings of global knowledge production. In an even broader humanist framework, which of course has not precluded continental and nationalist celebrations, has been the recognition of critical World Heritage Sites within South African boundaries. These have included the Ukhahlamba Drakensberg mountains in which important rock art is preserved and the Sterkfontein Caves, the Cradle of Humankind, from which key fossils of early australopithecine ancestors have been uncovered. South Africa has a richer heritage repertoire than most from which to construct historical narratives to inspire, unify and build. Such narratives are powerful, and they offer a multi-centred approach to history – national, continental and global – which is a useful approach for an Africentric approach to world history. But these narratives are also visibly deployed as party- or market-driven, the latter in the context of South Africa's tourist industry. They do not invite a critical scrutiny of the apartheid past, or the legacy of rampant social inequalities that young people must negotiate. Such narratives do not address the present circumstances that they experience as "The problem of our history" and they serve to reaffirm, not challenge, a notion of the past constructed on an ahistorical, privatised cultural tradition.

Ideas about redress and reconciliation are of course positive but they are often accompanied by the disconcerting proclamation (about which there seems to general agreement in my class) that "people need to just forgive and

forget". Such platitudes confirm a view of history as a highly specific injury. The mistrust of historical knowledge and the avoidance – the apparent urge rather to "put it behind us" – reveals, I am convinced, a kind of trauma and untouchable grief. In contrast to a past defined in the terms of history, it seems that culture is a past that is both knowable and generous. The students draw on it when they want to invoke a firm moral anchor. As articulated by my students, it is a discourse of authenticity and personal distinction and for this reason is a resource in the uncertainty of new ideas encountered in the university context.

Conclusion

The ways youth express historical consciousness reveal a generational optimism but also an era-specific burden. I believe this to be indicative of the failures of reconciliation and redress (on the one hand) and cultural tradition (on the other) as historical narratives through which young South Africans navigate present day social inequalities and divisions. These particular conceptions of historical time and of the social world reflect a partitioning of historical realities that should be related to each other, much more directly and critically. Pressures for reconciliation and celebrations of redress have affirmed the past as primarily a moral narrative in which historical agency is conflated with identity. Moreover, it reifies and affirms culture as a privatised reading of the past, beyond critique or debate and outside historical time.

Public invocations of tradition are relevant to historical studies because they are claims about the past and how the past should be interpreted. Tradition, in this sense, is itself a theory of history. As such, it offers both an epistemological challenge to empirically-based historical methods and to the nationalist foundations of school history curricula and target outcomes. Similar to religious understandings of the past (for example, the Christian "creationist" history of the universe) which compete with evidence-based accounts, cultural accounts of tradition can be deeply felt, and considered to be a matter of morality, belief or faith more than a matter of knowledge.

History education has an obligation to consider the ways that the conflict between identity and rights affects the young in and out of the classroom, not only at the level of political organisation, but also at the deeply personal level of the self. Like lecturers, history students occupy overlapping identities that are confirmed through simultaneous and authoritative but often divergent

interpretations of the past. This bears on how they inhabit the present and how they relate themselves to community. Historical consciousness is an urgent political concern in South Africa today. The challenge of exploring the different senses of the past which are alive in the classroom and in society more broadly is what makes world history so relevant to the project of social transformation in the future.

Hands-on-discussions

Connecting the dots: History teaching in the 21st century classroom – juggling reason, technology and multi-media in the world of the young technophile

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Abstract

This article will focus on harnessing the latest in multi-media and technological gadgetry in the modern history classroom. Teenagers find themselves at the cutting edge of the world of "bits and bytes", social media and a global network of knowledge. It is at that point that the history teacher needs to meet them and help them to engage with the past. A new horizon has opened up for the modern history teacher who, as a student of change can pass on the skills of change management.

Looking into the past, the dots can be connected and scenario planning for the future can begin. In the history classroom, which is by its very nature inter-disciplinary (because history is all about the story of what people do), various fields of study and kinds of reasoning meet.

The modern history classroom should be relevant to teenagers navigating their way through a rapidly changing world which has been shrunk by technology and in which there has been an explosion of knowledge. It is the history teacher who can put that knowledge to work, if he/she meets the teenager at the intersection of technology and of the past. Knowledge alone is of little use if not tempered by wisdom, and it is the historian who can apply "reason" to snippets of information.

In the 21st Century the history teacher must perform a delicate balancing act: reason, technology and the multi-media world of the young technophile must be juggled with consummate skill.

Keywords:

Wireless router: A device linked to a Local Area Network to which laptops, netbooks, tablets and a variety of other devices can be linked without a physical network point.

Bluetooth: A wireless connection between two or more electronic devices which have been "paired" for the transfer of data.

Netbook: A compact version of a laptop computer which has the advantage of greater ease of transportation.

Tablet: A highly portable device which has a "touch screen" and few peripheral attachments. It connects via a wireless router to the local area network and internet.

Kindle: A device specifically designed for downloading and storing electronic versions of books and other publications. It can store a multitude of books, obviating the need for carrying heavy textbooks or other reading material around.

Clean Slate: Software which removes programmes or data not approved by the network administrator from any device which is restarted by an end user.

Introduction

Teenagers of the 21st Century are a unique breed of technophiles. They are practically born with a cell phone in one hand and an i-pad in the other. They have grown up in a world of bits and bytes, social media and global access to knowledge. For the previous generation books had pages which could be physically turned and web pages were found in Spider Man comic books. These, however, are youngsters who don't know a world without multimedia, social networking and instant messaging. They can navigate the world of technology with the greatest of ease, but they have not yet acquired the far more important skills of discernment and reason. Nor do they yet have the emotional intelligence to engage with people without the crutch of the ubiquitous cell phone. They are reaching maturity in a world exploding with knowledge which is at the fingertips of the deft-handed qwerty keyboard whizz, but knowledge alone does not make an educated person.

The History classroom in the 21st century

It is at this point that the history teacher has to meet the modern teenager. The history teacher can help to connect the dots - and these are dots which can only be connected with hindsight. We can put all this knowledge which is at the disposal of the youngsters to work. Knowledge alone is of little consequence if not tempered by wisdom. It is in the history classroom that the strands of these divergent snippets of information can be pulled together and it is here where the young technophile can learn to apply reason, emotional savvy and a liberal smattering of common sense to navigate their complex world. The world may well have shrunk in the last century, but it is

certainly no less complex. Life changing decisions, decisions about managing the constant barrage of news and information and the unrelenting march of change are being made in an increasingly bewildering and turbulent present.

The history classroom is the ideal intersection between the facets which make up our modern world. History is by its very nature a study of people, the things they have done and still do – a truly inter-disciplinary crucible where various fields of study and kinds of reasoning meet. The juxtaposition of knowledge and wisdom, mastery of factual content and emotional intelligence and a whole plethora of intellectual influences which make us truly human, have never been out of place in the history classroom.

Never before has the history teacher been required to perform such a balancing act as is imperative in the 21st century. If we simply teach as we always did, engage with the past as we always have and interact with our teenage charges as we have always been accustomed to, we will lose them! History as a school subject will be doomed to become the chosen field of study for the few intellectuals and academics who recognise its value. If viewed as a relevant and vital contemporary field of study, the history classroom will not only hold its own, but history will be a subject of choice across a broad spectrum of students.

Andrew Marr quotes the Caribbean poet Derek Walcott in his book, A History of the World: "History is boredom interrupted by war". This rather jaundiced view of history cannot go unchallenged in the modern history classroom. Yet, if we don't teach history in an up to date, modern way, this is the view that many of our pupils will hold throughout their lives, and the subject we teach will seem remote and irrelevant to them.

Cognisant of the risk that history teachers will find this new world of technology intimidating and far removed from the field of reference of many of the older generation, it is nevertheless necessary to enter the rapidly changing and bewildering world of the teenage technophiles. Theirs is a world of Facebook and Twitter, of BBM's and tweets, in which sms's / texts are passé and e-mails are yesterday's news.

How do we connect with the modern pupil and still cultivate a love of history?

Methodology and application

Some practical ideas:

1. Bring technology and the internet into the classroom

• A mobile computer laboratory with 20 chargers, 20 netbooks and a wireless unit which can accommodate up to 50 connections and links to the network and internet via a network plug in the room, is a useful tool to bring technology into the history classroom. Allow the pupils to write their essays on netbooks and e-mail them to the teacher. Feedback can be given electronically as well, without having to resort to the expensive marking software used at tertiary institutions.

Image 1: Unit set up for use in a Settlers High Shool classroom

Source: Photo by PM Haupt

Image 2: Charging unit for transport to classrooms at The Settlers High School

Source: Photo by PM Haupt

- Set research tasks of various types which require internet browsing and responses in a variety of formats – articles, answers to questions set on the many apps google provides free of charge and engagement with one another and the whole class in the many discussion formats which have always been available to the enterprising teacher.

- Notes can be disseminated via the network and may be saved by the pupils on flash drives and cell phones capable of storing files.

- Cell phones can be well used in the classroom – internet browsing, video recording, audio taping and submission of responses for assessment via Bluetooth. (It is up to the teacher to ensure that none of these devices are used for nefarious purposes, but if children are kept engaged and busy and are accountable for their responses with silly answers and embarrassment hanging over their heads like the sword of Damocles, they tend not to turn to crime).

- Don't be afraid to allow the use of devices, if those are the pieces of equipment children are familiar with and the use of which is second nature to them.

Image 3: T Mrubata (The Settlers)   Image 4: A Tamisto (The Settlers)

Source: PM Haupt

2.   Presentation of tasks.

- Oral histories have for some time now been presented as a combination of recordings (video and audio) together with transcripts and analysis. Pupils have learnt to conduct interviews, seek the permission of their interviewees and submit signed release forms, etcetera, as part of their research tasks. This has taught a degree of discernment and respect for the rights of subjects whose stories are told. If properly contextualised, there need be no fear of using these recording devices (sometimes attached to cell phones) in a formal classroom setting.

- Don't shy away from modern presentation (packaging) of historical material. An example would be the preparation of a Facebook page for a historical character (Napoleon Bonaparte, perhaps) with personal data, messages appropriate to the era studied and appropriate pictures. The content and its interpretation is thus packaged in a format more familiar to the children and with which they can identify. It is not such a leap for them to twig that it is simply the packaging that is different and that Facebook did not exist in Napoleon's day. Some interesting observations have been made by pupils using these formats of presentation regarding views on gender, class etc which prevailed in the historical context of a bygone era. They generally show a depth of insight which we don't always credit them with having.

- Had Julius Caesar had our technology available to him, might he not have tweeted his decrees? Could Hannibal not have given a TV interview, had the technology existed in his day? Just imagine the impact of chaps like Atilla the Hun or Peter the Great if they had available to them the propaganda tools of the modern age.
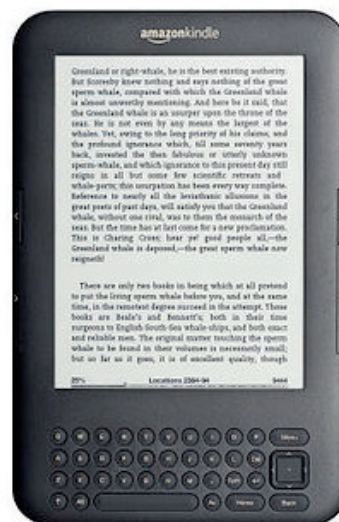
- Before long it will not be inconceivable that a single Kindle will contain all the textbooks required for a pupil. We had better make sure that history textbooks are amongst them!

3. Tests and Exams (Assessment)

•   It is now completely feasible that tests and exams can be written on netbooks/ tablets. It is possible to restrict access to the internet and networks and ensure no crib notes are secreted away on these devices. A very useful programme which keeps machines clear of "contraband" is Clean Slate (at very low cost to educational institutions).

•   Revision tests can be set for pupils on Google Apps which enable them to submit answers as long as they have access to a browser of some sort.

Conclusion

History teachers are specialists in the study of and management of change. It is the greatest lesson we can teach our pupils, too, as this is the one constant they will experience throughout their lives. They will one day be doing jobs which don't yet exist and for which we don't yet have names. They will be dealing with a world which we cannot yet conceive. However, they will still need the emotional intelligence, the humanity and the social skills and reasoning ability we teach. They will still have to look to the past to connect the dots and plot a future for themselves.

As history teachers we need to embrace the modern world, but still teach the skills which make productive members of society and give a moral compass to those who pass through our classrooms. History is not only about bygone times, it is about us! It is about the present and the future, too. If we don't engage with the modern teenager at the level of that which is familiar to him or her, we'll leave no legacy, become irrelevant and lose the opportunity to pass our "humanity" to the next generation.

The sixties in the United States in historical perspective[1]

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Abstract

The decade of the 1960s in the United States is commonly viewed and taught as a series of traditional dichotomies, white vs. black, male vs. female, liberal vs. conservative, communist vs. anti-communist. Recent American scholarship on this period reveals a much more complex interplay of forces and movements. President John F. Kennedy's government was attacked for its policy toward the Soviet Union and communism in general, from both the right and the left. Political conservatism witnessed a revival at the expense of the then-dominant liberal culture. Martin Luther King promoted an economic and social agenda that went well beyond the vision of "I Have a Dream". Together, these forces enacted a second American "Civil War", which was a much more complex struggle than is commonly understood or taught. The History educator dealing with USA in the FET history curriculum is exposed to some interesting information to be utilised and debated in classrooms.

Keywords: Civil War; Liberal (liberalism); Conservative; Left (left-wing) anti-communist; Coalition; New Deal; USA; 1960's; History curriculum.

Introduction

When the southern American novelist, William Faulkner, reminds us that "the past is never dead, it isn't even past", he was of course speaking of the legacy of the American Civil War, the terrible conflict of the 1860s which cost so many lives.

The 1960s were in many ways a continuation of that earlier period of civil struggle. A recent history of the period refers to that decade as "the Civil War of the 1960s". President Kennedy, in response to the Birmingham, Alabama violence of mid-1963, proposed far-reaching civil rights legislation as a way of

continuing the work of President Lincoln (Flamm and Steigerwald 2008:79).

Certain aspects of this "civil war" are of particular interest to the school history student in South Africa and to the history instructor, and have been subject to recent fresh re-examinations.

The goals of Martin Luther King, Jr. in the "Black freedom movement", President Kennedy's role in the liberal anti-communist crusade, the three-way struggle for political dominance in the US, between liberal, radical , and conservative voices, and the fracturing of the movement for women's liberation, were all part of this "civil war" and have left legacies in the America of today.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Franklin D. Roosevelt's immediate successors sought to follow the presumed trajectory of his earlier leadership as they continued the development of social welfare programs, up to and including "the Great Society" of President Johnson. In the international sphere, following the Rooseveltian struggle against fascism, later liberal leaders, from President Harry S Truman onward aimed to check the expansion of communist power, almost anywhere in the world. The policy of "containment" of communist aggression was intended to accomplish this goal. Members of the liberal elite "believed that defeating the communists was without doubt the most urgent cause of the 1950s" (Flamm and Steigerwald 2008:7).

At the beginning of the 60s, the new President and liberal leader, John F. Kennedy, stated his commitment to this position, in his inaugural address, as he called upon the nation to be prepared to bear burdens, meet hardships, support friends and oppose foes, to assure the success of liberty. Later confrontations with communist powers, including the Soviet Union over Cuba and particularly the government of North Viet Nam can be viewed as expressions of this liberal struggle with an international communist movement led by the resurgent Soviet Union of the 1950s and 60s.

Almost from the beginning of the Kennedy administration, the new President found his foreign policy under attack from two directions. Kennedy's approval of the invasion of Cuba, by anti-Castro Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs, generated criticism from both the right and the left. Conservative critics attacked the administration for failing to follow through in support of what promised to be a successful effort to push the pro-Soviet Castro off of his seat of power before he had become too comfortable and entrenched. Left-wing

critics such as I.F. Stone, C. Wright Mills, and Staughton Lynd all attacked what they perceived to be the attempt to undermine a genuinely popular revolution against the capitalist power structure and Yankee imperialism, in the western hemisphere. This marked the beginning of the development of a coalition of anti-administration groups and individuals of what would eventually come to be called "the New Left".

This grouping found their suspicions of Kennedy to be confirmed by what they considered to be his suicidally dangerous approach to the resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. While even conservative critics were temporarily won over by Kennedy's apparent tough response to the placement of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, critics from the left thought and said that the President had been extremely fool-hardy, to have risked nuclear disaster over the issue. They also believed that Kennedy's belligerent approach was another demonstration of American imperialist over reach in what the administration seemed to view as America's "backyard" (Flamm and Steigerwald 2008:42, 43).

Concern over this response led to the creation of broad-based anti-nuclear weapons coalitions such as Citizens for a Sane Nuclear Policy and Women's Strike for Peace which included many who would not have considered themselves to be leftists, but who would support this cause from a position to the left of the liberal center.

However, it was the US support for the anti-communist government of South Viet Nam which led to the creation of widespread support for leftward based groups of opposition to the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. This left-wing opposition was not afraid to stake out its position against the liberal leadership of the Democratic Party. In late 1965 Carl Oglesby, President of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) made clear that the policy makers of the Johnson administration were "not moral monsters… . They are all liberals." His conclusion was that liberalism itself was fundamentally flawed as only a flawed system of thought could produce such an evil policy. Liberalism's very anti-communism was evidence of its falsity as this was motivated by general opposition to popular revolution against unjust power structures.

The development of opposition to the war in Vietnam, outside of traditional political structures is well known. What is less often focused on is the growth of involvement in institutional politics by anti-war individuals and groups. This began with the Eugene McCarthy campaign, in the spring of 1968, to

unseat President Johnson as the Democratic Party nominee for re-election. It then led to President Johnson's abandonment of his re-election bid that year and culminated in the dominance of the party's nomination process and the essential re-construction of the party during the 1972 election cycle (Flamm and Steigerwald 2008:47, 55).

Assault on the liberal center came also from a resurgent and often ignored conservative movement during this time as well. The most obvious evidence of this conservative recovery from twenty years in the political wilderness (since the administration of President Roosevelt) was the failed presidential nomination of Arizona Senator, Barry M Goldwater. Goldwater's nomination was effected by a coalition of groups and individuals within the Republican Party who opposed both the liberal social welfare programs of the Kennedy and Johnson Democratic administrations and the equivalent individuals within their own party, such as New York governor Nelson Rockefeller. While these groups supported a vigorous war effort in Viet Nam and against other communist centers, such as Cuba, they abhorred the apparent liberal willingness to negotiate with a totalitarian ideology, especially a nuclear-armed one.

The 1964 Goldwater campaign for the presidency resulted in a disastrous defeat for the Republican Party. However, two signs of the future rise of a new conservative governing coalition could be seen in that year. One of the most effective spokesmen for the Republican cause turned out to be a former B-grade Hollywood leading man, Ronald Reagan. In a series of public appearances on Goldwater's behalf, including a highly effective television address delivered virtually on the eve of the election, Reagan established himself as a possible future political candidate and public office holder. In 1966, this conservative vision bore fruit when Reagan defeated the incumbent Democratic governor of the largest of the US states, California. While California governor, he generated national attention as he confronted left-wing students and groups on the campuses of the state university systems. This national attention grew to national support and eventually led to Reagan's one failed (1976) and two successful (1980, 1984) presidential election campaigns (2012 Isserman and Kazin:205, 206).

The other sign of conservative resurgence was found in the student world, of all places. While left-wing student politics captured public attention due to its confrontational tactics, right-wing student groups, including the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (ISI) and especially Young Americans

for Freedom (YAF, established two years before the SDS) were putting together grassroots organizations which would eventually provide the manpower (and womanpower) of the successful Reagan presidential campaigns and the Reagan and Bush presidential administrations. YAF grew to over 350 individual campus groups and more than 30 000 student members, across America, at the very height of the anti-Viet Nam protests (Isserman and Kazin 2012:202, 203; Flamm and Steigerwald 2008:103, 104). This was approximately the same size as the SDS at the beginning of 1968. Despite this, one common and respected South African grade 12 textbook makes the claim that "Nearly all students were opposed to the war in Viet Nam." YAFs "opposition" to the war could be fairly summarized by the view that it believed that the war was not pursued vigorously enough.

While Viet Nam dominated America's foreign policy agenda during the 1960s, the Black Freedom Movement was the domestic center of attention during, at least, the first half of the decade and the man who dominated this movement was Martin Luther King, Jr. While the external facts of King's leadership of this movement are well-known, his inner ideological motivations are subject to more dispute and are less well-known.

King had been educated in a variety of intellectual traditions which led him to critique the American social and economic system in a way that has not always been clear from many historical accounts. First trained in the social gospel tradition and later in the less optimistic, more realist, neo-orthodox school of Reinhold Niebuhr, King criticized the American class structure and distribution of wealth from early in his public ministry (Jackson 2007:4, 5). In this regard, King's roots were to found in a democratic socialist tradition that itself illustrated the tension between the anti-communist liberal perspective and that of the so-called democratic left, discussed earlier. As a result, he sought to build coalitions and break down dualistic oppositions such as with Malcolm X, which existed in the popular media. King's dialectic approach led him to attempt the construction of syntheses that would join apparently opposed strategies and goals (Jackson 2007:6, 7).

One of King's priorities was the construction of a new three-part, progressive coalition which would both reinvigorate and replace the older New Deal coalition of the Democratic Party. This envisaged the bringing together of black Americans from across class lines (King hoped to incorporate the resources of the black middle class into the struggle of the black poor.) with white liberals, who already supported the integration project, and the

predominantly white working class and trade union leadership. The purposes of such a coalition included the overcoming of white/black dichotomies in the struggle for civil rights, the enlistment of economically advantaged union organized white workers in the struggle for a more equitable economic order and the eventual replacement of the liberal individualistic social vision with a more socially holistic one (Jackson 2007:7, 8).

The failure of such a coalition to develop, led King to seek other approaches. Reliable trade union support was difficult to come by as most union leaders were more concerned to protect the gains of their own (mostly white) membership, than they were to extend support to other, possibly competing, groups. For instance, King attempted to incorporate poor blacks more fully into the New Deal social welfare structure, to strengthen the black economic position within America. He also sought to marry efforts to register black voters (to secure the political base of black Americans) with campaigns of direct confrontation with local authorities. King found white resistance to be both more determined and more violent than he originally expected. However, vigorous (or violent) enough white resistance often generated Federal (national) government intervention and eventually helped to produce King's intended ends (Jackson 2007:3). The most significant such case was Birmingham, Alabama Public Safety Commissioner "Bull" Connor's use of attack dogs and high pressure hoses, in some cases on young children, which led to such public reaction that President Kennedy, finally introduced the long-awaited Civil Rights Bill to the US Congress.

During the 1960s, King also began to develop an anti-colonial critique which he then used to broaden the scope and application of his domestic struggle. This led him to abandon the liberal anti-communist cold war rhetoric of his earlier leadership approach (Jackson 2007:11, 12). Meetings with Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah helped to strengthen that trend. King's application of this critique led him to publicly turn against the war in Viet Nam and to put at risk the support of President Johnson for future civil rights legislation and enforcement.

Martin Luther King, Jr. is often portrayed as simply a "civil rights" leader, primarily concerned with racial discrimination (Jackson 2007:2, 3). In fact, in his willingness to use both class and race as ways of critiquing American society, he brought together anti-segregation, anti-poverty, and anti-war positions (Jackson:331). King's thought and his tactical approaches were both complex and evolving throughout the period of his leadership. Economic and

social justice was the constant goal.

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A subject "promotional agenda" versus decline in enrolment figures: The need to identify those schools swimming against the tide

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Abstract

The "value" of a discipline, occasionally arouses debate. With History it's no different, and sometimes perhaps more challenging. As the general trend still indicates declining numbers in most provinces, Westerford High School in Cape Town displays an outstanding example of an institution with high success rates in History. From the Westerford High experience other schools are challenged to reconsider their status in the teaching of History and adapt where it is required. A personal view on why perhaps Westerford's success in History is exchanged.

Keywords: National Curriculum Statement (NCS); National Senior Certificate (NSC); Further Education and Training (FET) phase; History as a discipline.

The subject promotional agenda

All history teachers in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase seem to be confronted by the need to promote their subject. At a subjective level,most History educators are hopefully themselves life-long learners passionate about History as a subject of intellectual inquiry. They are encouraged by their History Curriculum Advisors to make all attempts to "market" the choice of History in their respective schools. They are also encouraged within their own History Departments, to encourage learners to choose History when making their choice of electives in the third term of their Grade 9 year.

These subject "promotional agendas" which History educators are challenged with, are in line with a *Report of the History and Archaeology Panel* (2000) commissioned by the then Minister of Education (Kader Asmal), which argued for the need to promote the importance of the study of the

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discipline of History … within school education. This argument was then integrated into the continuing work reflected in the *Manifesto On Values, Education and Democracy* (2001:4) which argued 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.

The study of History, as argued by the Department of Basic Education (2011), also supports citizenship within a democracy by upholding the values of the South African Constitution. It reflects the perspectives of a broad social spectrum, encourages civic responsibility and responsible leadership, promotes human rights and peace by challenging prejudices that involve race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia, and prepares young people for local, regional, national, continental and global responsibility.

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 larger 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) had in mind when he emphasised that, in different hands, it teaches or shows us most kinds of knowable past and almost every kind of imaginable future.

Decline in enrolment figures

The discipline of History, inspired by a South African radical historiography and which explicitly challenged the apartheid narrative of the past, could have been expected to flourish in a transitional society like South Africa. However, despite the government policy and pedagogic imperative regarding the importance of the study of History within the curriculum and need to promote it, there has been a decline in enrolment for History. The discipline is increasingly perceived as being a "dispensable luxury in the context of a neoliberal" economic project (Verbuyst, 2013:20).

Public discourse regarding curriculum priorities in South Africa now

emphasise the importance of Mathematics, the Sciences (both Physical Science and Life Science), and Information Technology, increasingly relegating the study of History to a "Cinderella" status. The Sunday Times (27th October, 2013, 2), in an article entitled *New focus on Maths teachers*, now argues that the Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, "hinted at the possibility of setting up a directorate for maths, science and technology".

Concern about this is highlighted by van Eeden (2012:45) stating "the ever-decreasing popularity of History as a FET-level subject… necessitate(s) urgent discussion and speedy action". She supports this conclusion with statistics of learner enrolment in History from Grade 10 to 12, showing a decline from 2004 to 2010 in 7 of the 9 provinces. The decline in enrolment figures in the Western Cape, are as follows:

Western Cape	2004	2010	% decrease (an estimate)
Grade 10	29 613	19 053	-36%
Grade 11	19 048	13 997	-27%
Grade 12	12 876	11 393	-12%

Swimming against the tide

As history educators who believe in the policy and pedagogic imperative for promoting the discipline of History in the FET phase, it is necessary to identify those schools which do not follow the declining trend and therefore seem to be swimming against the tide.

One such school is a Quintile 5 co-educational government high school in the Western Cape province, Westerford High School. At this school, History is neither a "dispensable luxury", nor does it have a "Cinderella" status. Results of a pilot study[1] show that over the period 2007 to 2013, 50% of Grade 10 learners' each year (on average 185 learners in a Grade) have chosen History as one of their three electives. This 50% "take-up" of History at the school is despite learners at this particular school being obligated to choose either Physical Science and/or Life Sciences, thereby reducing their options for electives even further. Enrolment figures for History in Grade 10 for 2014 is 96 learners, of a possible 188, amounting to 52% of the Grade.

Based on the statistical inquiry into the gender of learners who chose History in Grade 10 at the school over the same period, on average each

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1   A pilot study can be viewed as a dress rehearsal of the main investigation (De Vos, 2005:206).

year 49 learners were boys, and 42 were girls. Therefore gender does not play a significant role in influencing the choice of subject. History is generally considered, by learners, as a "difficult" subject to attain high marks in. Yet, in the 2012 Grade 12 National Senior Certificate results at Westerford High School, 65 out of 97 History learners attained an "A" symbol, with an average of 81.4%. Furthermore, while the Department of Basic Education prescribes that 1.5 hours per week are allocated in Grade 8 and 9 to the teaching of the History component of Social Sciences, at Westerford High School 2 hours is allocated per week to the teaching of History. The school has increased the time allocated on the timetable to the teaching of History in the GET phase due to the subject's contribution towards developing both critical thinking and the literacy of learners.

If, as van Eeden (2012:45) argues, the declining enrolment figures for History requires "urgent discussion and speedy action", it is imperative that schools such as Westerford High School, which are swimming against the prevalent tide, be identified. Such schools need to be engaged with to determine what their recipe for success in meeting the policy and pedagogic imperative in promoting the discipline of History entails. Perhaps the solution to the decline in enrolmeent figures for History, can be found in the exceptions, rather than the rule at present.

At Westerford High School the History educators, in terms used in the *Manifesto On Values, Education and Democracy*, are "Imaginative teachers", passionate about their discipline, able to inspire learners who therefore recognise and understand the value of the discipline, and create a learning environment in which learners have fun and the discipline of History comes alive. Learners and the subject go beyond the text book and classroom, where their minds are opened to most kinds of knowable past and almost every kind of imaginable future (Williams). An example being, at the time of this issue of *Yesterday & Today* going to print, two educators and 46 learners from Westerford are in Vietnam to engage in issues related to the Vietnam War, or what the Vietnamese refer to as the American War, with the purpose of enriching the learners understanding of the Vietnam War Case Study, which will feature in the Cold War question in their final Grade 12 exam in November 2014.

Image 1: In front of a North Vietnamese Army (NVA) tank in the grounds of the Reunification Palace, Ho Chi Minh City (former Saigon). We walked past the gates which were breached by a VNA tank in 1975. The Palace, seat of the South Vietnam regime, was bombed in 1963, and again in 1975 when Saigon fell to the NVA

Source: G Brookbanks

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Book reviews

Die aanslag op die slaweskip Meermin, 1766

(Kenilworth: Africana Publishers, 2012, 171 pp. ISBN 978-0-620-54596-9)

Dan Sleigh *&* Piet Westra

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From the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries thousands of slaves were brought to the Cape of Good Hope from areas bordering on the Indian Ocean (Southeast Africa, South Asia and Southeast Asia). Throughout the eighteenth century there were always slightly more slaves at the Cape than there were colonists. Yet despite this, in the almost two hundred year history of slavery at the Cape there were only ever two large-scale slave uprisings here: one in 1808 in the Swartland area north of Cape Town and a minor one in 1825 led by Gallant in the Koue Bokkeveld. Historians have ascribed this paucity of rebellions to a number of factors: the small scale of slave holdings on farms (rarely more than 5 to 10), the relative isolation of farms and the lack of a unified 'slave culture' due to the disparate origins, culture and languages of slaves at the Cape. One remarkable exception to this rule – the uprising of a large group of newly captured slaves from Madagascar on their way to the Cape – is the topic of this book.

The story of the uprising on the VOC (Dutch East India Company) ship is fairly well known among the general public: Iziko Museum's Slave Lodge in Cape Town has a permanent exhibition dedicated to it, a documentary called *Slave Ship Mutiny* was produced in 2011, and for several years now maritime archaeologists have been looking for the ship's wreck amid great publicity. Yet, curiously enough, until this book there has been no serious history of this incident – except for the pioneering, but unpublished, academic work of the late Andrew Alexander which is sadly not widely known or easily accessible. This expertly researched book by VOC experts Dan Sleigh and Piet Westra will go a long way to provide more sound information to the general public,

and to clear up some misunderstandings in the now somewhat romanticized story of the *Meermin* (such that its wreck *can* be found, while the sources clearly indicate that the VOC authorities sold the stranded ship and that it was most likely chopped up – cf. p. 117).

The text of this book makes it eminently suitable for use in the class or lecture room. This is because the authors do not only tell the story with proper contextualization, but also because they make available (mostly in translated form) the original sources, and discuss the various problems with the interpretation of these sources. As such, the book can most conveniently be used to illustrate through practical applications how historians know the past and can construct arguments based on the documents and other material left by people in the past. As such, it is to be welcomed that the book contains more than 40 illustrations, maps and tables (many in colour), as well as numerous appendices, ranging from a chronology, to various transcriptions of documents (especially relating to the court case which is our chief source of information for what happened on that fatal journey) and very useful and illuminating plans of the lay-out of the ship (which is crucial to understanding the events).

The book comprises nine main chapters (the tenth is a brief conclusion), of which the first four deal with the background and the context of the events which led to the uprising in 1766. After a brief introduction to the VOC Cape in the mid-eighteenth century, the second chapter discusses in useful detail the history of the Cape's slave trade with Madagascar (to which the Cape authorities regularly sent a slave ship when its slave population declined – often after epidemics such as smallpox), with special reference to the earlier voyages of the *Meermin* to that island. This chapter reveals quite a lot of new detail, and is very good in illustrating the numerous factors which were involved in slave trafficking, and how various nations (the English, French, Americans, Dutch and Arabs) sometimes exchanged information with each other, and sometimes deliberately misled their competitors. Given that much of this discussion is based on hitherto unstudied archival sources, the chapter should also be of interest to historians of Madagascar as the slave trading journals are quite revealing of internal affairs which led to wars and raids to capture slaves for the European traders.

Chapter 3 describes the origins and early history of the hooker *Meermin*. One of the strengths of this book is that it so well illustrates something which is often overlooked by modern historians of the early Cape, namely that the

VOC was first and foremost a *maritime* empire which depended crucially on ships and their crews. As such, as the authors point out (p. 46) the main character in the events of 1766 is in fact the *Meermin* herself, and I applaud their attempt to bring home to the modern reader how such a ship operated and how life on it proceeded on a day-to-day basis (all of this is usefully supported by material in the appendices). Chapter 4 briefly discusses other instances of uprisings on sea and graphically illustrates just how violent life aboard an eighteenth-century ship could be, but especially for newly captured slaves who were, after all, *violently* captured and transported.

The bulk of the book deals with the mission of the *Meermin* to obtain slaves in 1765 (chapter 5), the events of the uprising and how it was suppressed (chapters 6-8) and the denouement of the story in the court room (chapter 9). With a crew of less than sixty men, the *Meermin* managed to trade some 140 slaves from various places in Madagascar during 1765. In February 1766, while the ship was well underway to the Cape of Good Hope, some of the slaves – who were released from their chains in order to clean some spears – killed and held hostage a part of the crew, while the rest were hiding below deck. Eventually the slaves, who had no knowledge of ship faring, reached a compromise with the latter, namely that they would leave them unharmed if they were returned to Madagascar. Instead, the crew continued to sail to the south coast of the Cape where the ship anchored off Struisbaai (east of Cape Agulhas). Some of the slaves landed but were captured by local farmers who had formed a commando. For several days there was an impasse while the remaining slaves held the surviving crew hostage (some of whom, dramatically, dropped bottles into the ocean with letters asking for help – these were later found and are reproduced in the book), until eventually the slaves were convinced to surrender to the forces of the landdrost of Stellenbosch who had been sent to the scene. This happened after some of the crew cut the anchor and allowed the ship to run aground.

These dramatic events are narrated from various perspectives (based on court evidence) in chapters 6 and 7: the former from the perspective of the sailors, while the latter provides the evidence of four officers in some detail. Chapter 8 narrates the salvage operation from the perspective of landdrost Le Sueur of Stellenbosch (based on the correspondence between him and the Council of Policy in Cape Town). Chapter 9 tells the story, after a brief contextualisation of how the Cape judicial system operated, of the court cases in which one of the leaders and the commanders of the ship were involved. This discussion

reveals in a fascinating way what the real motives and priorities of the VOC as a merchant company were. Intriguingly enough, only one of the slaves, Massavana, who was identified as one of the leaders of the uprising, stood trial and was never found guilty (but nonetheless sent to Robben Island). Instead, most of the VOC officials' energies were expended in trying to determine exactly what happened and how blame for it can be apportioned – clearly a much greater issue to them than the loss of 4 or 5 dozen lives was the loss of a valuable and expensive hooker (which took years to build and was expected to do service for decades). Most crucially for the VOC, was to determine who was responsible for stranding the ship, if it could have been prevented, and also, if the uprising of the slaves were the result of a dereliction of duty in that their careful instructions were not followed to the letter. In the event, the captain was found guilty, stripped of his rank and status, and banished from the Cape.

This fascinating book, beautifully printed and presented (bar a few misprints), is filled with a wealth of detail for those interested in the eighteenth-century Cape, the slave trade and, more generally, the maritime world of the VOC. In addition to the important contributions it makes to our knowledge of the Cape slave trade, and the operation and management of this trade, the book also reveals some fascinating detail such as that slaves from Southeast Asia feared being sent to the Cape (p. 57), as well as the very rare insight the trial of Massavana provides into the life of an ordinary human being before his violent enslavement (pp. 128-129). I highly recommend it to all interested in the early history of South Africa, and urge high school teachers to use this book (which has recently been translated into English and Dutch as well) in their classrooms to demonstrate the complex history of slavery, and the ways in which historians reconstruct and interrogate the past. Sleigh and Westra have made an important and long-overdue contribution to the historiography of slavery in South Africa, and their combined expertise in a variety of matters relating to the VOC period has greatly enriched this volume.

Amongst the Boers in peace and war

(Kenilworth: Africana Publishers, 2012, 224 pp. ISBN 978-0-620-52802-3)

I Schroder-Nielsen (Edited by Lone Rudner *&* Bill Nasson)

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The commemoration of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) between the Boer Republics and the British Empire predictably triggered renewed interest into the period. The rekindled interest in the war stimulated a large body of new research which covered a wide range of aspects and topics. The realistic expectation was that this upsurge of new publications on the Anglo-Boer War would eventually lose its momentum after the conclusion of the celebrations in 2002. However, surprisingly the opposite happened, with the rekindled interest in the war maintaining its momentum with new publications on the Anglo-Boer War appearing on book shelves in book shops almost every month.

One such more recent addition to the vast collection of books on the Anglo-Boer War is the 2013 publication, *Amongst the Boers in Peace and War* by Ingvald Schroder-Nielsen. Schroder-Nielsen was a Norwegian who came to South Africa in August 1898 and kept a diary of his experiences during the war which remained unpublished for decades. The reason is that his diary was initially confiscated by the British, after he was captured, but it was later recovered and published in 1925 in Norwegian. This made his account of the war inaccessible to a wider audience. However, fortunately the manuscript was translated into English by Jalmer and Ione Rudner and finally edited by Rudner in co-operation with Bill Nasson which led to the publication in 2013.

Schroder-Nielsen's account of the war is based on a personal and individual level and provides a fresh insight into the war. The account is structurally divided into three interrelated parts, with the first two parts I and II (pp. 7- 60) describing his experiences as a Norwegian citizen in a foreign country. Part III (pp. 61 – 168) provides a tragic, but humorous account of how he, as

a result of circumstances, was 'dragged' into the war and onto the Boer side. The account contains very vivid descriptions of the guerrilla phase and the war under Generals De la Rey and Kemp. Part III (pp. 170-200) covers the period from when he was taken captive and covers his experiences in various prison camps in South Africa and how he was threatened with execution by the British forces. After an eventful period as prisoner of his British captors he ended up in a prisoner-of-war camp on the Bermuda Island in the Atlantic Ocean, where he has sat out the end of the war. All three sections of the book provide intriguing reading, not only on the prelude to the Anglo-Boer War and the war itself, but the insight provided of the human and social aspects of the tragic conflict.

Part 1 of the diary describes how Schroder-Nielsen obtained employment in 1898 as a telegrapher and as an assistant land-surveyor in the western part of the old Transvaal Republic. His work brought him into direct contact with the rural farmers, the Boers in the old Transvaal Republic which ideally placed him in a position to provide an objective perspective of the political and socio-economic existence of the rural farmers.

The real value of the book is located in the interesting and fresh insight that Schroder-Nielsen provided of how he as a foreigner perceived the Boers in their rural setting, during the months leading up to the War. His account of the everyday lives of the Boers and their extended families provides for very interesting and entertaining reading. He sketches from p. 48 - p. 52 a humorous account of how the ordinary Boer families greeted each in a writing style that is reminiscent of Herman Charles Bosman's accounts of rural life in the old Republics. Equally entertaining is his account of the way in which religious services were conducted, especially his description of the singing of the Boer family as a series of cries and howls. However, it should be stated that the description of the Boers is never done in a fashion which demean or belittle their lifestyle. The description is done with empathy and humour and paints a vivid picture of the social life of the Boers before the Anglo-Boer War.

Schroder-Nielsen was initially very critical of the way the Boers understood and interpreted the position of the Transvaal Republic after the London Convention of 1881, and their general lack understanding of international affairs. However, he soon realised that although the Boers may not be academically astute, because they never read anything other than the Bible, he quickly changed his view. He was especially impressed by the way the Boer Republics stood up against British imperialism over the years.

There are many moving personal accounts of the war included in the book such as when his close friend Piet Schuil was executed after trumped-up charges were laid against him by his British captors. The moving scene of Schuil's execution is done in graphic detail on p. 73 and describes how he was reading his Bible when he was shot and pieces of the Bible flew high in the air. Equally moving is his depiction of the old burghers' in the Bermuda camp (p. 200) reaction when the prisoners were informed that the peace treaty has been signed.

In seeking a parallel with the Schroder-Nielsen account of the Anglo-Boer War, the classic work of Denys Reitz, *Commando*, immediately comes to mind. The elegant description of the period before the War, the first few months before he joined the Commando's, the period of the War and his life in the prisoner-of-war camps is done with such clarity and graphic skill that it captivates the reader throughout the work.

Schroder-Nielsen's account is not well-known in the historiography, because the biography was published in English for the first time in 2013. However, this certainly does not distract from the work which makes a major contribution to the personalisation of the war. As indicated on the flip side of the book, his account describes the hardships during the War with humour and empathy. In my opinion the decision of the editors to follow Nielsen's style and choice of words as closely as possible brought freshness and a Norwegian flavour of the period into the account, which distinguishes this work from any other in the same genre. In my opinion this is a must-read book for any historian or amateur historian and high school history teacher. Accounts, such as *Amongst the Boers in Peace and War* bring the tragic events of the Anglo-Boer War to life for the reader and the learner.

Book Reviews

Thank you - Editorial

A warm word of thanks to Prof Johan Wasserman (UKZN) who did the book reviews for the *Yesterday&Today* during 2012-2013. From 2014 Mr Marshall Maposa will be the leading book review editor with Prof Wasserman assisting. Ms Michelle Koekemoer will also support the Book Review Editor. Welcome and good luck to our new colleagues!

If members are interested in reviewing a book or having suggestions of books that should be reviewed, please send your needs/requests to Marshall at: Maposam2@ukzn.ac.za or Marshallmaposa@yahoo.com.

SASHT REGIONAL NEWS (2013)

Henriëtte Lubbe

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During 2013 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. The SASHT currently has regional representation across South Africa except for the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape and Mpumalanga. These 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, and recruit new members for the SASHT.

Some regional representatives have clearly been very active although many of their activities were not necessarily organised under the auspices of the SASHT. Nevertheless, the Executive Committee appreciates all the hard work that has been done in promoting the historical discipline at ground level. There is, however, room for improvement, and the following issues need attention in 2014:

- We need to find willing and committed regional representatives for the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga. Members are therefore invited to provide the SASHT Executive with the names and contact details of individuals who may be interested in taking on this role.
- Current regional representatives need to provide more regular feedback to the Deputy Chairperson on their History-related activities and the state of the historical discipline in their regions. This will help the SASHT to keep abreast of developments, offer guidance and assistance where necessary, and provide the *SASHT Newsletter* with much needed copy from which readers can benefit.
- The levels of commitment among regional representatives need to be improved. We cannot rely exclusively on the Department of Basic Education to initiate outreach to History teachers in the provinces. Each SASHT regional representative should strive to arrange at least one event per year which would serve the History teaching community and strengthen the profile of the SASHT.

What follows below is a brief overview (in alphabetical order) of the activities that have been taking place in the provinces during 2013:

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

The SASHT regional representative for the Free State, Dr Boitumelo Moreeng, reports that no History-related activities other than training offered by the Free State Education Department have been organised in the province during 2013.

There have, however, been interventions in the Lejweleputswa District of the Free State in the form of two skills training workshops for History teachers conducted by Henriëtte Lubbe of the Unisa History Department. These workshops (which took place during April and July respectively) formed part of a personal community engagement initiative which is now supported financially by the Unisa College of Human Sciences. The April workshop was sadly interrupted by trade union activity, but this did not dampen the positive attitude and commitment of the more than 20 teachers who attended the training session. The workshop was therefore offered again in July 2013.

Day 1 of the workshop focused on stress management for History teachers and was also attended by the regional subject coordinator for the Free State, Mr MP Mofokeng. Participants had their stress levels, levels of resilience ("stress fitness"), Type A/B personalities and degree of balance in their lives measured and received six stress management techniques for implementation in their working and personal lives. The session revealed an extremely high stress level among the participants, a matter that the DBE official present promised to bring to the attention of the Education authorities.

Day 2 of the programme focused on the development of writing skills, providing teachers with visual resources for use in the classroom (i.e. photographs of name changes in Pretoria) and sample assignments complete with assessment rubrics for teaching oral investigation, research skills, poster making, poster presentation and argumentative essay writing. Dee Gillespie and Joy Sewenya from Jeppe Girls High in Johannesburg are currently involved in developing another exciting sample assignment, structured around the street name photographs, which will be offered to History teachers in the Free State, and perhaps also Limpopo, for practical implementation in the classroom during 2014.

Gauteng

Siobhan Glanville reports that her main focus during 2013 was the completion of her Master's degree despite a heavy teaching load at the University of the Witwatersrand. Consequently, she was unable to organise History-related

activities in Gauteng, and the one event that had been planned, did not materialise due to trade union action which prevented teachers from attending workshops. Nevertheless, as a staff member of the Wits School of Education, she has been involved in establishing a module for an Honours Degree in History Education that will be part of a curriculum Honours course. She is also involved in the planning of the SASHT Conference for 2014.

There were also other educators who were active in supporting History teaching in Gauteng. SASHT regional representative, Dee Gillespie, reports that all districts in the province were very busy during the year with CAPS training. This training required teachers – especially those teaching various grades – to give up a huge amount of their time. She thinks that the CAPS training has improved somewhat from 2012 but remains concerned about the huge gap that exists between different categories of teachers.

Dee promoted the SASHT at the said CAPS training sessions and shares the following personal observations of these training interventions:

- History is frequently used as a personal "political soap box". The "Nationalism" topic in Grade 11, for example, appears to be giving some teachers great energy to air their views, thereby emphasising differences rather than commonalities and widening the gap between racial groups which is cause for concern.
- The CAPS approach in History, namely working one's way through a text book from cover to cover without real debate and reflection, needs to be addressed. Most text books covering the Middle East conflict, for example, are slanted towards the plight of the Palestinians. She feels that learners need to be exposed to alternative thinking.
- CAPS exam requirements remain a concern and the marking load in big history groups is rather daunting.
- There seems to be a tendency towards over assessing. She asks: "How much exam evidence does one need to separate the A and G learners?"
- In Dee's district (District 9) there is great concern about the level of sophistication of questions. She asks: "Is a question such as 'Critically evaluate the contribution that Nelson Mandela has made to a democratic South Africa' [from a CAPS document handed out during the training] really appropriate for Grade 4?"
- Teachers seem to be implementing suggestions blindly without considering what their learners can cope with. In the Grade 7 – 9 meeting it was suggested that Grade 7's should be writing essays of seven paragraphs in length, yet this is not stipulated in national documents. Moreover, learners arriving in Grade 8 at the school where Dee teaches can hardly write a sentence, let alone a properly constructed essay. Most teachers at the particular workshop did not question the instruction and probably returned to their schools to demand seven- paragraph essays (two to three pages) from their Grade 7 learners. She finds this uncritical approach very worrying and asks: "How can we teach learners to question laws and stand up for basic human rights when we follow like sheep?"

KwaZulu-Natal

The numerous activities and tasks relating to the hosting of the 27th annual conference of the SASHT (27 – 28 September 2013) at Maritzburg College were the key focus of SASHT-related activities in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Midlands for the year.

Conference organisers Mathew Marwick and Simon Haw had four key aims:

- to attract more attendees than previous SASHT conferences.
- to keep attendance costs low.
- to provide greater opportunities for social interaction among delegates.
- to elicit enough papers and workshops for two streams of presentations per day.

Planning for the conference began in earnest in early 2013, with the building up of a substantial database of e-mail addresses from various sources and the composition of the marketing material for the conference. Simon Haw was tasked with organising all the presentations and workshops. He did an excellent job in arranging 37 presentations and two guest speakers, with Prof Jonathan Jansen of the University of the Free State providing the conference finale on the Saturday afternoon.

In the end all four of the conference objectives were achieved.

- More than 120 delegates attended the conference.
- The two-day attendance fee of R675 was substantially lower than in previous years, and the over-night package of R1 350 provided good value for money.
- The welcome braai for overnight guests on the Thursday night was attended by about 55 people, as was the cocktail party on the Friday night.
- Such was the supply of papers and workshops that two streams of presentations could be provided, made up in the main of short 20-minute slots.

Looking ahead, the SASHT regional representative for KZN Midlands, Mathew Marwick, anticipates that the successful SASHT Quiz of 2012 will be repeated in 2014.

Limpopo

Jake Manenzhe reports from Limpopo that the Provincial Executive Committee of the Society for History Teaching in Limpopo spent four months organising a one-day provincial History conference on "Curriculum change and the importance of Social Sciences". Despite the Limpopo Department of Education being under administration and therefore unable to provide any financial assistance, the conference proved to be successful and attracted the attendance of around 150 delegates including both History teachers and education officials.

As the conference took place on Women's Day (9 August), two female educators, Ms J Monakhisi and Ms G Senwamadi were appointed as programme directors. The vote of thanks was also rendered by a lady, Ms TD Mashishi. Moreover, in what seems to have been a real team effort, organising committee members and curriculum advisors worked together on the day of the conference to ensure a smooth registration process.

Jake's paper, titled "Curriculum transition into CAPS", highlighted the importance of change as an aspect of growth. He took the attendees along the path that Curriculum 2005, the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) and the Revised NCS travelled until the introduction of CAPS. The emphasis was on the NCS and CAPS not as new, unrelated curricula, but on the NCS as a product of reviewing in order to strengthen and streamline Curriculum 2005, and CAPS as a strategy to re-package the NCS so that content and assessment are well delineated according to themes.

On the day of the conference, eight teachers who had achieved excellent Grade 12 results in the 2012 final examination were awarded with certificates as tokens of appreciation. Vivlia Book Publishing also kindly donated four boxes with Grade 12 books which will be distributed to deserving schools upon the discretion of the Conference Organising Committee.

Mpumalanga and Northern Cape

The SASHT still needs to appoint regional representatives for these provinces.

North West Province

Pieter Warnich reports that the Department of Basic Education requested the Unit of Open Distance Learning at North-West University to present History workshops for Grades 4, 5 and 6 teachers in the townships and rural schools of the Klerksdorp, Rustenburg and Vryburg districts. These workshops adopted a multimedia approach and focused on the CAPS themes for Grades 4 to 6. The teachers who attended the workshops were encouraged to integrate multimedia into their lessons and received video clips and assessment material for use in the classroom. They were also provided with resource materials such as photographs and maps that covered all the Grades 4, 5 and 6 CAPS topics. Apart from the participants who were most appreciative, the Department of Basic Education officials were very happy with the outcome of the workshops, all of which prove that the workshops were a great success.

Western Cape

Barry Firth reports from the Western Cape that two successful History dialogues were held between high schools in the area where he teaches. These

dialogues took the same form as the panel discussion held at the SASHT conference of 2012 and are set to inspire similar dialogues in 2014.

Barry finds it quite challenging to spread the SASHT brand in the Western Cape. Teachers apparently view participation in SASHT activities as additional labour and effort on top of the demands placed on them by CAPS. It would appear that unless individuals have an academic interest to pursue History, they find it difficult to justify the extra time, effort and financial outlay in becoming involved in the SASHT. On two occasions Barry invited the Curriculum Advisor (History) for the Western Cape Education Department (South) in an attempt to bridge the divide between officialdom and History teachers. He argues that the SASHT needs to involve more officials and policy makers from the various provincial departments of education and invite them to actively participate in future SASHT conferences which are the showcase of the Society – in other words, focus more on a targeted membership that would really strengthen the SASHT, or as he puts it: 'We want the lions, not the monkeys'.

Barry also had the opportunity to address the PGCE students at the University of Cape Town where he encouraged prospective History teachers to join the SASHT. He regards universities and teacher training institutions as the ideal growth nodes for future membership, seeing that schools are not naturally inclined to seek professional association with organisations such as the Van Riebeeck Society, the SASHT or Shikaya.

According to Barry, History teaching faces severe challenges in the Western Cape, the most important of which are the demands of CAPS. Although CAPS succeeds in sequencing and demarcating the knowledge areas more clearly, it remains uncertain whether learners with weak reading backgrounds will cope with the demands.

Another challenge is the lack of younger teachers joining the profession which casts doubt on the potential for future growth for the SASHT. Barry argues that Education schools at Universities must groom and channel students to join institutions such as SASHT. He also thinks that individual efforts are negligible and pleads for a biennial conference between institutions in each region which will create an opportunity for students, teachers and officials (DBE and unions) of that area to address local challenges to History and History curriculum delivery.

Last but not least, Barry argues that for regions to be effective, clear goals and a means to achieve them need to be identified.

Another SASHT regional representative in the Western Cape, Lindinxiwa Mahlasela, is well placed to promote the image of the SASHT via the many activities of the Iziko Museum in Cape Town where he works. This museum's Education and Public Programmes Department has four main objectives:

- Teacher enrichment sessions which seek to enhance the knowledge of museum and school-based educators through curator or expert-led guided tours, workshops and seminars.
- The development of worksheets that are aligned with the national curriculum, often in collaboration with other museum and school-based educators. One example would be the lesson plans and worksheets which Iziko staff designed for schools, demonstrating how heritage institutions can support local history, a theme for Grade 4.
- Enriching and enabling museum programmes, for example social history guided tours, lessons and programmes reaching approximately 7000 learners and students every three months. Prominent events during 2013 included those that marked the Natives Land Act centenary; the Le Vaillant exhibition at the South African Museum which was used to teach the French Revolution as a Grade 8 topic; the "African Story of the Mother City" exhibition at the Slave Lodge which involved guided tours, educator workshops and worksheets that encouraged educators and learners to engage in oral research; the "OR Tambo: The Modest Revolutionary" exhibition; and a variety of events that promoted local history and oral history.
- Various community-based outreach initiatives and public programmes on public holidays, all aimed at promoting history and heritage.

We look forward to an equally if not more active 2014.

SASHT Conference 2013

Annual conference of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) Maritzburg College, Pietermaritzburg, 27-28 September 2013

SASHT Conference 2013

The conference organisers together with a Keynote speaker and the SASHT-Chair from left to right: Mr Matthew Marwick (Maritzburg College); Prof Dan Wylie (Rhodes University - Keynote speaker); Prof Elize van Eeden (SASHT Chair) and Mr Simon Haw (assistant-organizer, 2013 Conference).

Glimpses of Maritzburg College

Maritzburg College is proud to host the 27th annual conference of the South African Society for History Teaching on 27 – 28 September 2013

Introduction

The conference organisers are delighted to announce that Prof Jonathan Jansen (pictured), the much-admired Rector of the University of the Free State, has agreed to deliver the conference's keynote address on Saturday, 28 September, on "Why the first year university students dread talking about the past – and what schools can do about it."

About the conference

The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) is the official mouthpiece of history teachers in South Africa, especially those at secondary schools and tertiary institutions. It is anticipated that about 150 – 200 teachers and lecturers will attend the conference, many from beyond KwaZulu-Natal.

Conference theme: *Teaching and Learning History in a 21st Century African Classroom*

The sub-themes of the conference are:

- Disseminating research by historians in GET, FET and HET History curricula
- Disseminating indigenous knowledge/local history/regional History in the classroom for a better understanding/complementing of curriculum themes
- Bridging teaching, curriculum and examination constraints
- Ways of overcoming the generational disconnect
- Modern media: threats and opportunities
- Keeping History alive and relevant in a 21st century classroom

Overview

The year 2013 marks the 150th celebration of Maritzburg College *(right)*, KwaZulu-Natal's oldest boys' school. In a busy year, the school is hosting numerous sports and cultural festivals, tournaments and other events, and it is especially proud to host the 27th annual conference of the SASHT as part of those festivities.

Programme

The organisers have received over 30 excellent abstracts for papers and workshops, and have been able to put together a stimulating, interesting and varied schedule. The *provisional* schedule (as at 16 August), subject to final changes, is as follows:

Thursday, September 26				
16:00 – 17:00	Meeting of regional representatives			
17:00 – 18:00	Editorial committee of *Yesterday & Today*			
18:00 – 21:00	SASHT Executive meeting and business dinner Braai for early arrivals			
Friday, September 27				
08:00 – 08:35	Registration			
08:35 – 09:00	Welcome, opening address, orientation			
	Venue A		**Venue B**	
09:00 – 09:05	Start of session		Start of session	
09:05 – 09:25	P. Warnich (North-West University, Potchefstroom)	From Curriculum 2005 to the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS): Assessing history teachers' assessment practices within a constructivist learning paradigm	R. Siebörger (University of Cape Town)	What should history teachers know? Assessing history students at the conclusion of the PGCE year

09:25 – 09:45	M. Maposa (Edgewood Campus, UKZN)	An analysis of the application of indigenous knowledge on themes on postcolonial Africa in selected South African history textbooks	S. Glanvill (University of the Witwatersrand)	Using the "thinking and reading like a historian"[1] approach with pre-service social science educators
09:45 – 10:05	P. Modisakeng (North-West University [NWU], Potchefstroom)	The role of Open Distance Learning (ODL) in addressing issues and challenges experienced by history teachers in the North-West province	B. Mackenzie (Dominican Convent School)	"Doing history" as portrayed in assessment tasks found in the *Early Expansion and Conquest* units contained in a sample of Grade 10 South African CAPS-compliant history textbooks
10:05 – 10:25	S. Bester (NWU, Potchefstroom)	The challenges in using and integrating multimedia by Grade 4, 5 and 6 history teachers of the schools in the townships and rural areas in and around the Klerksdorp, Rustenburg and Vryburg districts	H. Ludlow (University of the Witwatersrand)	Using local history to engage students in the practices of history
10:25 – 10:40	Question Time		Question Time	
10:40 – 11:00	**Tea Time**			
11:00 – 11:05	Start of session		Start of session	
11:05 – 11:40	P. Nel (Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository)	**Short workshop:** Leafing out your family tree @ the Archives	D. Gillespie (Jeppe Girls' High)	Short workshop: E-ducational E-xcursions – Planning successful day excursions and tours
11:40 – 12:00	J. Seroto (University of South Africa)	How South African history is dealt with in selected Grade 12 history textbooks: A preliminary reflection	M. Friedman (University of the Witwatersrand)	Teaching African Studies for the 21st century: A case study
12:00 – 12:20	M. Koekemoer (CTI Education Group)	Holocaust Education – enriching Grade 9 learners socially or educationally? Analysing the discourse within textbooks	S. Singh (Kharina Secondary School)	Disseminating indigenous knowledge/local history/ regional history in the classroom for a better understanding/ complementing of the curricula themes

12:20 – 12:40	E. Marmer and P. Sow (Universities of Hamburg and Bonn)	African history teaching in contemporary German textbooks	G. Weldon (China Programme Consultant, Facing History and Ourselves)	Post-conflict history teaching – the critical issues of understanding personal legacies and identities of the past on all of us and the way in which this influences the teaching of history, particularly resistance history and the TRC
12:40 – 12:55	Question time		Question Time	
12:55 – 13:50	**Lunch and tour of the school, including visit to the school museum**			
13:50 – 13:55	Start of session		Start of session	
13:55 – 14:15	M. Ndlovu (University of South Africa)	Why indigenous knowledge in the 21st century? A de-colonial turn	P. Murray (Bishops, Cape Town)	The role of fiction in history teaching
14:15 – 14:35	B. Moreeng (Free State University)	Post-colonial discourse: An option for post-apartheid history teaching in South Africa?	J. Engelbrecht (Thomas More, Kloof)	Heritage to History: A take on Grade 10 local History documentaries
14:35 – 14:55	E. van Eeden (NWU, Vaal Triangle)	Assessing the colonial historiography of South Africa and its presence in the Further and Higher Education and Training environment.	N. Sibawu (University of Venda)	Understanding the impact of resistance songs in debunking the stigma attached to history during the 21st Century
14:55 – 15:10	Question time		Question time	
15:10 – 15:30	**Tea Time (Please notice that there will be three venues in operation for the long workshops)**			
	Venue A	**Venue B**	**Venue C**	
15:30 – 17:30 **Long Workshops**	P. Denis and P. Dlamini (Sinomlando oral history unit, UKZN)	C. Bertram (UKZN, Pietermaritzburg campus)	K.A. Garcia (Brescia House School, Johannesburg)	
	Voices from the past: The practice of oral history	Designing source-based questions: Thinking about cognitive demand and difficulty	Protest music of the 1960s in the classroom	
17:30 – 18:30	**SASHT AGM**			
18:30 for 19:00	**Cocktail Party**			

Saturday, September 28				
07:45 – 07:50	Start of session		Start of Session	
07:50 – 08:10	R. van Diemel (Faculty of Military Science, University of Stellenbosch)	"An all too familiar voice" – Re-examining Josiah T Gumede's contribution to colonial and post Union history in Natal, 1904 – 1946	F. Cleophas (University of Stellenbosch)	Come to the classroom and listen to the flowers.
08:10 – 08:30	M.J. Mthethwa (Free State University)	Responding to the challenges of transition into the intermediate phase – A case study of the teaching and learning of history in Grade 4.	K.A. Garcia (Brescia House School, Johannesburg)	The US sixties in historical perspective – new interpretations of major events in the era.
08:30 – 08:50	M.C. Kgari-Masondo (UKZN, Edgewood campus)	The usable past: Teaching socio-environmental history in South African high schools from an indigenous perspective	E. Goring	What are we ashamed about in our history?
08:50 – 09:10	G. Nxumalo (Edgewood)	Young African women and the umhlanga ceremony: A case study in historical consciousness.	P. Haupt (Settlers High School, Cape Town)	Connecting the dots: History teaching in the 21st century classroom – juggling reason, technology and multi-media in the world of the young technophile.
09:10 – 09:30	L. le Roux	Views held by future history educators on "historical pride".	C. Gordon and J. Cloete (NWU, Potchefstroom)	The use of cell phones in the teaching of history.
09:30 – 09:50	K. Morgan (University of the Witwatersrand)	Learning empathy through school history textbooks? A case study	J. Grobler (University of Pretoria)	Using historical Facebook pages to teach history.
09:50 – 10:10	Question time		Question time	
10:10 – 10:20	**Comfort break**			
10:20 – 11:20	**Guest Speaker:** Dan Wylie (Professor of English, Rhodes University) – Shaka: Teaching a history of uncertainties			
11:20 – 11:35	**Tea time**			
11:35 – 12:20	**Guest Speaker:** Jonathan D. Jansen (Rector: Free State University) – Why the first year university students dread talking about the past - and what schools can do about it".			
12:20 – 13:10	Wrap up of Conference, farewells and official photograph taken			
13:10 – 13:30	**Lunch**			
13:30 – 16:00	Tour of Pietermaritzburg			

DID YOU KNOW? The Maritzburg City Hall *(left)* – which will of course feature in the tour –is the largest red brick building in the Southern Hemisphere?

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 elize.vaneeden@nwu.ac.za. Notification of the receipt of the documents will be done within 48 hours.

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

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

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

   <u>Example</u>: 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.

   <u>The abstract body</u>: Regular font, 10pt.

   <u>The heading of the ***Abstract***</u>: Bold, italics, 12pt.

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

   The word '<u>**Keywords**</u>':10pt, bold, underline.

   Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;). <u>Example</u>: 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. <u>**Third level sub-headings: 'History research'**</u> – 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. <u>Example</u>: LC du Plessis and **NOT** L.C. du Plessis.

11. **Body text**: Names without punctuation in the text. <u>Example</u>: "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:

    <u>Example:</u> 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. <u>Example</u>: 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.

    <u>Example</u>: **Image 1: 'Image title'** (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.

    Sources of all images should also be included after the 'Image title'.

    <u>Example</u>: **Source: 'The source'** (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.

    <u>Important note</u>: 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. <u>Example</u>: 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. <u>Example</u>: **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;**

<u>NOT</u>

P Erasmus, "The 'Lost' South African Tribe – Rebirth Of The Koranna In The Free State", *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

<u>**PLEASE NOTE**</u>: 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.

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The Harvard reference method

References in the text

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

List of references

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order, under References.

Bibliographic information should be in the language of the source document, not in the language of the article.

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

• Journal articles

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of article, unabbreviated title of journal, volume, issue number in brackets and page numbers: e.g.

Shepherd, R 1992. Elementary media education. The perfect curriculum. *English Quarterly*, 25(2):35-38.

• Books

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

• Chapters in books

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

• Unpublished theses or dissertations

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

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