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July 2020

# Yesterday & Today

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

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Hands-on articles in the following field of research are published (covers 25% of the Journal)

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Manuscripts, in English, not exceeding 15 pages (8000 words) in 1.5 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 but the author(s) should secure the copyright of using images not developed by the author. 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.

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# Contents

# Editorial

History Education Greetings,

Allow me to start this editorial to the July 2020 edition of *Yesterday & Today* by pointing out the obvious – COVID-19 has seriously interrupted history education activities across the world. One of the ways to respond to COVID-19 and its impact on history education is by studying it. In this regard, *Yesterday & Today* has already reacted proactively, having sent out a call for papers in March of this year for a special section in the December 2020 edition. The call, an extract of which appears below, is an authentic effort to come to some understanding, whilst being 'in the eye of the storm', of what happened to your history educational practices during this time.

*Yesterday & Today*, an accredited open-access South African journal, with a focus on History Education, History in Education, History for Education and the History of Education, is calling for papers on the teaching and learning of history in the time of the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic. All papers will be subjected to a double-blind, peer-review process. Accepted papers will appear in the December 2020 edition of *Yesterday & Today*. Papers dealing with any aspect of teaching and learning history, in whatever form or format, in the time of coronavirus disease (COVID-19) will be considered. Apart from the more traditional scholarly papers, this special edition of *Yesterday & Today* is also interested in contributions dealing with: moving history teaching and learning online/off-campus; position papers; conceptual papers; autoethnographic and self-studies; reports on history teaching and learning failures and successes; the ethical responsibilities of teaching in this time of crisis; the emerging #CoronavirusSyllabus initiatives; and curriculum and other educational innovations. Articles that highlight interdisciplinary collaboration on the teaching and learning of history will also be welcomed, as will articles that focus on teaching during and about the pandemic of coronavirus disease (COVID-19).

Apart from the academic articles that *Yesterday & Today* will carry concerning history education under COVID-19 in the December 2020 edition, special emphasis will also be placed on the 'Teachers' Voices' section, which explores the experiences of history education lecturers, teachers and students.

Recently, the Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAF) made their draft peer-reviewed report on *Yesterday & Today* available. The full report will be carried in *Yesterday & Today* as soon as it is published. At this stage, I would like to make two comments on the preliminary report. The first is to acknowledge the incredible work done by my predecessor as editor-in-chief, Dr Pieter Warnich, and the co-editors and editorial board members who worked with him. The report is testimony to their work. The second is to start working in a proactive manner with the suggested improvements identified by the review panel. These include:

- Improving the book review section
- Broadening the appeal of *Yesterday & Today* to scholars in African countries other than South Africa

In terms of the book reviews, the current edition, in my view, already shows an improvement. At the same time, moves are afoot to improve the standing of *Yesterday & Today* across the African continent and beyond. Evidence of this will hopefully be seen in the December 2020 edition.

Another change in the current edition of *Yesterday & Today* is the appointment of a new editorial board. Standing members were asked via email if they wanted to continue as members of the editorial board; those who responded positively were appointed for another term. The vacancies that arose in the process were filled with fresh scholarly faces, who, I am confident, will help take *Yesterday & Today* to new heights.

Finally, allow me to reflect on the articles featuring in this edition of *Yesterday & Today*.

- In the first article, Carol Bertram uses Bernstein's pedagogic device as a framing heuristic to trace the shifts in the South African school history curriculum from 1995 to 2019. She focuses on how the instructional and regulative discourses have changed over the past 25 years. The article is a detailed case study of how curriculum design is influenced by selection logics that are both internal and external to the discipline of history, and which reflect curriculum-making as a process fraught with tensions and fractures.
- In their article, Karen Harris and Ria van der Merwe reflect on a recently developed component of a postgraduate Honours module introduced in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the University of Pretoria in collaboration with the university archive. The module involved students engaging with un-inventoried, virgin, primary documentation emanating from the Museum of the Transvaal Education Department. The brief required

students to consider the research potential of the material and to present their findings at a colloquium entitled 'What's in the Box?' Based on the project, Harris and Van der Merwe argue that the success of this component of the course took the students a step further in the making of history and thus exposed them to experiential learning and what could be termed the 'inner workings' of the historians' craft.

- In his article, Roland Ndille engages with one of the greatest worries of African states post-independence, namely, how to maintain national cohesion amongst the multiplicity of ethnic groups that characterise these states. He argues, that even in the midst of a turbulent central African region, until the advent of neoliberalism and multiparty politics in 1990, national integration had been a major educational ideology in Cameroon that contributed to the peace and stability for which the country was known. He concludes by highlighting the social relevance of a curriculum within which history education should be re-invented as a vector for peace, unity and national integration in the country.
- In the final academic article, Francois Cleophas creates an institutional sports biography of Zonnebloem College in Cape Town prior to 1950. He starts by motivating for a decolonising format and lays out what the elements of such a format would entail. Thereafter, he presents the historical developments of sport at Zonnebloem College. Finally, the article presents teachers and learners with sample questions which they could consider using in their local context to rewrite the existing institutional sports biographies of institutions.
- Finally, in the first of the 'hands-on' articles, Martina Jordaan unpacks how students in a Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology, during their 40 hours of community service, brought about a massive improvement to the Irene Concentration Camp which was erected during the South African War (1899–1902). In the second 'hands-on' article, Lucille Dawkshas shares her innovative experiences of using graphic organisers to teach history at a high school.

Happy reading,

Johan Wassermann

Editor-in-Chief

# Remaking history: The pedagogic device and shifting discourses in the South African school history curriculum

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## *Abstract*

*This article uses Bernstein's pedagogic device as a framing heuristic to trace the shifts in the South African school history curriculum from 1995 – 2019. The article focuses on how the instructional and regulative discourses have changed over the past 25 years. The instructional discourse refers to the selection, sequencing, pacing and assessment of knowledge, while the regulative discourse refers to the rules that create social order. I map the curriculum shifts onto the broader policy discourses, such as the competence framework of outcomes-based education (which informed the South African curriculum from 1997 to 2011), the performativity and accountability discourse which emerged after 2012 and the discourses of decolonisation that strengthened after 2015. This article aims to tell the story of how the history curriculum reforms reflect the broader regulative discourses and to show the relationships between the official and pedagogical recontextualising fields. The story is a detailed case study of how curriculum design is influenced by selection logics that are both internal and external to the discipline of history, which reflects curriculum-making as a process fraught with tensions and fractures.*

**Keywords:** School history curriculum; Pedagogic device; Policy discourses; South Africa.

## Introduction

Bernstein's pedagogic device provides a set of general principles which inform how knowledge is selected into official curricula and how this knowledge is transformed into pedagogic communication. I use the pedagogic device here to show how the broader educational discourses in South Africa have influenced the official school history curriculum. The aim of this article is to interrogate the various history curriculum reforms between 1994 and 2019 and create a narrative of the interactions, tensions

and contradictions that have played out between the general regulative discourses and the instructional discourses of the history curriculum over the past 25 years.

I draw on official curriculum policy, Ministerial task team reports, existing accounts and studies of curriculum reform to show how the nature of substantive and procedural history knowledge has shifted in the various official history curricula since 1990, as well as how the purpose of, and justification for teaching school history has changed. I map the curriculum shifts onto the broader policy discourses, such as the competence framework of outcomes-based education (which informed the South African curriculum from 1997 to 2011), the performativity and accountability discourse which emerged from 2012 and the discourses of decolonization that strengthened after 2015. This article aims to tell the story of how the history curriculum reforms reflect the broader regulative discourses and to show the relationships between the official and pedagogical recontextualising fields. The story is a detailed case study of how curriculum design is influenced by selection logics that are both the internal and external to the discipline of history, which reflects curriculum-making as a process fraught with tensions and fractures.

The article follows a chronological narrative of the various history curriculum reforms in South Africa from 1990 until the present. The post-apartheid reforms in the South African curriculum from the radical, outcomes-based *Curriculum 2005* to the more structured *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements* (CAPS) in 2011 are well-rehearsed both from a general perspective (Hoadley 2018; Chisholm 2005), as well as from the perspective of the history curriculum (Wassermann 2017; Chisholm 2015). I use the pedagogic device as a theory and a heuristic device to interrogate how different levels in the education system engaged to create a new curriculum document. The landscape that I survey is broad, hence I present 'snapshots' of five curriculum reform moments, which cannot provide detail at every level of the device.

## Theoretical framing

The pedagogic device is an attempt to describe the general principles which underlie the transformation of knowledge into pedagogic communication (Bernstein, 1996). Bernstein uses the term to refer to systemic and institutionalized ways in which knowledge is recontextualised from the field of knowledge production into the school system and its distribution

and evaluation within the schooling system (Jacklin, 2004). Singh (2002) describes the pedagogic device as an ensemble of rules or procedures described by Bernstein which provide a model for analysing the processes by which expert knowledge is converted into classroom talk and curricula. The process of recontextualising entails the principle of *de-location* (that is selecting a discourse or part of a discourse from the field of production where new knowledge is constructed) and a principle of *re-location* of that discourse as a discourse within the recontextualising field (Bernstein 2000: 113). In this process of de- and re-location, the original discourse undergoes an ideological transformation. This process produces dilemmas and tensions (Lamnias 2002).

**Table 1: The arena of the pedagogic device**

| **Field of practice** | Production (where knowledge is produced) | Recontextualisation (where knowledge is selected and sequenced into curriculum documents or textbooks) | Reproduction (where teachers transmit and evaluate knowledge) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Form of regulation** | Distributive rules | Recontextualising rules | Evaluative rules |
| **Kinds of symbolic structure** | Knowledge structure | Curriculum | Pedagogy and evaluation |
| **Typical agents** | Academics, professional historians | *Official Recontextualising Field (ORF):* Curriculum writers, Pedagogic *Recontextualising Field (PRF):* teacher educators, textbook writers | Teachers |
| **Typical sites** | Research papers, conferences, laboratories | Curriculum policy, textbooks, learning aids | Classrooms and examinations (assessment tasks) |

Source: Adapted from Maton & Muller, 2007:18.

The device consists of three rules, the distributive, recontextualising and evaluative rules which give rise to three respective fields of practice (see Table 1). There are agents in these fields who seek domination through their positions/ practices (Bernstein & Solomon, 1999). These arenas

are the field of production (where knowledge is produced), the field of recontextualisation (where knowledge is selected and sequenced into curriculum documents and textbooks) and the field of reproduction (classrooms where teachers transmit and evaluate the selected knowledge). The pedagogic device is a site of struggle, for the "group who appropriates the device has access to a ruler and distributer of consciousness, identity and desire" (Bernstein & Solomon, 1999: 269). Symbolic control is materialized through the pedagogic device. There are a range of agencies which make up the fields of the pedagogic device, and these fields are social spaces of conflict and competition.

Distributive rules specialize forms of knowledge, forms of consciousness and forms of practice to social groups. They establish who gets access to what knowledge, that is, to which privileged and specialised ways of classifying, ordering, thinking, speaking and behaving (Ensor, 2004). The field of production is the field where knowledge is created by researchers in universities and other research institutions.

Recontextualising rules constitute specific pedagogic discourses. Pedagogic discourse is seen as a grammar which underlies the three fields of the pedagogic device (Bernstein, 2000). Pedagogic discourse is a rule that embeds two discourses: a discourse of knowledge and skills of various kinds and their relations to each other (called the instructional discourse), and rules that create social order (called the regulative discourse). Bernstein (2000) notes that the rules of the instructional discourse refer to the selection, sequence, pacing and evaluative criteria of the knowledge.

Actors in the recontextualising field make choices as to what kind of knowledge is selected for the school curriculum, how it is sequenced, paced and evaluated. The recontextualising field is key in creating the fundamental autonomy of education. Bernstein distinguishes between an official recontextualising field (ORF) that is created and dominated by the state and its selected ministries and agents, and a pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF). The PRF is made up of teacher educators in university departments of education, specialised journals, private research foundations and textbook writers. If the actors in the PRF can have an effect on pedagogic discourse independently of the ORF, then there is some autonomy and contestation over pedagogic discourse and its practices. The relationship between the ORF and PRF can vary within the same country over time. Sometimes the PRF can become a space where agents can develop curricula and pedagogy

with some degree of independence of the ORF, in other cases the ORF significantly constrains the ability of the PRF to function (Ensor, 2004).

The third field of practice is the field of reproduction, where teachers transmit and evaluate knowledge. It is in this field that teachers can enact the relative autonomy of education, depending on the extent to which teachers can interpret and adapt the official curriculum. Teachers' pedagogic practice is informed by both instructional and regulative discourses that are relayed in the official curriculum and textbooks, as well as by their own experiences of learning and beliefs about the purposes of teaching history.

Regarding the question of how the instructional pedagogic discourse principle relates to the specific subject of school history, I have argued that the distinction between substantive and procedural knowledge in the discipline of history (Lee & Ashby 2000; Schwab 1978; Lee 2004; Lévesque 2008) is a useful analytic tool for curriculum analysis (Bertram 2009, 2012). Substantive history knowledge or first order concepts encompass an understanding of space, place and time. This means knowing what happened, why and when; knowing the propositions of history which are constructed by historians using their procedural investigations. It includes knowledge of the key concepts and periods which make up the content of history – periods such as the Ming Dynasty, Industrial Revolution, the Cold War and concepts such as communism, capitalism, colonialism, feudalism and monarchy (Bertram, 2016). Procedural knowledge, or second order concepts (Lee & Ashby, 2000), are the organising ideas which give meaning and structure to events in history such as chronology, change and evidence that inform our understanding of the discipline of history. I will make use of these two concepts in my analysis of the curriculum shifts.

The regulative aspect of pedagogic discourse is reflected in the way that a national curriculum understands the purpose of school history. One approach to school history promotes knowledge of national history and national values in the interests of preserving collective memory and fostering national identity, while another approach is based on a disciplinary focus supported by historical thinking, where the content is not dominated by the nation but has become diversified and globalised (Guyver, 2013). A national identity discourse is similar to Lévesque's (2008) concept of Memory-history, which he describes as a "factual" tradition that focuses on commemoration, memory and heritage, where history can be known by remembering it. Memory-history is often used to

support a particular version of a national history. Wertsch's (2002) term for this category is collective history, which is the usable past created by those in positions of power to serve particular political and identity needs. In contrast to this, Disciplinary-history is about learning to think historically using specific disciplinary processes, such as "a lengthy immersion in the primary sources, a deliberate shedding of present-day assumptions and a rare degree of empathy and imagination" (Tosh, 2006:12). It acknowledges a range of different perspectives, recognises ambiguity and separates the past from the present (Wertsch, 2002).

The study will describe how the instructional discourses (that is, what knowledge is selected and how it is organized) have shifted from one reform to the next, as well as how the general regulative or moral discourses have influenced these knowledge selections. I understand discourse to mean the ideas and ways of thinking that circumscribe what can be spoken or thought, by whom, when and on what authority (Ball, 2006).

## Methodology

The empirical evidence is gathered from the official curriculum documents and government reports from each wave of reform, as well as existing studies in the field. For the General Education and Training band (GET), the official documents are Curriculum 2005 (Department of Education 1997), the NCS Grade 0 -9 (Department of Education, 2002) and the CAPS Social Science Grade 4 – 9 (Department of Basic Education, 2011b). For the Further Education and Training (FET)[1] phase, the official documents are the first post- apartheid curriculum Interim Core Syllabus (ICS) Std 8 – 10 (1996), the NCS Grade 10 – 12 (2003) and the CAPS History Grade 10 - 12 (Department of Basic Education, 2011a). In addition, I engage with reports of the various committees established by the Minister of Education to review the curriculum such as the Curriculum 2005 review (Department of Education, 2000b), the History and Archaeological Panel (Department of Education, 2000a), the review of the implementation of the NCS (Department of Education, 2009) and the History Ministerial Task Team report (Ndlovu et al., 2018). Further reference will be made to other research and studies that have been published at the time of the curriculum reforms.

1 The South African schooling system comprises the General Education and Training (GET) band which includes Grade R to 9 (ages 6 to 15) and the Further Education and Training (FET) band which includes Grade 10-12 (ages 16 to 18).

**Snapshot 1: 1990-1996 (Interim Core syllabus)**

In South Africa, history teaching during apartheid was mostly located in the traditional fact-learning tradition (Kros 1996; Morrell 1990), which emphasised rote learning of propositional knowledge. The content reflected a Eurocentric and Afrikaner nationalist perspective (du Preez, 1983). However, some schools within the white and Indian education departments offered a more progressive, enquiry-based history education. This was informed by the British Schools Council History Project, which focused on the procedural knowledge informing history as a discipline.

After the democratic government took power in 1994, it was necessary to create a single curriculum for the newly established national department of education, as there were nineteen different departments of education, as well as to rid the apartheid syllabus of any overly racist or sexist content (Kros, 1996). The Interim Core Syllabus (ICS) document was a result of the curriculum "cleansing" process (Jansen, 1999). It was an interim measure, while the planning for a more extensive curriculum reform could take place. The ICS of 1996 broadened the history narrative to move beyond 'White' history, adapted to the needs of a democratic order, and yet retained an essentially traditional approach to history teaching (DoE, 2000). Kros (1996) argues that these syllabuses were still fragmented and overloaded with content, and that they continued to tell the story of the elites with little social history (Seleti, 1997). The regulative discourse at this point reflects a shift from segregation to integration.

Both the progressive National Education Co-ordinating Committee and the state were thinking about an alternative history curriculum in the early 1990s. In the PRF, the History Education Group hosted three conferences which were attended by teachers and academics from a range of educational and political perspectives. The Wits History project were promoting a revisionist historiography and a People's History as a counter to the racist and elitist history propagated during apartheid (Krige, Taylor, & Vadi, 1992; Callinicos, 1980). At the same time, the state appointed a committee from the Human Sciences Research Council to investigate the teaching of secondary school history in South Africa (van der Merwe, Vermaak, & Lombard, 1991). Their illustrative syllabus was not well received by the History Education Group. In the end, the thinking of neither the apartheid state nor the progressive left influenced the first new curriculum, which took an outcomes-based approach. The discourse of 'people's education'

and of history from below were subsumed by the official competence discourse in the late 1990s (Chisholm, 2004).

**Snapshot 2: 1997-2001 (Curriculum 2005)**

The first major post-apartheid shift in the curriculum was the radical outcomes-based curriculum called Curriculum 2005 (C2005) for the primary school up to Grade 9 (Department of Education, 1997). The regulative discourse informing this were the imperatives for transformation, redress and access, for a symbolic break from Apartheid and the strong influence from labour for a competence-based curriculum that integrated education and training (Christie, 1997). History was integrated with geography into a learning area called Human and Social Sciences (HSS). The C2005 curriculum document had complex levels of specific outcomes, assessment criteria, range statement and performance indicators (See Table 2). The HSS learning area combined the concepts of time, space, relationships and change into nine learning outcomes, such as "Demonstrate a critical understanding of how South African society has changed and developed". Although the key history curriculum debates in the early 1990s had been about what content should be taught to counter the Afrikaans nationalism of the apartheid curriculum, ironically there were no lists of content topics provided in the C2005 documents. Instead, broad sets of concepts which were labelled "range statements" were provided to indicate to teachers what they should teach, and there were "performance indicators" which described what learners should be able to do.

**Table 2: Excerpt from the C2005 Human and Social Sciences for Senior Phase (Grades 7-9)**

| **Specific Outcome 1: Demonstrate a critical understanding of how South African society has changed and developed** | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Assessment criteria** | **RANGE STATEMENTS** | **PERFORMANCE INDICATORS** |
| Key features of change over time and space are critically examined | Key features to include:<br>* socio-economic relations<br>* Forms of state and power relations | * Explain how differ aspects of past society were inter-related<br>* Give an account of the changes experienced by communities, including struggles over land, resources and political rights |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Key features of change over time and space are critically examined (continues...) | * Forms of social organisation [e.g. hunter gatherer, herder, farming, colonial (including slavery), industrial<br>* ideologies and belief systems<br>* levels of inequality (e.g. social class, individual circumstances<br>* period:<br>pre-colonial (from earliest hominids). Colonial, post colonial Apartheid, post-Apartheid<br><br>Processes of change to include:<br>* dispossession<br>* repression<br>* resistance and struggle<br>* liberation | * Analyse the impact of imperialism and nationalism on different classes in South Africa over time<br>* Identify key stages in the development of African nationalism and the struggle for liberation and decolonisation in Southern Africa. |

Source: Department of Education, 1997:5.

The range statements in Table 2 shows that the historiography underpinning the instructional discourse was a radical one, with a strong desire for learners to understand inequality, struggles for land, resources, for decolonisation and liberation. This signified a complete break from the intention of the apartheid curriculum history curriculum. However, these concepts were not sequenced in a conceptually coherent way that created a logical narrative which could be easily learned. Since the concepts were not organised or sequenced chronologically nor thematically, it is unsurprising that teachers or learners did not know how to make sense of them.

The concepts such as imperialism, decolonisation and nationalism indicate that specialised substantive history knowledge was presented at a very abstract level. Regarding procedural knowledge, the HSS learning area had one specific outcome which focused on the requirement for learners to "Demonstrate the ability to use a range of skills and techniques in the HSS context". The policy envisioned that learners should learn from a range of

sources, particularly oral sources, archaeological sources and sources of material culture, as well as documents, maps and statistical sources. Thus, the procedural knowledge was specialised to history as a discipline, such as identifying bias and explaining how sources may be used to create an account of an event or process. However, the focus on sources does not embrace the full range of second order concepts, which include identifying continuity and change, cause and effect, understanding the moral aspect of historical interpretations and taking an historical perspective (Seixas, 2017). The rationale for the HSS learning area was that it should contribute "to developing responsible citizens in a culturally diverse, democratic society within an interdependent world". This seems to indicate that the curriculum wished to promote the development of global citizens, and there was not a focus on nationalistic history. The discourse of C2005 makes it clear that the purpose of this curriculum was the development of generic outcomes and not of disciplinary thinking.

The Human and Social Sciences curriculum was written by a Learning Area Committee (LAC) which represented various stakeholders. This included the department of education, teacher unions, NGOs, professional associations and academics (Siebörger 1997; Seleti 1997). Thus, it was made up of actors in both the Official Recontextualising Field (department of education officials) and the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field, although officials from the national and provincial departments still had the greatest representation, and greater power to determine the structure of the curriculum. The committee was expected to identify the learning outcomes for the new integrated learning area, constrained by tight time frames and lack of clarity about exactly what was expected. These processes were terribly unwieldy as many "stakeholders" lacked expertise in curriculum development processes and they had insufficient time to consult with their constituencies (Fataar 1999; Siebörger 1997). In the end, a small Technical Committee representing the ORF was set the task of rationalizing and organizing all the work produced by the LACs.

Curriculum 2005 was short lived and was not implemented beyond the early grades. At a practical level, the curriculum was implemented too quickly, as it was rolled out in Grade 1 in 1998, after only being released in mid-1997. There was not enough time to train teachers and to develop materials. The radical outcomes-based design vastly under-estimated teachers' ability to develop their own resources and engage with a curriculum that did not clearly specify content as well as the vast differences in school context which exist

in South Africa (Jansen, 1999a). Despite the challenges, many teachers and teacher educators embraced its ideology as the transformational panacea of the authoritarian apartheid curriculum. The state did not welcome critiques of OBE, such as Jansen's (1999b).

A new Minister of Education in 1999 opened up the space for a review of the curriculum. Prof Kader Asmal established a review committee to review C2005 in February 2000. In addition to the practical implementation problems of teacher development and lack of resources, the Committee found that the curriculum design was under-specified in terms of content and progression, and that there was little alignment between curriculum and assessment policy (Department of Education, 2000b). Their Report recommended that the curriculum be revised and streamlined in order to promote integration and conceptual coherence.

Fataar (2006) argues that the review of C2005 was dominated by an academic policy network which was drawn from the Education Faculties of liberal English- speaking universities, and in particular a subgroup who used Bernstein's distinction between hierarchical and vertical knowledge structures as a key conceptual critique of C2005. This was an example of actors in the PRF having an effect on the official pedagogic discourse, as the Review committee critiqued C2005 for its focus everyday knowledge at the expense of formal school knowledge (Department of Education, 2000b).

Kader Asmal's tenure as Minister of Education began a distinct movement at the regulative level of the ORF to reinsert history more strongly into the school curriculum, primarily because he supported the teaching of history and the humanities (Chisholm, 2004). At the same time as the C2005 Review Committee was working (February – May 2000), Minister Asmal assembled a group of diverse thinkers to form a Working Group which wrote a report entitled *Values, education and democracy*. This report called for the establishment of a panel of historians and archaeologists to advise the Minister on how best to strengthen the teaching of history in South African schools. In response, Asmal launched the History and Archaeology Panel and the Values in Education Initiative on 12 September 2000 which was required to undertake a critical analysis of the teaching of history and evolution in schools, the state of teacher training and the quality of support materials, and to make recommendations on how to strengthen these three areas.

Both the History and Archaeology Panel (Department of Education, 2000a). and the Review of Curriculum 2005 recommended that the subjects of History and Geography should be taught separately within the Social Sciences Learning Area. In addition, history content needed to be specified for teachers because the neglect of content meant that the ideology of apartheid may not be challenged at all, and that teachers would simply continue teach what they knew best (Chisholm, 2004).

The movement to reinsert history into the curriculum did not go unchallenged and there were continuing debates about whether history should have its own space in the curriculum at all. One reason is that many black adults schooled during apartheid associated school history with a rote learning and authoritarian approach that supported their oppression and subjugation (Wassermann, 2017). However, Asmal supported the importance of teaching of history which "should ensure learners develop a narrative and conceptual understanding of the history of South Africa and Africa, and their place in the world" (Department of Education, 2000a: 138). Further support of this position was a report called the *Manifesto on values, education, and democracy,* which outlines sixteen strategies for instilling democratic values in young South Africans. The manifesto states:

> *Putting history back into the curriculum is a means of nurturing critical inquiry and forming an historical consciousness. A critical knowledge of history it argues, is essential in building the dignity of human values within an informed awareness of the past, preventing amnesia, checking triumphalism, opposing a manipulative or instrumental use of the past, and providing a buffer against the 'dumbing down' of the citizenry* (James, 2001: vi).

Here the purpose of learning history is understood as nurturing critical thinking and developing historical consciousness, which is essentially a disciplinary focus, and not a patriotic one. In the same month that the Manifesto was published (August 2001), the Minister launched the South African History Project (SAHP). In his opening speech, Prof Asmal argued that history is vital for reminding us that any future should be based on a sound awareness of the role of the past. He said that the role of the SAHP was to promote and enhance the conditions and status of the learning and teaching of history in the South African schooling system, with the goal of restoring its material position and intellectual purchase in the classroom by engaging with processes of curriculum development and reviewing, revising and rewriting textbooks (Asmal, 2001).

These developments show that the official regulative discourse began to foreground the importance of school history which Curriculum 2005 had underplayed (Wassermann, 2017). This new discourse emphasised that the purpose of school history should be to develop an 'informed' view of the past and not a manipulative or "instrumental" view. The discourse supported a disciplinary view of history which was evident in the revised curriculum which replaced C2005.

**Snapshot 3: 2002-2009 (National Curriculum Statements)**

This renewed support for history meant that when the Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS) for Grade R to 9 was released in 2002, History and Geography were presented as distinct subjects with their own learning outcomes and content, although they were still part of the Social Science learning area (Department of Education, 2002). History had its own learning outcomes which promoted "enquiry skills to investigate the past and present, historical knowledge and understanding and historical interpretation skills" (Department of Education, 2002: 5). This curriculum was still outcomes-based, in that it set the outcomes and assessment standards to be achieved and encouraged a learner-centred and activity-based approach to education. However, the curriculum document also included a chapter which outlined the 'knowledge focus' for history for each grade. The curriculum document states that content and assessment standards are closely linked, and that standards can only be demonstrated in terms of the content.

**Table 3: Revised National Curriculum Statements (Social Science) History Knowledge focus for Grade 6, 7 and 8**

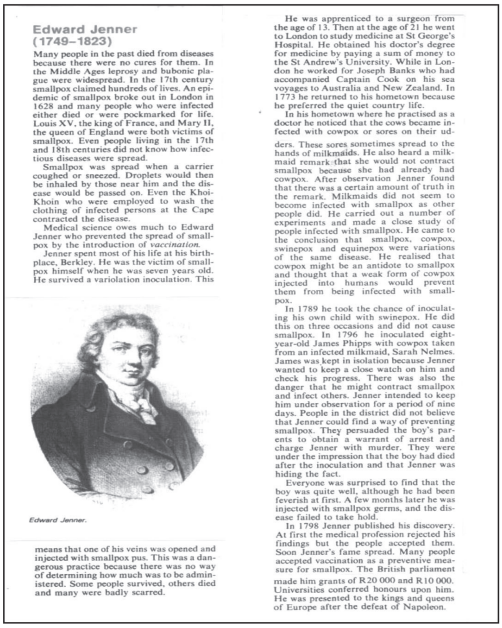
| Grade 6 | Grade 7 | Grade 8 |
|---|---|---|
| **Organisation of African societies** (kingdoms of Southern Africa) | **Human evolution** (early hominid discovered in South and East Africa) | **Changing Worlds:** the French Revolution |
| **Exploration and exploitation from the fourteenth century onwards** (maps of Africa, science and technology) | **Early trading systems** (from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries, including Arab trade, East Africa, Great Zimbabwe, trans-Saharan trade) | **Changing Worlds: Industrialisation** Industrial Revolution in Britain<br>Industrialisation in South Africa (mining, land and cities) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **The history of medicine** (medical discoveries, indigenous medicine and traditional healing) | Moving frontiers (contact, conflict and dispossession in the Eastern Cape and USA in the nineteenth century) | **Resisting British Control** (could include Zulu-British wars, Pedi-British) South African War |
| **Democracy in South Africa** (what is democracy, national symbols) | Systems of democracy (the American Revolution) | **Experience of colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth century** |
| | | **Changing ideas and technologies:** World War I |

Source: Department of Education 2002:89.

The instructional discourse shows that the selection of knowledge (Table 3) is quite different to the C2005 Senior Phase (as seen in Table 2), as the space and time frames of particular topics are now made clearer. The curriculum is organised using universal concepts such as exploration and exploitation, early trading systems, industrialisation and systems of democracy, which are exemplified by either South African or international events. In the Senior Phase, "learners should be able to place events, people and changes in the periods studied within a chronological framework" (59) although it is not clear that chronology and context of events are emphasised in the knowledge focus (see Table 3). The radical historiography reflected in the Senior Phase curriculum of C2005 was replaced by a discourse that supports human rights, Constitutional values, learner agency and the promotion of critical thinking around the reliability of sources and different interpretations of history. One purpose of the Social Sciences learning area was "to develop an awareness of how we can influence our future by confronting and challenging economic and social inequality to build a non-racial, democratic future and present" (Department of Education, 2002:4).

**Image 1: Excerpt from a Standard 4 History textbook (1983) and a Grade 6 Social Science textbook (2009)**



Edward Jenner
(1749–1823)

Many people in the past died from diseases because there were no cures for them. In the Middle Ages leprosy and bubonic plague were widespread. In the 17th century smallpox claimed hundreds of lives. An epidemic of smallpox broke out in London in 1628 and many people who were infected either died or were pockmarked for life. Louis XV, the king of France, and Mary II, the queen of England were both victims of smallpox. Even people living in the 17th and 18th centuries did not know how infectious diseases were spread.

Smallpox was spread when a carrier coughed or sneezed. Droplets would then be inhaled by those near him and the disease would be passed on. Even the Khoi-Khoin who were employed to wash the clothing of infected persons at the Cape contracted the disease.

Medical science owes much to Edward Jenner who prevented the spread of smallpox by the introduction of *vaccination*.

Jenner spent most of his life at his birthplace, Berkley. He was the victim of smallpox himself when he was seven years old. He survived a variolation inoculation. This



Edward Jenner.

means that one of his veins was opened and injected with smallpox pus. This was a dangerous practice because there was no way of determining how much was to be administered. Some people survived, others died and many were badly scarred.

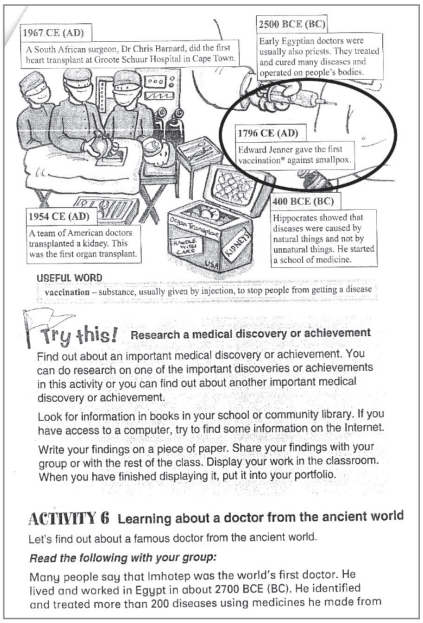
He was apprenticed to a surgeon from the age of 13. Then at the age of 21 he went to London to study medicine at St George's Hospital. He obtained his doctor's degree for medicine by paying a sum of money to the St Andrew's University. While in London he worked for Joseph Banks who had accompanied Captain Cook on his sea voyages to Australia and New Zealand. In 1773 he returned to his hometown because he preferred the quiet country life.

In his hometown where he practised as a doctor he noticed that the cows became infected with cowpox or sores on their udders. These sores sometimes spread to the hands of milkmaids. He also heard a milkmaid remark that she would not contract smallpox because she had already had cowpox. After observation Jenner found that there was a certain amount of truth in the remark. Milkmaids did not seem to become infected with smallpox as other people did. He carried out a number of experiments and made a close study of people infected with smallpox. He came to the conclusion that smallpox, cowpox, swinepox and equinepox were variations of the same disease. He realised that cowpox might be an antidote to smallpox and thought that a weak form of cowpox injected into humans would prevent them from being infected with smallpox.

In 1789 he took the chance of inoculating his own child with swinepox. He did this on three occasions and did not cause smallpox. In 1796 he inoculated eight-year-old James Phipps with cowpox taken from an infected milkmaid, Sarah Nelmes. James was kept in isolation because Jenner wanted to keep a close watch on him and check his progress. There was also the danger that he might contract smallpox and infect others. Jenner intended to keep him under observation for a period of nine days. People in the district did not believe that Jenner could find a way of preventing smallpox. They persuaded the boy's parents to obtain a warrant of arrest and charge Jenner with murder. They were under the impression that the boy had died after the inoculation and that Jenner was hiding the fact.

Everyone was surprised to find that the boy was quite well, although he had been feverish at first. A few months later he was injected with smallpox germs, and the disease failed to take hold.

In 1798 Jenner published his discovery. At first the medical profession rejected his findings but the people accepted them. Soon Jenner's fame spread. Many people accepted vaccination as a preventive measure for smallpox. The British parliament made him grants of R20 000 and R10 000. Universities conferred honours upon him. He was presented to the kings and queens of Europe after the defeat of Napoleon.



1967 CE (AD)
A South African surgeon, Dr Chris Barnard, did the first heart transplant at Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town.

2500 BCE (BC)
Early Egyptian doctors were usually also priests. They treated and cured many diseases and operated on people's bodies.

1796 CE (AD)
Edward Jenner gave the first vaccination* against smallpox.

1954 CE (AD)
A team of American doctors transplanted a kidney. This was the first organ transplant.

400 BCE (BC)
Hippocrates showed that diseases were caused by natural things and not by unnatural things. He started a school of medicine.

USEFUL WORD
vaccination – substance, usually given by injection, to stop people from getting a disease

Try this! Research a medical discovery or achievement

Find out about an important medical discovery or achievement. You can do research on one of the important discoveries or achievements in this activity or you can find out about another important medical discovery or achievement.

Look for information in books in your school or community library. If you have access to a computer, try to find some information on the Internet.

Write your findings on a piece of paper. Share your findings with your group or with the rest of the class. Display your work in the classroom. When you have finished displaying it, put it into your portfolio.

ACTIVITY 6 Learning about a doctor from the ancient world

Let's find out about a famous doctor from the ancient world.

*Read the following with your group:*

Many people say that Imhotep was the world's first doctor. He lived and worked in Egypt in about 2700 BCE (BC). He identified and treated more than 200 diseases using medicines he made from

Source: C Bertram and P Bharath, Specialised knowledge and everyday knowledge in old and new Grade 6 history textbooks, *Education as Change*, 15(1), 2011, pp. 63-80.

Although there was a strengthening of substantive knowledge in the NCS when compared to C2005, it was still an outcomes-based curriculum, which meant that learning outcomes were the organizing principle of the sequencing and assessment of knowledge. The implications for history textbooks (particularly in the primary school) meant that the organizing principle of chronological narrative was replaced by smaller fragments of knowledge. Learner activities were foregrounded as the official discourse of learner-centred education and the active learner was most often interpreted to mean lots of classroom activities. This can be seen starkly in Figure 1, which shows a page from a 1983 Standard 4 (now Grade 6) textbook, which carries a text-based narrative about Jenner's discovery of a smallpox vaccine, and a page from a 2009 Grade 6 textbook on the topic "History of medicine". The latter has small chunks of text and many activities (Bertram & Bharath, 2011).

A year after the revised curriculum was released for Grades R-9, the process started for designing the history curriculum for the senior secondary phase of schooling (Grades 10-12). The History Working group which designed

the curriculum comprised three representatives of the South African History Project, and three department of education representatives. It was taken for granted that outcomes would lead the process of curriculum development and it was clear that the curriculum should adhere to the principles of social justice, promoting indigenous knowledge as well as the Constitutional values of non-sexism and non-racism.

The NCS history curriculum (Department of Education, 2003) for Grade 10 - 12 replaced the Interim Core Syllabus of 1996, as C2005 had only been developed for Grades 0-9 (General Education and Training band). While the ICS had two distinct sections of South African and General history, the NCS took a more integrated approach to knowledge which used key questions to frame and structure the knowledge, with a focus on broad themes. The NCS states

The overall key questions for the FET band are: How do we understand our world today? What legacies of the past shape the present*?* In understanding our world today and legacies that shaped our present, *the broad themes of power alignments, human rights issues, of civil society and globalisation* were used in suggesting areas of content (Department of Education, 2003: 24) (my italics).

For example, the French Revolution is taught as an exemplar (along with the American War of Independence) of the universal concept "quest for liberty". Thus, the instructional discourse shows that universal concepts order the curriculum and provide an organisational frame, rather than chronology (Bertram 2016). The NCS shifts away from a strong Eurocentric and South African focus to place emphasis on the *world* with the overall key question being 'How do we understand our world today?' The Grade 10 proposed content opens with the question 'What was the world like in the mid-fifteenth century?' and examples provided are Africa (Songhay), China (Ming), India (Mogul), Ottoman Empire, the Americas.

The purpose of school history in the NCS is "to build the capacity of people to make informed choices in order to *contribute constructively to society and to advance democracy*" (my italics) and to develop "a rigorous process of historical enquiry, as well as being a vehicle to support democracy and human rights" (Department of Education, 2003: 9). However, studies of textbooks (Chisholm, 2008; Bertram & Bharath, 2011) suggested that this rigorous historical enquiry was not likely to be achieved in all classrooms, as some textbooks showed little evidence of history enquiry nor sufficient substantive

knowledge to develop learners' understanding of chronology and narrative.

These National Curriculum Statements were used in primary schools from 2004, and from 2006 in the FET band. It was at this time that the results of the 2003 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) were released which showed that South African Grade 8 learners performed the lowest of all the 50 countries which participated in the study (Reddy, 2006). In response, many argued that a key cause of poor achievement was the unstructured nature of the outcomes-based curriculum, which did not provide sufficient clarity for teachers regarding assessment and content, particularly in the first years of primary school.

**Snapshot 4: 2009-2015 (Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements)**

In 2009, the new Minister of Basic Education, Ms Angie Motshekga appointed a Ministerial Review Committee to review the implementation of the National Curriculum Statements and to make recommendations for strengthening its implementation. The team consisted of two 'overseeing' bureaucrats, two members of the two largest teacher unions, three academics and a publisher (Hoadley, 2018). Thus actors from both the ORF and PRF were present. The committee held hearings in each of the provinces with teachers and other stakeholders to understand their experiences of implementing the NCS. One issue that emerged was that there were a number of different curriculum documents at local, provincial and national level that were fragmented, and often contradictory, which was confusing for teachers. It seemed that some teachers and departmental officials still embraced the enduring discourses of C2005, namely that textbooks should not be used, that teachers should develop their own learning resources, and that group work was a preferred teaching method. The Review Committee recommended that there should be only one main curriculum document for each subject and grade, which should be unambiguous, succinct and clearly specify "knowledge (content, concepts and skills) to be learnt, recommended texts, recommended pedagogical approaches and assessment requirements" (Department of Education, 2009:45). A major recommendation was that the design features of OBE, particularly learning outcomes and assessment standards, should not feature in the new *Curriculum and Assessment Policy* documents. Minister Motshekga then announced to parliament in October 2009 that "OBE was dead".

The writing of these streamlined Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) for each phase and subject began in 2010. The process was uneven and fraught with tension over who would do the rewriting, the tight timeframes and the lack of communication and leadership from the Department of Education (Hoadley, 2018). Mostly only one person per subject worked on this curriculum, in contrast to the more representative and collaborative process of C2005 and the NCS.

In terms of the instructional discourse, the Ministerial Review Report (Department of Education, 2009) had invoked the importance of 'powerful knowledge' (Young, 2008). In the new CAPS history curriculum this meant that there was a "greater emphasis on narrative, historical concepts, interpretation, argumentation and justification" as well as multi-perspectivity (Chisholm, 2015). The CAPS documents for GET and FET state that their aim is to develop both citizenship and the skills of historical enquiry. The CAPS has a more detailed description of historical concepts than the NCS, and describes the following second-order concepts as pertinent to the study of History: working with evidence; multi-perspectivity; cause and effect; change and continuity (which also relates to similarity and difference) and time and chronology. The focus on disciplinary procedural knowledge is strong, as is the detailed specification of what substantive knowledge should be covered in each topic. There is also detailed specification of what will be assessed in the final Grade 12 school leaving exam which comprises of source-based questions and essays.

Regarding the selection of knowledge, the CAPS curriculum aimed to strike a balance between South African, African and world history (see Table 4, which categorises the various topics according to the focus on South African, African and world history). Wassermann (2017: 64) argues that the NCS and CAPS history curriculum had created "a new official master narrative and hence a new official memory, based on an imagined new nationalism and identities. This was achieved by downplaying the true horrors of apartheid, attributing a messianic status to Mandela, foregrounding how South Africa became a democracy in 1994 under the ANC and presenting a neat history without any real villains, but clear heroes". His claim is supported by classroom-based research done in 2010 and 2011 in two Johannesburg schools (Teeger, 2015). The study shows how all teachers and Grade 9 learners discussed apartheid in a way that told "both sides of the story" in order to minimise conflict and guilt and downplay systemic oppression. Thus although the instructional discourse of the curriculum supported a range of

perspectives and the importance of weighing up evidence and argument, the regulative discourse was one of nation-building.

At this time, the state established strong regulations regarding the writing and publishing of textbooks, which were only selected onto the official list if they matched the official curriculum exactly. In this way, the ORF established power over the PRF, and did not allow textbook writers any autonomy to interpret the official curriculum.

During this time, there was a growing focus on the measurement of learner achievement which was monitored by officials in the ORF. This regulative discourse of accountability and measurement of results lead to the strengthening of external regulation of teachers' work by requiring teachers to use Annual Teaching Plans which plot out how many teaching weeks should be allocated to each topic, and strong monitoring of schools' examination results (Msibi & Mchunu, 2013).

**Snapshot 5: 2014-2019 (History Ministerial Task Team)**

The death of past president Nelson Mandela in December 2013, created a space where Mandela's commitment to reconciliation without redress could be critiqued. The xenophobic attacks on African migrants in 2008 and 2013 and growing social conflict and division seemed to indicate a fading 'rainbow nation'. These were partly explained by asserting that young South Africans did not know their history (Bambo et al. 2017; Davids 2016). There was also a growing discourse calling for the decolonisation of the curriculum with the #Rhodesmustfall and #Feesmustfall protests on university campuses which started in 2015.

A discourse emerged that echoed a lament common in many countries (vanSledright, 2008), namely that the youth did not know their history (Wassermann, 2017). The South African Democratic Teachers Union[2] (SADTU) put out a document explaining that history should become compulsory so that it could "provide a foundation of a much needed celebration of our past" (South African Democratic Teachers Union, no date) and "introduce learners to traditions, practices, values and norms of the group". This was not only a call to make history compulsory, but also to change the story that was currently told in schools. The document states that "history needs to tell a correct story that South Africa was not discovered by white settlers in 1652… but that our people were already

2 SADTU is the biggest teacher union in South Africa, comprising approximately 260 000 members. It part of the trade union federation which is an ally of the ruling African National Congress (ANC).

trading in diamond and gold before this land was stolen through blood baths" (5). It assumes that there is a 'correct' story that should be told, which reflects a memory history approach, rather than the disciplinary history of multi-perspectives that is currently supported in the CAPS. Tosh (2006) uses the term social memory and Lévesque (2008) uses the term Memory-history to describe history which is about commemoration, memory and heritage. It is often used to support a particular version of a national history where history is about believing a national narrative and not about analytic disciplinary enquiry.

Under political pressure to act on the perception that "our young people do not appreciate our country's history and that of the African continent" (Ndlovu et al. 2018: 8), Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga appointed a History Ministerial Task Team in June 2015. Its brief was to conduct research into how to best implement the introduction of compulsory history in Grade 10–12 as part of the citizenship component of the subject Life Orientation[3]. The team comprised primarily academic historians and only one history educator, which seems odd given that the task was to engage with the school history curriculum.

The Ministerial task team presented their report in 2018 with the recommendations that history should be made compulsory in the FET phase, and that the history curriculum should be re-written (Ndlovu et al. 2018). The task team noted that while there were topics on Africa in the curriculum, these were not addressed substantially at the higher grades. The report also argued that CAPS does not support human solidarity or *Ubuntu,* does not sufficiently focus on African nationalism, does not teach archaeology or oral traditions in a systematic way and supports a liberal historiography. The report argues that the gaze of history continues towards Europe and that the South African content avoids problematic and controversial issues "which undermines the fact that a multi-perspective approach is relevant" (Ndlovu et al. 2018: 41). In fact the CAPS aims to develop both citizenship and a disciplinary perspective, which includes multi-perspectives and engagement with a range of sources and a range of different interpretations.

In her speech at the launch of this report, Minister Motshekga supported this recommendation to re-write the history curriculum and suggested that the purpose of the recalibrated history curriculum must be the

3 Life Orientation is a compulsory subject for all learners up to Grade 12 that covers life skills, career guidance and citizenship.

'decolonisation of the African mind' (Motshekga, 2018). She went on to say that "History should, by design, enable learners to be active citizens – including able to engage critically with the truths of colonialism, apartheid and the liberation struggle. Young people should be empowered with values, attitudes and behaviours that contribute to nation-building, social cohesion and national reconciliation". These purposes are not in conflict with the purposes of the current CAPS curriculum, although CAPS has a stronger focus on developing historical thinking than on nation-building.

History educators (actors in the PRF and field of reproduction) were less excited about the proposal to make school history compulsory, noting that the country does not have the resources, nor qualified teachers to do this (Chisholm 2018; Bailey 2018) and questioned the quality of the research which was presented in the MTT report (van Eeden and Warnich, 2018). There is no evidence that learners would welcome the proposal for history to be made compulsory. A recent study of high school learners in rural KwaZulu-Natal suggests that they choose not to study history because it will not provide them with access to the city and a job (Wassermann, Maposa & Mhlongo, 2018). This indicates that learners may not be keen on taking compulsory history until Grade 12, indicating a tension between the utilitarian purposes of schooling and the socialisation purposes supported by the state, namely nation-building, social cohesion and national reconciliation.

The Grade 12 examination results indicate that if history were made compulsory, many learners would not perform well in the history exams. In 2018, history students accounted for 32% (154 536) of the total Grade 12 learners who wrote the National Senior Certificate examination (Department of Basic Education, 2019). The diagnostic report shows that many candidates are unable to answer higher order questions on sources nor to order their knowledge into coherent argument when writing an essay.

Thus there is a tension between academics and teachers in the PRF who argue cogently why history should not be made compulsory (Ndlovu, Malinga, Bailey, 2019) and academic historians on the MTT who represent the ORF. This tension has been explained by the notion that the proposal is a political rather than a pedagogic one (Davids, 2016). The regulative discourse of the MTT report reflects the prevailing decolonising discourses in South African education (Le Grange, 2016). For example, the chairperson of the MTT argues that gender history linked to precolonial history should

be included in the school curriculum to counteract the "epistemological genocide" committed by CAPS regarding the teaching about African women (Ndlovu, Malinga, Bailey, 2019).

It will be interesting to see how the MTT which has been tasked to revise the history curriculum will select history knowledge and how it resolve the tensions between the purposes of disciplinary history, memory history and history for democratic citizenship, within the prevailing decolonial discourse.

## Conclusion

This article has described how the instructional discourses of the history curriculum have shifted over the past 25 years, sometimes in tandem with, and sometimes in tension with the prevailing regulative discourses. Generally actors in the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF) have had the final say in which knowledge has been selected and assessed. For example, while actors in the PRF had imagined a people's history post-1994, the competency discourses of outcomes-based education meant that C2005 evaded the selection of content knowledge and focused on learning outcomes. Subsequently, the NCS and the CAPS selected specialized procedural and substantive knowledge which covered a wide range of contexts and topics. The focus on the disciplinary aspects of history, as well as the state's obsession with measuring learner achievement, seemed to background the socialization purpose of school history for citizenship. In the past five years, decolonial discourses have highlighted the regulative purposes of school history, and supported a new curriculum which should 'contribute to nation-building, social cohesion and national reconciliation' (Motshekga, 2018).

## Table 4: Content topics taught in the CAPS curriculum

| HISTORY TOPIC | Foundation Phase (Gr R-3) | Intermediate Phase (Gr 4-6) | Senior Phase (Gr 7- 9) | Further Education and Training (Gr 10-12) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Change and continuity/ Chronology | Gr R – transport long ago<br>Gr 3 - How people lived long ago<br>Gr 3 - What a timeline is; an interesting object from my past | Gr 4 – Transport through time – land, water, air<br>Gr 4 - Communication through time.<br>Gr 6 – Medicine through time | | |
| SA History | Gr 2 – South African flag, anthem<br>Gr R – 3 – Religious and important festivals (2 hours in every term) | Gr 4 - Learning from Leaders. Mandela and Gandhi<br>Gr 5 – hunters and gatherers in Southern Africa<br>Gr 5 – First farmers in Southern Africa<br>Gr 6 – Democracy and citizenship – national symbols, rights and responsibilities | Gr 7 – Colonisation of the Cape, 17th and 18th C<br>Gr 7 – Co-operation and conflict on the frontiers of the Cape Colony in the 19th C<br>Gr 8 – Industrial revolution in SA from 1860 (diamonds)<br>Gr 8 – Mineral revolution in SA (gold)<br>Gr 9 – Turning points in modern SA history since 1948<br>Gr 9 – Turning points in SA history 1960, 1976 and 1990 | Gr 10 – Transformations in Southern Africa after 1750 – 1835 (Ndwandwe kingdom, rise of the Zulu state, rise of the Ndebele kingdom, Griqua, Pedi)<br>Gr 10 – Colonial expansions after 1750 (Cape, Natal and Zulu Kingdom, Highveld co-operation and conflict)<br>Gr 10 South African War and Union 1899 – 1910 (up to Land Act of 1913)<br>Gr 11 – Nationalism – African (1912 - 1950s) and Afrikaner (1920 – 30s)<br>Gr 11 – Apartheid SA 1940s to the 1960s (segregation, resistance)<br>Gr 12 – Civil resistance in SA 1970s to 1980s (Black consciousness movement, crisis of Apartheid)<br>Gr 12 – Coming of democracy in SA, and coming to terms with the past (1994 election, Government of National Unity and TRC) |
| Ancient African societies/ African history | | Gr 4 – history of your local area<br>Gr 5 – Ancient Egypt<br>Gr 5 – Heritage trail through the provinces of SA<br>Gr 6 – An African Kingdom – Mapungubwe<br>Gr 6 – Explorers from Europe find Southern Africa | Gr 7 – Kingdom of Mali and city of Timbuktu, 14th C<br>Gr 7 – Trans-Atlantic slave trade<br>Gr 8 – Scramble for Africa, late 19th C | Gr 10 – European expansion and conquest 15th – 18th C (American Spanish conquest, African Portuguese conquest, Dutch East India Company.<br>Gr 12 Independent Africa 1960s and 1970s. (Case studies: Congo and Tanzania) |
| World history | | | SS: Gr 8 – Industrial revolution in Britain from 1860<br>Gr 8 – World War I, 1914 – 1918<br>Gr 9 – Rise of Nazism and World War II – 1919 – 1945<br>Gr 9 – Nuclear Age and Cold War 1945 – 1990 | Gr 10 – The world around 1600 (China, Songhai, India, European societies)<br>Gr 10 - French Revolution 1789<br>Gr 11- Communism in Russia, 1900 – 1940<br>Gr 11 – Capitalism in the USA 1900 – 1940<br>Gr 11 – Ideas of race in the 19th and 20th C (Case studies: Australia aborigines, Nazi Germany)<br>Gr 11- Nationalism in the Middle east (1948), Gold Coast and Ghana (1930s – 1957)<br>Gr 12 – USA and USSR Cold War 1945 to 1989 (Case studies: China, Cuba, Vietnam)<br>Gr 12 – Civil society protests 1950 – 1970s (Civil rights, Black power movement, women's movements in SA)<br>Gr 12 – End of the Cold War and a new world order, 1989 – the present |

Source: Synthesised from *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement Grades 10 -12. History* and *Social Sciences Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement. Senior Phase Grades 7-9*, Department of Basic Education 2011b, 2011a.

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# "What's in the box?" – Archives, history skills and honours students

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## *Abstract*

*Historical thinking skills have become the mantra of the history profession. The aims, objectives and outcomes of history classes and courses at both secondary and tertiary level resonate with the inclusion of the skills of the historian's craft. Primary materials are among the tools included in school teaching packs and university readers to inculcate the research dimension of history coupled to analysis, selection, critical thinking, and logical formulation. In this article we propose to reflect on a recently developed component of a postgraduate Honours module introduced in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the University of Pretoria in collaboration with the University archive. This element involved students engaging with un-inventorised virgin primary documentation emanating from the Museum of the Transvaal Education Department. They were tasked with not only having to critically read the content of the "box", but to sort, appraise and contextualize the documentation. In addition, the brief also required students to consider the research potential of the contents and present their findings at a colloquium entitled "What's in the Box?" We argue that the success of this component of the course took the students one step further in the making of history and thus exposed them to experiential learning and what could be termed the "inner workings" of the historians' craft.*

**Keywords:** Archival documentation; History Honours module; History skills; Historian's craft; Primary documents; Archivists; Experiential teaching.

## Introduction

This article sets out to consider the teaching of history within a postgraduate honours context. It considers the introduction of a new component in a history honours module which we believe adds an innovative dimension to the teaching of the subject by exposing the students to another aspect of the historian's craft, but at the same time has the potential to inspire and intrigue them. The article is divided into three parts: the first "teaching and

history" reflects very briefly on how the teaching of history has changed and transformed over time. The second part, "archives and history", presents a brief outline of what the module entails and what the new component we have devised involves. It also presents an overview of what the archival theoretical dimension includes and what is presented to the students. The last part, "honours and archives" focuses on the student component of the new section as well as an evaluation of and reflection on their experiences. It concludes by showing how this initiative can be adapted and utilized across the educational spectrum.

## Teaching and History

History teaching in its very broadest sense has had a long trajectory often priding itself as being one of the earliest forms of education. Originating as oral tradition across many cultures, is has developed and transformed from ancient times, through the classical, to the modern and post-modern.[1] History has at the same time evolved in the manner in which it has been taught. From the very earliest forms of what might even be termed prototype history, the official method used to teach it seems to have taken on a relatively rigid form among societies such as the Mesopotamians, Egyptians, Aztecs and Incas. Rote memorization was often the key in the method of accurate oral repetition.[2] Historical writing was also evident in the early empires of the Chinese and Islamic societies often predating that of the Western tradition where the first empirical studies became evident.[3] Yet despite this ancient legacy, history was not initially regarded as a specific subject of instruction at school or university level.[4] It appears to only have been acknowledged as a separate discipline worthy of study from the sixteenth century onwards when it was introduced to universities.[5] This has partly been ascribed to the fact that history emerges as part of the wide spectrum of the liberal arts curriculum. It can also be attributed to the fact that because it was so integral to all matters of learning it was not considered as a separate field of study or discipline in its own right –

1 GR Elton, *The Practice of History* (London, Fontana Press, 1987), pp. 12-13; A Momigliano, "The introduction of teaching History as an aAcademic subject and its implications", *Minerva*, 21(1), 1983, p. 1.
2 O Anweiler (et al), Education, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (available at: https://www.britannica.com/topic/education/ Education-in-the-earliest-civilizations, as accessed September 2019).
3 D Woolf, "Historiography", C Horowitz (ed), *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas* (New York, Scribner, 2005), pp. liv-lix.
4 A Momigliano, "The introduction of teaching History as an academic subject and its implications", *Minerva*, 21(1), 1983, p. 1.
5 A Momigliano, "The introduction of teaching History as an academic subject and its implications", *Minerva*, 21(1), 1983, pp. 10-11.

it was what is now regarded as transdisciplinary. This conundrum aligns with what John Tosh claims to be: "One of the distinguishing features

of the profession is its heated arguments concerning the objectives and limitations of [its] study".[6]

The second half of the 19th century is often regarded as the period that signaled the professionalization of Western history.[7] Dubbed the founding father of modern history – or more recently "the great transformer" – Leopold von Ranke proclaimed that the historian's duty was "first and foremost to relate the past as it actually happened".[8] Of particular relevance to this discussion was the emphasis placed on the extensive and scientific use of archives and the "particularity of history displayed through the most meticulous and painstaking attention to a single document."[9] For over two centuries this empirical approach to the study of history has persisted, despite the onslaught of the linguistic turn, postmodernism and other meta-modern schools.[10] Thus for many historians the archive remains the "epistemological claim to 'the truth'" [11] and it is for this reason that the subject of this article, "the box", cannot be ignored.

While the content of what has been taught in history has changed dramatically over time, so too have the methods of teaching history. In modern times, history has been revolutionized from a passive talk-and-chalk and dates-and-facts formula[12] to the introduction of a participatory format with active involvement of the learner or student. In other words rather than the learner merely "receiving" history, they are encouraged "to do" history.[13] This has been achieved through the introduction and

6 J Tosh, *The pursuit of History*, 5 (London, Longman, 2010), p. ix.

7 D Woolf, "Historiography", MC Horowitz, (ed), *New dictionary of the history of ideas*, 1 (New York, Scribners, 2005), p. lix.

8 D Woolf, *A concise history of History: Global historiography from Aantiquity to the present* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 178.

9 D Woolf, *A concise history of History: Global historiography from antiquity to the present* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 177.

10 K Jenkins, *What is History?* (London, Routledge. 1995); J Black and DM MacRaild, *Studying History*, 2 (New York, Palgrave, 2000); RJ Evans, *In defence of History* (London, Granta Books, 2000), pp. 9-14.

11 Our thanks to the anonymous reviewer of this article for this comment.

12 D Moran, "How history should be taught: Connections to the present", *Palo Alto Online,* 16 January 2016 (availble at: file:///C:/Users/u02549085/Downloads/How%20history%20should%20be%20taught_%20Connections%20to%20the%20present%20_%20A%20Pragmatist's%20Take%20_%20Douglas%20Moran%20_%20Palo%20Alto%20Online%20_%20(2).pdf, as accessed August 2019); J Wassermann, "Learning about controversial issues in school History: The experiences of learners in KwaZulu-Natal schools", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 29(1), p. 131; Study International Staff, "Should we rethink how history is taught in schools?", *SI News*, 17 May 2019 (available at: https://www.studyinternational.com/news/should-we-rethink-how-history-is-taught-in-schools/, as accessed August 2019).

13 T Haydn (et al), *Learning to teach History in secondary school* (Routledge, London, 1997), p. 209.

use of primary source materials being included in the school teaching packs or university readers to bring the learners closer to the realm of history.[14] From the seventies in the twentieth century "jackdaws" were introduced to provide "an array of fascinating and relevant primary source documents" which were reproduced in their actual sizes for [learners] to touch and explore".[15] Jackdaws were touted as set to take "students beyond the textbook approach to history" and to "encourage critical thinking and analysis, and augment retention of information". More recently, "primary source kits", "archive units" or "analysis source kits" had a similar intent including the addition of activities and games within the "bundle".[16] These primary sources include documents, newspapers, artefacts, posters, pictures, films, diaries, photographs and the like.[17] This in turn often affords the learner the opportunity to be exposed to a wide range of interpretations and perspectives prevalent among the different sources. They are then essentially enabled to see where history comes from and in a sense reconstruct this history from the remnants (resources) of the past.

Aligned to this, is the concerted effort in the more recent history teaching methods to inculcate the skills of the historian's craft which are believed to be imbedded in the discipline. These include the ability to read critically, analyze, select, collate and formulate logically.[18] These are skills which are believed to be transferable to other subjects and educational domains and therefore have a wide ranging educational value.[19] These skills need to be applied to the resource material so that they involve an "active and investigatory mode of learning".[20] This is then what can be termed experiential history as the learner is engaged in the learning process and "learns by doing" and then reflecting on their experiences.[21] While experiential learning is often aligned to the hard sciences and learners doing hands-on laboratory experiments or practical work, this approach is of a similar nature as the students have a hands-on experience with primary research material.

14 J Wassermann, "Learning about controversial issues in school History: The experiences of learners in KwaZulu-Natal schools", *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 29(1), p. 132.
15 Jackdaws Publications (available at: https://www.jackdaw.com/t-jackdaws.aspx, accessed January 2020).
16 RGE Wood, "Archive units for teaching", *Teaching History*, 2(6), 1971, pp. 158-165.
17 T Haydn (et al), *Learning to teach History in secondary school* (Routledge, London, 1997), p. 207.
18 KL Harris, Study guide, Department of Historical and Heritage Studies: Africa and South Africa – An overview, GES 120, 2019, p. 1.
19 RM Manyane, "History teaching in South Africa within the context of the human and social sciences", PhD Education, Unisa, 1999, pp. 127-141.
20 T Haydn, (et al), *Learning to teach History in secondary school* (Routledge, London, 1997), p. 208.
21 "Teaching strategies: Experiential learning and field work", Centre for Research and Learning, University of Michigan (available at: http://www.crlt.umich.edu/programs, as accessed January 2020).

Much of the innovation within the teaching of history is located in the primary and secondary school system. At the tertiary level, the sheer number of students and logistics of lecture halls along with limited lecturing times does not always allow for more innovative and experiential forms of teaching. The undergraduate syllabi are often overladen and thus learning often tends to be mainly "text-based" in digital or analogue formats.[22] While it can be argued that much can be done on a digital platform in terms of resources, these are often edited or even contrived. There also remains the absence of a real, tactile and haptic experience which hands-on resources and research provides. It was to address this situation that we developed an element within the honours program to engage the students with the historians' craft beyond what text and documentary resource packs can provide.

**Archives and History**

As the honours degree (fourth year following a three-year degree) is seen as a stepping stone between a degree majoring in history and further specialization at masters and doctoral level in history, it is imperative that students are exposed to as many facets of the historian's craft as possible. While it must equip them for independent research that lies ahead, it must also inspire them. This aligns with many of the trends apparent in history teaching at large mentioned above. The honours degree in history in the Department of Historical and Heritage studies (DHHS) at the University of Pretoria subscribes to this view. The course comprises five modules – three of which are core modules, ie. are compulsory and two that are electives, in other words modules of the student's choice. The core modules include: Historiography (GES 701); Theory and Methodology (GES 713) and then the Research Report (GES 770) or extended essay conducted by the student on a topic of their choice.

The GES 713 history honours semester module comprises some 14 themes, some of which are presented by the students in a seminar format.

22 C Behr and S Nevin, "The Roehampton Campus Project: Using campus, collections and memories of the university as a learning and teaching resource for Humanities students", *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 1(18), 2018, p. 2.

**Table 1: GES 713 Themes**[23]

| | |
|---|---|
| Theme 1: | Module Introduction |
| Theme 2: | Written documents: Archival Sources |
| **Theme 3:** | **Sources: Written Documents and Working with Archives.** |
| Theme 4: | Oral Sources: Challenges, Opportunities and Techniques. |
| Theme 5: | The Historian's Skills Part 1 |
| Theme 6: | The Historian's Skills Part 2 |
| Theme 7: | The historian's task? |
| Theme 8: | Visual History |
| Theme 9: | Gendered Histories. |
| Theme 10: | Subaltern Histories/History from Below |
| Theme 11: | Class, Labour and Nation |
| Theme 12: | Cultural History/Social History |
| Theme 13: | Comparative Histories |
| Theme 14: | Colonial/Post-colonial History |

In order to take the experience of the student one level higher and give them even greater insight into the workings of the historian's craft and the discipline itself, we introduced a theoretical and practical component aligned with the theme which focused on "Written documents and working with archives". While the theory would give them an understanding of the archive and its place within the historian's repertoire, the practical component was to take this one step further. Firstly, an archivist would explain and discuss the archival process with the students and then secondly, the students would be given the opportunity of a hands-on project involving the archive. It was believed that this would have the dual purpose of giving them insight into an important dimension of "doing history", but at the same time igniting a passion for what potentially lies ahead of them in terms of research and the primary source domain for possible masters and doctoral study.

An introductory session was developed on the theory and methodology of the archival discipline so as to give the students a basic understanding. This session defines the archives and considers the basic principles of setting up an archive and how one applies these principles to a given collection of records. It also sets out the parameters of the use of an archive as well as the legislation relevant to the domain.

23 A Mlambo, Study guide, Department of Historical and Heritage Studies: Theory and Methodology, GES 713, 2019, pp. 6-7.

The University archivist begins the theme by defining the concept archive in its broadest sense from a collection of records to a physical structure. The different types of archives are also considered ranging from government to institutional and private. The nature of the archival record and its different formats are addressed. The archive is then compared and contrasted with a library giving the student the opportunity to consider the archive in terms of something they are probably more familiar with. This includes the purpose, the users, the policies, the types of records, their values, organization and retrieval processes.[24]

The next step is to familiarize the students with the archival process and what it is the archivist actually does. Here concepts and methods such as "acquisition and appraisal" as well as "arrangement and description" are unpacked. All of this is explained in the context of the overarching purpose of making the documentation accessible to the potential user. Students are then taken through the process of developing an acquisition policy, the importance of contextual circumstances in determining the relevance and potential of the record. The step by step phases of arrangement entailing a rough macro-sort, a detailed micro-sort and then the final sort are illuminated. The criteria that need to be taken into account when compiling an accession register, as well as the process of physically organizing records in order for them to be accessible to potential users, is also expounded upon. Here the importance of provenance and the original order of the documentation is highlighted as being of critical importance in arranging the documentation and the manner in which this is verified is also explained in detail. All of these aspects take the student behind the mere provision of an archive and its documents to be used merely on request.

Finally, in order to indicate the national – and often international – importance of the archival process, the various pieces of legislation which pertain to the archival process are highlighted. These include:

- National Archives and Record Services of South Africa Act, Act 43 of 1996
- Promotion to Access of Information Act, Act 2 of 2000
- Protection of Personal Information Act, Act 4 of 2013[25]

After the theoretical component of the archive and the archival process have been presented, the students are then given the practical component

24 R van der Merwe, Study guide, Department of Historical and Heritage Studies: Theory and Methodology, GES 713, Archive section, 2019.

25 Constitution of the Archives of the University of Pretoria, 2013, p. 1.

of the archive theme which entails a group project where they will not only work with archival material in an archive, but will literally "create an archive".[26] They would be required to work with archival material which had as yet not been accessorized or inventorised – quite literally "virgin" pre-inventorised documentation.

The documentation that the students were tasked to work with emanated from a collection that the University of Pretoria Archive (UPA) acquired in 2013 by default. A collection of documentation which emanated from the Museum of the former Transvaal Education Department was delivered to the University. The unordered documents range from the late nineteenth century and include information regarding the founding of schools, curriculums, lesson plans, newspaper clippings, reports, class and teacher lists, budgets, correspondence between the national and regional departments of education and schools as well as sundry circulars and publications. In an extremely unordered and haphazard manner the documents reflect on the history of the South African education system within the former Transvaal province and are therefore of importance, but also of relevance to the University of Pretoria as a leading educational institution within the region. The potential value of this collection is enhanced in the light of the limited nature of material pertaining to education available in the National Archives Repository.[27] Thus given the UPA's role as an institutional memory bank of the University of Pretoria, it was proposed (and argued) that the collection be seen as an extension of the collection of tertiary education and should be preserved. This collection of documentation comprises 250 running meters of material and is in dire need of processing.[28] The documents were boxed in over 350 acid free boxes and stored in a regulated access controlled storage facility.

The project assigned to the students was to deal with these unordered and randomly packed documents. After signing a non-disclosure form the students were put into groups of three and assigned a random box from the collection and given the following task with three components. They needed to complete a worksheet of 10 short questions in order wrap their heads around what was contained in their respective boxes. These related to acquisition and appraisal; preservation; arrangement; description; research potential and accession. Then according to a pro forma example they had

26 KL Harris and R van der Merwe, GES 713 Hand-out 2, 2019.

27 National Archives of South Africa (NASA) Database Selection (available at: www.national.archsrch.gov.za, as accessed September 2019).

28 R van der Merwe and KL Harris, GES713 Hand-out 1, 2019.

to carry out a macro-sorting (rough sort), a micro-sorting (detailed sort) and then a final sort where after they were to draw up an accession register for their particular box according to the criteria explained and the example on the template provided. Finally, the students were tasked to prepare a presentation for a colloquium entitled "What's in the Box" regarding what they had discovered in their box addressing the following:

- The historical context
- An overview of the content
- Research potential
- Select one "gem" document for discussion
- Access conditions

In preparing for the colloquium, the students were asked to imagine they were presenting a "newly discovered archive to a press conference and needed to create a hype around this archive to attract potential researchers".[29] The students thus moved from a theoretical introduction to the archival world, to hands-on involvement with archival material which they had to appraise and order and then compile an accessible inventory. Finally, they had to present their findings at a colloquium where they could share their findings – and what was in their box.

## Honours and History

Reflecting on the "What's in the Box" project we believe that the students were provided with a range of important experiential learning opportunities and real time experiences. Having been literally handed a box of un-inventorised and un-sanitised virgin primary archival documentation was probably a daunting, if not overwhelming, experience. Having been tasked to literally create some form of order from ostensible chaos, the students underwent a full circle from being the recipients of a presentation on archives by an archivist, to being archivists themselves and then the presenters on archives at a colloquium. This section reflects on some of the advantages of this project and how the basic ideas and principles can be transformed to other learning environments at both primary and secondary educational levels.

From the outset, the theoretical overview presented by an actual archivist gave the students a tangible connection to an individual (and a profession) that would otherwise remain remote if not removed. This in itself opened up a space of interaction which is generally not accessible.

29 KL Harris and R van der Merwe, GES713 Hand-out 2, 2019.

Then the archival presentation itself introduced them not only to the concept and meaning of archives, but also the processes involved in the creation of archives. The various phases of a "rough sort, detailed sort and final sort" are made tangibly real as the students have to follow the same process in sorting the content of their respective boxes. In other words, the theory became action. The same applies to the criteria that needed to be taken into account when compiling an accessions register or inventory as they had to transfer what they learnt to actually doing or executing the process. Thus instead of merely studying the process it became a tangible or haptic activity. They moved thus from the world of theory to the world of practice. In a nutshell, the "What's in the Box" experience was one of moving from a sense of KNOWING WHAT to one of KNOWING HOW.

We believe that the success of this component of the course took the students one step further in the making of history and thus exposed them to what could be termed one of the "inner workings" of the historians' profession. This inside look will make the realm of the postgraduate study, where the archive is often a critical component, that much less daunting, while at the same time giving them an inside-out-view of how the institutional archive functions and how it is constructed. It is also believed that the actual experience will both inspire and invigorate the students to want to pursue their studies at master's and later possibly doctoral level. These views were reflected in the presentations done by the students at the Colloquium.

Some reactions reflected on excitement and intrigue:[30]

> *Archives can hold so much promise and generate great excitement…*
>
> *Anything could be in the archive box, which makes the mysteries that await one, so exciting…*
>
> *I imagine that these are the feelings that an archivist experiences…*

Others revealed an empathy for the archivist's position:[31]

> *Another challenge … was the lack of order or sequence of documents.*
>
> *Again, we were remined* [sic] *of the frustration that archivists must experience…*

30 D de Caires, T Khumalo, A Harris and M Parker, "Archive's Project – What's in the Box", Department Historical and Heritage Studies Workshop, University of Pretoria, 2019.

31 R McGregor-Langley, B Hansen and C Sanderson, "What's in the Box?", Department Historical and Heritage Studies Workshop, University of Pretoria, 11 June 2019.

> *... not only in trying to determine what is important, but how these documents fit into the grand scheme of things.*
>
> *Lastly, we noticed how difficult it is to determine what is important and what must be discarded. Our own perspectives were called into question, as we sat there and used our own discretion to decide what was interesting and what was not.*
>
> *It made me think about an important aspect of history. Each historian and archivist have his / her own particular interest in different areas of history and so based on his / her personal circumstances and preferences s/he will have a different category of importance for different documents, which makes the archivist work challenging.*

While others revealed a very interesting connectivity with the past they unearthed in the boxes and current issues and contemporary concerns:[32]

> *... the marginalisation of students with special needs (1970s).*
>
> *... education as separate but not equal with different approaches for different segments of the population (1960s).*
>
> *... overcrowding in schools with inadequate facilities (1950s to 1990s).*
>
> *... marginalization of women and gender discrimination (1950s to 1970s).*

As to the research potential the students referred to:[33]

> *... ideal opportunities for comparative studies.*
>
> *... new voices and new directions for a more inclusive history.*
>
> *... the potential of dissident histories, and histories of the marginilised.*

By adding this project to the existing GES 713 Honours module it has only further enhanced its purpose of going "beyond the mere gathering of facts and information" and providing the students "with opportunities to apply … theoretical aspects in practice".[34]

Finally, this project aligns with much of what Stephen Aron, Professor of history at the University of California, had to say in an interview on why "primary sources resonate with college students". He believes that primary sources teach students "the craft of history" and in order to train students to be "educated human beings" it is critical to have them "make their own

32 R McGregor-Langley, B Hansen and C Sanderson, "What's in the Box?", Department Historical and Heritage Studies Workshop, University of Pretoria, 2019.

33 C Squire, G Gebhardt and G Hart, "What's in the Box?", Department Historical and Heritage Studies Workshop, University of Pretoria, 2019; D de Caires, T Khumalo, A Harris and M Parker, "Archive's Project – What's in the Box", Department Historical and Heritage Studies Workshop, University of Pretoria, 2019.

34 A Mlambo, Study guide, Department of Historical and Heritage Studies: Theory and Methodology, GES 713, 2019, pp. 6-7.

discoveries and learn the craft of history".[35] This project does exactly that, but goes even further than Aron indicates in allowing and encouraging the students to be an actual part of the creation of an archival process. Aron also claims that the "skill" is more important than the "content". He also contends that there is for him a difference between having students learn history and learning the craft of historians. In order to turn them into historians, they need to discover for themselves and not have information handed to them. They need to find for themselves the stuff of history as opposed to being merely passive consumers of it.[36] Here this project not only complies with these beliefs, but again takes them one step further allowing the student to deal with the remnants of the past (primary documentary material), sort and order the information (accessorise and inventorise) and then consider the material's potential contribution (contextualize and relevance).

As a postscript, it is believed that although the DHHS is ideally positioned for the implementation of this strategy given the access to the UP Archives as well as the availability of an un-inventorised archival collection, it could be implemented in other contexts across the primary and secondary educational spectrum. Depending on the grade level, educators could develop their "own archival boxes" and adapt questions for learners to discover the history that is "in the box".

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35 S Aron, "Teaching students the craft of history" (available at: https://www.eradex.com/videos/teaching-students-craft-history-conversation-professor-stephen-aron, as accessed August 2019).

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# Learn History, think unity: National integration through History education in Cameroon, 1961-2018

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***Abstract***

*Since independence, one of the greatest worries of African states has been how to maintain national cohesion amongst the multiplicity of ethnic groups which characterize them. My aim in this paper is to show that, other factors notwithstanding, national integration had been a major educational ideology in Cameroon and that it contributed to the peace and stability that the country was known for, amidst a turbulent central African region until the advent of neoliberalism and multiparty politics in 1990. I discuss the nature of contents that helped to achieve this while arguing that a de-emphasis on the social sciences and particularly on the integrationist approach to history education in the multiparty era is not unconnected to the post-1990 reinvention of various parochial identities antithetic to national cohesion in which recent calls for the secession of the Anglophone region by some radical groups is seen as the culmination of the trend. I conclude by highlighting the social relevance of curriculum within which history education should be re-invented as a vector for peace, unity and national integration in the country.*

**Keywords:** History Curriculum; National Integration; National Unity; Peaceful Co-existence; Cameroon History.

## Introduction

> *We task ourselves to create an exemplary republic united in its diversity to carry the country to emergence… . Such a republic will be achieved through a harmonious community spirit... . In this effort, our education is highly implicated* (Paul Biya, paraphrased from MINJEC 2015:1,28).

Recently, I was involved in a UNESCO Africa Regional Conference on the governance of cultural diversities. Reflecting on the theme, one thing was clear; until the November 2016 Anglophone teachers and lawyers strike who's poor handling orchestrated a secessionist movement in the Anglophone regions, Cameroon had enjoyed relative stability and

national cohesion, making it a continental reference point for peaceful co-existence. In fact before 2016, apart from the political tensions that marked the return to multi-party democracy in the early 1990s, the country had not experienced any incidents that threatened national unity and integrity since independence in 1960-1961. Finding the magic wand used to hold its diverse population together has been a puzzle to many. More than twenty years before, Nyamnjoh (1998:1) had engaged in the task of answering a similar question; "what keeps Cameroon together despite widespread instability in Africa; despite the turbulence of the sub-regional environment in which it finds itself; and despite its own internal contradictions?" His answers included what he termed government's "packages aimed at deflating the disaffected; its propensity to vacillate on most issues of collective interest, and an infinite ability to develop survival strategies".

While the above answers find credence especially within the context of Africa's return to democracy in the early 1990s, research in history education demonstrates that in the majority of cases, frantic efforts to maintain national unity could be attributed to concrete educational policies and strategies employed by states in the governance of diversities (Peshkin, 1967; Clignet, 1975; Wang, 1978, Akpan, 1990; Ndlovu, 2009; Kohl, 2010; Egbefo 2014; Njeng'ere, 2014). Within this theme, research on Cameroon is to say the least, unavailable- a fact from which the current engagement draws value.[1] I argue that the attainment of national cohesion in Cameroon especially in the first three decades of independence has been an important educational ideology of the state. I also argue that the gradual neglect of this policy from the 1990s has produced crisis outcomes. By way of structure, I start by establishing the cultural diversity of Cameroon which necessitated an integrationist history curriculum. Next I discuss the nature of history contents and how it facilitated the attainment of the goal of national unity. In the third and last section I show how government's de-emphasis on a unity-in-diversity history curriculum after 1990 has accounted, at least in part, for various crisis of co-existence which continue to rock the country.

I found the historical research method most appropriate for this paper; the purpose being to enable the readers gain a clearer and accurate picture of the continuities and changes in the relationship between history education

1 In the UNESCO Africa Regional Conference on the Governance of Cultural Diversities (Accra, September 2019), I examined in general the educational building blocks for national unity in Cameroon as a whole for which history education was a subsection of how the state used the curriculum to maintain peaceful co-existence. The current paper is thus an effort to detail how history as a subject served national integration goals. The discussion here is limited to basic and secondary education.

and the promotion of values of national unity in Cameroon. Stakeholders in this field would appreciate the epistemological meanings that both the evidence and their analysis make and find clear premises for the solution of current problems. This is an ubiquitous goal of historical research. Besides this, the adoption of historical research rationalizes the triangulation of my emic experiences [as learner, teacher and researcher of history education in Cameroon] with archival data, history textbooks and interviews as resources used to establish this account. The textbooks, syllabuses and schemes-of-work used in this study were/are officially prescribed for the school system in Cameroon within the period under review or parts of it. The resource persons were purposefully sampled with the common denominator being their varying experiences in history education in the country.

## Cameroon's diversities: The rationale for national integration

**T**he fact that African countries are cast by moulds of colonial conquest rather than by pre-colonial indigenous characteristics cannot be overemphasized. People possessing distinctive languages, religions and cultures living as homogenous groups within well-defined geographical, linguistic and cultural precincts were coerced into larger poly-ethnic, cultural and linguistic administrative units called colonies. The territory that became Cameroon was settled at different points of history by various waves of Bantu ethnic groups that occupied the coastal and forest zones spanning the centre, east, south, littoral and south west regions of the country. From the middle belt to the northern tip were settled a variety of Sudano-Bantu, Peul and Arabic speaking people. In the northwest and western parts of the country people consisting of Tikar and Chamba groups locally referred to as Semi-Bantu arrived there between the 17$^{th}$ and 18$^{th}$ centuries. The ethnic groups total over 260; their languages, innumerable and in most cases 'mutually unintelligible' (Neba, 1999:91).

The migratory and settlement patterns in Cameroon are associated with parallel differences in political and social organization. While in some parts there are monarchical and theocratic authoritative highly centralized states, others exhibit republican characteristics of consensual government through smaller village councils of elders (Ngoh 1996). The majority of the north is Muslim, the south, Christian and a greater part of these still adhere to a variety of indigenous belief systems. The country's geographical location at the crossroads where west meets central Africa and where the tropical forest zone in the south fades into the Sudan in the north also implies

natural diversities which have shaped cultural and economic practices.

Besides the above, Cameroon's triple colonial heritage; from the German protectorate (1884-1916) followed by separate British and French mandates and trusteeships (1916-1960-1) add to their subsequent reunification in 1961 to make it a unique case in Africa which was bound to complicate the life of any government. Amadou Ahidjo the pioneer president (1960-1982) once described the country as "an original puzzle of living diversities [which]… often left contradictory imprints on the ways in which Cameroonians think and act" (Ahidjo, 1968a:26).

An appreciation of Cameroons diversity is therefore essential to the understanding of the state's emphasis on "a harmonious living together" as current rhetoric puts it. Certain patterns indigenous to most ethnic, colonial and regional cultures have often emphasized social and political cleavages that seem to serve as oppositions between one group and another and breed resistance to incorporation into larger political entities. This has been the most popular justification for the majority of the crisis of conviviality (Vubo, 2006:135) and upheavals in African states (Mbaku 2018) which in extreme cases have threatened state survival (Kymlicka, 1996). The need to mitigate such crises and in turn meet the aspirations of a majority of the citizens became a central feature of the problematic of the nation building process in Africa and rationalized policies of national identity. As Ahidjo, emphasized:

> *Every nation is composed of a mosaic of families, tendencies and interests. But a nation is not great, nor even viable, until these various elements complement each other and combine together in a constructive manner*….[In view of this] *we are determined to purge our nation of every consideration, every factor likely, directly or indirectly, to cement and foster differences. National Unity means that in the work-yard of national construction, there is neither Ewondo nor Douala, Bamileke nor Boulou, Foulbe nor Bassa. We are, one and all, simply Cameroonians* (Ahidjo, 1962a:3; 1962b:1).

In fact, as a political ideology in Cameroon, national integration was expected to go beyond an "awareness of a common identity amongst Cameroonians to an actual manifestation of a national community life that is conscious of, respects and preserves the supreme-ness of the state. It also requires that each citizen should respect and give a chance to other Cameroonians, region, ethnic group or colonial identity notwithstanding as their right of being Cameroons, uphold the general interest and strive for the common good (MINJES, 2015:2). This can be achieved from two

directions; adoption by individuals or imposition by the state' (Wang, 1978:464). Adoption involves the level of subjective identification of individuals with the nation (value consensus) and imposition speaks to the initiatives of labelling by some central authority (Elad, 1983:60) through national symbols, the constitution and educational policies.

It is important to mention that, imposition may not necessarily be coercive. However, there are those, as in Machiavelli's *Prince* who believe that coercive measures could also be used if the attainment of the goal of national unity is at stake. As Van de Berghel (1965) has argued, where value consensus doesn't form the basis of integration, a combination of political coercion, compliance or regulation must prevail for the interest of state survival. In fact particularly for post-independent multi-ethnic African states, he argues that the differences between various group identities are so fundamental that they betray the notion of value consensus. That is, the possibility of voluntary adoption of integrative values by the different parochial identities is difficult to be achieved without enforcement and automatically imposes the structural necessity for government action. This places the responsibility for national cohesion on the state which may sometimes be seen as having coercive or propaganda interpretations.

## Enhancing national integration in Cameroon through History education

As mentioned above, the relationship between education and national integration has been found to be significant. Studies agree that the increase in the level of national identification among citizens and at the same time the diminishing ethnocentrism correlates positively with increasing levels of educational attainment as well as the quality and type of education given (Elad 1982:1). In Nigeria for instance, Alan Peshkin's 1967 study shows how despite the recognition of profound cultural disparities in the country, education policies at independence hardly reflected genuine concerns for unity. While Onyemelukwe-Waziri (2017) links this policy deficiency to the escalation of the secessionist Biafra war (1967-70), Akpan (1990:2943-4) shows how immediately after the war there were talks on how education could be used effectively to mitigate disintegration as the war had attempted to do. Answers included a national basis curriculum for primary and secondary schools, a well-diversified student recruitment system and an efficient staff exchange programme for the universities.

Similar results of the (non)promotion of national integration through the

educational system have been found in Njeng'ere's 2014 study of Kenya, Poormina's (2018) and Raman's (2008) study of India as well as Wang's (1978) study of Malaysia. Wang for instance shows that education was actually found to have contributed significantly in blurring ethnic lines in two ways; (1) structurally, most occupational or economic categories had a good mix of ethnic groups and (2) politically, through the curriculum people displayed a high sense of national citizenship and loyalty to the nation. Njeng'ere's (2014) research also showed significantly positive relationships between education and the development of social capital in Kenya as individuals exhibited the propensity to trust, to be tolerant, develop shared values and respect state institutions. However, as he argued, the de-emphasis of such a curriculum in Kenya accounts for a fall in the values of national integration as some recent post-electoral ethnic clashes demonstrated.

As far as Cameroon is concerned, research is limited. Nyamnjoh's study mentioned above makes little or no reference to the role of education while Ngwoh's 2017 paper alludes to the teaching of civics and citizenship education. On her part Elad's 1983 study besides not including the curriculum, recognizes government's purposeful application of the education for national integration policy in the country. She maintained that:

> *Prior to independence and reunification people had internalized different terminal as well as instrumental values. This was bound to show a variation in their respective allegiances to the political centre. In the long run however, with a policy of education which encouraged acceptance of national norms and ideologies many inter-cultural differences were lessened and particularistic and local values were gradually replaced by attitudes more consonant with the needs of the whole nation;* [unity in diversity] (Elad, 1982:6).

While Elad may have used her variable of educational structure and language policy to make this conclusion, the definition of education as (1) the imparting of knowledge and skills and most importantly (2) the inculcation in the clientele of the national value systems of a given society (Tambo, 2003a:4-7) speak to the role of specific school contents in achieving national integration**.** In fact research beyond Cameroon (Ajor and Odey 2018; Ndlovu 2009; Raman 2008) has placed history at the centre of the national integration objective of attaining "a citizenry for an enlightened social order; and the amalgamation of subpopulations hitherto fragmented by colonial, religious, linguistic, or ethnic differences" (Peshkin 1967:323).

How then was the policy of national integration implemented through history education in Cameroon? We must recall that the present Republic of Cameroon is a 1961 merger (reunification) of the former British administered Southern Cameroons and *la Republique du Cameroun* (the former French administered Cameroon which had gained independence on January 1, 1960). The colonial curriculum experiences that the British and French spheres brought to the reunification table were incongruous as both colonial curricula were dictated by their respective colonial ideologies. For the British Southern Cameroons, contents were dominated by the History of Britain, the rest of Europe and a few topics in Africa and Nigerian History. Very little of the history of British Cameroons was taught in both the primary and secondary schools (Ndille, 2012; 2018). Likewise in French Cameroon there was a strict observance of the French nationalist history curriculum (White 1996). This type of curricula emanating from the two colonial spheres caste long shadows on the national integration project of the independent and reunified state and thus needed to be revised. Government actually presented an un-harmonized educational system as causing political setbacks in its march towards national unity and capped curriculum reform "…as a way of being faithful to our values of knowing how to live with one another" (Ahidjo 1980:36).

A series of laws were thus passed and commissions were set up between 1963 and 1971 to enforce the policy of harmonization and prepare national school curricula (Nwana 2000:10-21; Ndille, 2018). Particularly for the subject history, there was quite a good deal of semblance between the two subsystems following such efforts (Ngum 2012). Contents used in this paper to advance the discussion therefore apply to both subsystems (English and French) and levels (primary and secondary) where such instruction is said to have prevailed. In 1963, national goals for teaching history pointed to the fact that:

> *Historical knowledge should acquaint the pupils with various aspects of national life, give them insight into the historical and cultural background of Cameroon as a nation and instil patriotism in them. History should bring to focus the realization that we all have a common heritage as this will strengthen the sense of unity* (West Cameroon 1963).

It is from such goals that national oriented contents were proposed. As far as curriculum development in concerned in Cameroon, it is the tendency for government to outline the contents of subject syllabuses and prescribe textbooks for use in schools. Subject associations at national, regional

and divisional levels further break down syllabuses into teachable units; defining their objectives, suggesting teaching strategies, proposing teacher and learner activities and resources. Such schemes-of-work become handy for teachers to prepare their lessons. This top-down approach to curriculum development is still in place today. The analysis of the nature of historical contents and how they addressed the national integration ideology is drawn from such documents and validated by the interview data authors emic experiences as mentioned above. Gham (2015) has analysed the politics of textbook writing, selection and the teaching of history in Cameroon in which he agrees with Ngum (2012) that variations in publication and authorship notwithstanding, the content remains the same as specified by the curriculum policy for all sub-systems of education.

Mention must also me made of the degree to which one may assume that the Cameroon history curriculum was national in terms of the volume of contents reflecting a national character as opposed to other contents (Ndille, 2012). Despite two syllabus reviews for primary schools (1963, 1968) world history contents continued to outweigh local/national history until a 2001 review turned the tides. Similarly for secondary schools, curriculum for the junior levels (Forms one and two) is until now, more of European than Cameroon and African history. For the intermediate and senior classes (forms 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7), the contents are dictated by the examination boards which undertook revisions in 1997 giving priority (about 40%) to Cameroon History. Consequently, our discussion of national integration as a principle in the Cameroon history curriculum doesn't imply that Cameroon is a good example of states which have successfully nationalized/indigenized or Africanized their history curriculum. I simply draw on topics and contents that address goals of national integration and how they are presented to the learners.

To begin, the first thing easily noticed in history education in Cameroon in the use of the name Cameroon in almost every topic regarding the country. This is done even when an aspect or issue addresses only a limited scope within the country. Local names are downplayed for the national. Such an approach in topic presentation is seen on Table 1.

**Table 1: Sample evidence of a national orientation to History topics**

| | Topics |
|---|---|
| 1 | Precolonial Cameroon |
| 2 | The People and Peopling of Cameroon/Migrations and Settlement of Cameroon |
| 3 | States and Kingdoms of Cameroon |
| 4 | Early Missionaries to Cameroon |
| 5 | Early Traders and Explorers in Cameroon |
| 6 | The Slave Trade in Cameroon |
| 7 | The scramble and annexation for Cameroon |
| 8 | The Pacification and Administration of Cameroon |
| 9 | German expansion and conquest of Cameroon |
| 10 | Resistances to German Rule in Cameroon |
| 11 | The First World War or the War Time Situation in Cameroon |
| 12 | Cameroon under French Administration |
| 13 | Cameroon under British Administration |
| 14 | Cameroon under Ahidjo's Administration |
| 15 | Cameroon under Biya's Administration |

Source: *From VG. Fanso (1989), VJ Ngoh (1996), TJ Tazifor (2003).*

From the titling of the lesson topics on Table 1, one can see a conscious attempt to follow a historiographical tradition that imposes a structure on the past that never was. As a political entity, Cameroon only emerged in July 1884 following the German annexation of the people around the Wouri River. Despite the fact that the Wouri estuary had been referred to as *Rio dos Cameroes* by the Portuguese in 1471 and subsequently by the Dutch, Spanish, English, French and Germans, it didn't take a national character until the pacification of the territory and the establishment of the first maps of German Cameroon in the 1900. This notwithstanding, developments in any part of the territory before the German annexation are given a national character in history lessons. Early European Missionaries, traders and explorers mentioned in the lessons only saw themselves as having arrived and worked in specific places like Douala, Bimbia and Victoria rather than people who had come to a territorial space called Cameroon. However, the picture that was presented to learners all around the country is that such people worked in their national territory.

Apart from the above, the various people presented in the 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century migrations and settlements only became part of a common territorial

space after the German annexed the area. These had included the Tikars and Chamba migrations, the Bantu Migrations in the Southern/coastal areas and the Sudano/Arabic in the north. While each of these categories was composed of smaller clan groups, they were all presented in history lessons as Cameroonians settling in different parts of the territory. Even after the dissolution of the German Cameroon colonial entity following their defeat in the First World War and the British and French Partition, the title; British or French administration of Cameroon as it appears in the textbooks and syllabuses does not give the learners the impression that each of these was only concerned with part of the territory. The names British Southern Cameroons and French Cameroons are downplayed in favour of an all-inclusive Cameroon for the sake of imparting in the learners the idea of a single sovereign state.

Pierre Bourdieu has argued that from inception, the state, as it was at independence and reunification in Cameroon, assumes the character of an X to be determined which successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical and symbolic violence over a definite territory and over the totality of the corresponding population. Being able to exert symbolic violence means incarnating itself in objectivity in the form of specific organizational structures and mechanisms (such as education and the curriculum) and in subjectivity in the form of mental structures, categories, perceptions and thoughts (Bourdieu, 1994:3-4). Bourdieu implies that the state not only rationally establishes institutions and structures but skews the goals of education, curriculum contents and the way they are approached to give the citizens a particular perception of reality. This includes thinking the state even where and when the state didn't exist. This is what he terms the state 'realizing itself in social structures and in mental structures adapted to the learners (Bourdieu 1994:4). When this is done, he concludes, 'the instituted institution makes us forget that it issued out a long series of acts of the institution (in the active sense) and hence has all the appearances of the natural (Bourdieu, 1994:4).

Applied to the knowledge of history in Cameroon, by giving a national orientation to all contents including issues of local histories, learners in Cameroon were made to have an image of a country which spreads as far back as it can be imagined. Seeing themselves as Cameroonians they identify with contents from all parts of the country. A sense of national belonging is inspired as problems pertaining to particular parts of the country are seen in historical contexts as national problems involving

every one; regional, location or ethnic affiliation notwithstanding. This approach to historiographical development in Cameroon could be said to be idealistic; presenting the world/country as the state feels/wants it to be seen rather than how it was. In South Africa for example topics are context specific. One can appreciate clearly a topic such as the Dutch interactions with the San and Khoi at the Cape rather than an ideal national character of European contacts with a South Africa which, at the time, never was. In Cameroon, it is the reverse; Cameroon on the Eve of German Colonization when the contents simply dwell on the interactions between the coastal Douala and Bimbia on one hand and the German, British and French Traders on the other which at the time did not involve all those who belong to the state of Cameroon today.

As MINJES (2015) has noted, the idea of Cameroon as a unified group of people from diverse provenance has been sustained throughout Cameroon history from the first European contacts to precolonial internal developments to the treaties of German annexation and from the petitions of partition addressed to the League of Nations by different ethnic groups to the naming of political parties in both French and British Cameroon. In fact even the treaty presented in Cameroon textbooks as the treaty of annexation of Cameroon, was actually a treaty between German traders and the Douala people on the Atlantic coast. Textbooks presented no treaty between for example the Fulbe in the north or the Tikar groups in the North-western parts of the country (other than a blood pact between the explorer Zingtraff and the Bali leader Galega I) nor a general treaty to make the cession of sovereignty of the entire people to the Germans a national matter. Cameroonians of all regions through the approach to history contents were meant to see themselves in the Germano-Duala Treaty even if their fore-fathers never knew what happened in Douala in 1884 and didn't identify with it when they became aware of such a development.

According to Mbiatat (2019), the approach of a national, elitist and political history as it was prior to the 1990s was to espouse the idea that ethnic groups have had part of a common territorial space called Cameroon for a long time and no one has greater right over another. It was also to reflect the notion of peaceful coexistence as a long standing characteristic among the people of Cameroon. Diverse cultures were viewed as a common heritage to which all Cameroonians must become proud of; a positive strength to be enhanced for the growth of the nation. This approach was to hammer home the message of intercultural harmony, a symbiotic living together which

emphasises survival as a result of good neighbourliness (Etuge, 2019).

Apart from precolonial developments, Colonialism featured prominently in the nationalist history curriculum. Colonial developments such as the establishment of a few kilometres of railway or a bridge over an area were presented as national benefits while experiences of suffering and exploitation of particular groups of people were seen as episodes of national pain which retarded development (Abbas 2019). Meanwhile textbooks qualified resistance movements as national and their failures were accounted for by the absence of collaboration or the inability of ethnic groups to establish a national resistant front (Ngoh 1996; Tazifor 2003). The 1916 partition of the erstwhile German Cameroon was presented as a dark point in the history of the nation while the 1961 reunification of British and former French Cameroons was presented as a milestone to regain their once lost grand Cameroonian identity (Lukong 2019). Pictures of the Foumban conference which galvanized the process of reunification were often on show in the textbooks with the captions "how nice it is to meet our brothers" (Ngoh 1987). This ideology has not only been used in contents presentation as described above but in textbook titles as would be seen in Table 2.

**Table 2: Sample textbooks used to teach History in Cameroon schools**

| | **Title** | **Author/Date** |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Cameroon History since 1800 | Victor Julius Ngoh (1996) |
| 2 | Cameroon History for Secondary Schools and Colleges | VG Fanso (1989) |
| 3 | Cameroon History in the 19th and 20th Centuries | Tazifor Tajoche (2003) |
| 4 | Cameroon History for Primary Schools | SN Tita (1966, 1982, 1990) |
| 5 | *L'Histoire du Cameroun du XVIe-debut de XXe c* (Cameroon History from the 19 to the Early 20th Century) | Martin Njeuma (1989) |
| 6 | *L'Histoire du Cameroun Anglophone et Le Cameroun Francophone* (History of Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon) | Santare Jules Nkarey (2003) |
| 7 | *Les Grandes Ligne de l'Historie du Cameroun de 1472 a nos Jours* (Major Themes in Cameroon History from 1472 to the Present) | Timothe Zogo (1998) |
| 8 | Cameroon: History for Junior Secondary Schools Book 1 for Form 1; Book 2 for Form 2 | Tazifor John (published and Revised since the late 1980s |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9 | Cameroon: Introduction to History<br>Book 1 for Form 1 and Book 2 for form 2 | ESD Fomin et al (2014)* |
| 10 | Effective Cameroon Modern History for Colleges<br>Forms 3,4,5 | Bate George Eno* |
| 11 | Essential Cameroon History for Junior Secondary Schools | Casimir Itoe Ngome et al* |

Sources: Compiled from MINESEC 2014; 2018; MINEDUC 1992; GBSS 1991. French Titles translated by author and do not stand for official translations. * These according to Gham 2015 are not published textbooks per se but Subject manuals prepared from the other major texts.

As noted above, the official history curriculum in Cameroon for all levels; primary, secondary and university as well as types of schools; grammar, commercial, technical, comprehensive and other specialized programmes includes a blend of Cameroon, Africa and world history. In University history departments it also includes some theoretical and methodological courses. It is interesting to note that some of the textbook writers cover all the contents suggested for the class in one book with one title. For instance, while the contents of the national history curriculum of secondary schools forms one and two and most of class 4 and five of the primary schools had less than thirty percent Cameroon history contents, the title of Tita's and Tazifor's books for example (see Table 2), insinuate that the content is on Cameroon. It would be surprising to learn that a majority of the contents in these books include chapters as dispersed as ancient Greece and Rome; ancient China, Japan and India, Islam and the Empires of Western Sudan. Apart from that, whether the contents address specific ethnicities at a time when Cameroon had not become a polity, the textbook authors have had a tendency to give their titles a national orientation. For instance, Fanso's Book 1 and Martin Njeuma's textbook are predominantly on precolonial times while Zogo talks of a Cameroon History since 1472; when there was no entity like Cameroon.

This perspective is not by chance. It is meant to highlight in the learners the fact that the Cameroon identity is as old as history; that it has taken ages to solidify and that youths have a challenge to honour, promote and sustain it (Tabe, 2019; MINJES, 2015:28). According to Jason (1985:1-2), terms such as regions, ethnic groups, tribes, clans and villages used to describe people and historical developments in Africa have been seen to be highly charged and skilfully manipulating. It was feared (and evidence has proven) that ethnicities and other identities that make up the state would one day attempt to create a nation in their own image. In Africa, therefore,

the state as in the largest political entity that people recognize, is the least politically charged and therefore the best term to describe the people and represent historical heritage. Consequently, nation builders in Cameroon argued strongly that particularistic definitions of people and history may breed hatred between them and that the best way to kill this is to move from such narrow a presentation of contents to a more national outlook (Etuge 2019).

In a study of the textbooks in Cameroon, Fru and Wassermann (2017) have argued that textbooks incorporate certain attitudes and ways of looking at the world. Particular opinions and interpretations are presented as Jason has expressed above. Ngalim (2014) asserts that the vision of the country reflects the organization of curricula and for Cameroon the multicultural nature of the country has since independence occasioned the curriculum politics of unity and national integration. This expresses the need for all Cameroonians to feel and live as one and to have a common destination. A curriculum policy which makes Cameroonians perceive themselves in this light was to serve as the enabling environment for national unity (Ngongang, 2019; Epitime 2019). If examined within this premise therefore, textbooks, are certainly excellent resources with which to analyse social and historical consciousness (Fru and Wassermann 2019). To a greater extent, this was significantly achieved in Cameroon until recently.

Apart from inculcating the Cameroon national identity in the Cameroonian learners, history education also focused essentially on giving a national political orientation to the history of independent Cameroon. By focusing on teaching the efforts of the president and the top political class of the country in nation building, post-independent historiography and by implication history education not only became nationalistic but essentially elitist and political. Crawford (2000) explains that, the nature of states in general not only required that people see themselves as part of one national ancestry but also to identify with the agency that originated and sustained that identity. It was therefore necessary for history to not only be national in orientation but also elitist and political. This helped to conglomerate all voices and ideologies unto the state and its political leadership. Table 3 presents a summary of the political/elitist approach to history contents.

**Table 3: The nature of History contents in Cameroon schools**

| | Knowledge Area/Topics | Issues addressed/ Sub-topics |
|---|---|---|
| | Migrations/Settlements | Focus on Migratory routes and the leaders of ethnic groups and their heroic exploits to bring their people to a safe landing and establishment of polities |
| | European Contacts with Cameroon | Focus on the Chiefs/Kings that Europeans met and their Wisdom in dealing with them; King Akwa and Bell, Manga Williams, Kuva Likenye, Chief Tambe, Sultan Njoya, Fon Galega Rudolph Duala Manga Bell, Martin Paul Samba; these are presented as national heroes; |
| | Nationalism in Cameroon | Focus on those who led and pressure groups and national political parties they formed (most of them having the name Cameroon); EML Endeley, JN Foncha, AN Jua, ST Muna; Amadou Ahidjo, Reuben Um-Nyobe, Roland Moumie, Andre Marie Mbida; Louis Paul Aujoulat |
| | Attainment of Self Government | This is presented in light of the Wisdom of Nationalists. Political evolution at this time is the story of individual leaders; From Andre-Marie Mbida to Amadou Ahidjo in French Cameroon and from EML Endeley to JN Foncha in the British Cameroons |
| | Reunification | Basically the story of the Negotiations between British Southern Cameroons and La Repubique du Cameroon. The story of the two leaders; Foncha and Ahidjo respectively. |
| | The Cameroon Federation | Ahidjo's efforts in consolidating National Unity; 1966 formation of the single national party (1966) and the dissolution of the federal system and formation of a unitary state (1972) |
| | Cameroon as a Unitary State | Ahidjo and Constitutional Development<br>Political Transition from Ahidjo to Biya (1982)<br>The Political Rift between Ahidjo and Paul Biya and the 1984 attempted coup d'état and Biya's subsequent reforms<br>The Return to Multiparty Democracy (1990) |
| | Cameroon in the new multi-party era | The efforts of the President in stabilizing the Country; 1996 Constitution<br>Biya's re-elections and other political achievements |

Source*: Summarized from VJ Ngoh (1996), VG Fanso, (1989) and Tazifor (2003).*

Table 3 reveals that the history curriculum in Cameroon, at least for the first three decades, was elitist and political. Very little attention was drawn to the economic and social history of the country. Even when socio-economic life of the country featured as a topic, it was presented as an achievement of the political leadership of the time (Etuge, 2019). Most Cameroonian students only met other genres of history at the university. What they brought with them from secondary school was the national political history of the country alongside other foreign contents. Apart from making history predominantly political, historical contents were presented as a conscious effort in nation building towards which all citizens had to ally. In the history of the former British administered sphere (Southern Cameroons) historical agents who advocated reunification with former French Cameroon are viewed as heroes of history while advocates of the unsuccessful option of integration with Nigeria are often unrepresented in public memory. Where balanced judgement requires that they feature, very little is mentioned about them (Ngongang, 2019).

In most of the Cameroon history lessons, reunification was presented as the best political decision that Cameroonians ever made. A unified Cameroon was made to imply better opportunities for all its citizens (Mbiatat, 2019) and a seeming advantage (at least language wise) over other Africans that school children were called to exploit. Like reunification, other sensitive areas of history such as the 1966 merger of all political parties and the 1972 May 20 referendum whose implementation has of recent been highly criticised, were simply presented to the learners as positive moves for the interest of a greater and prosperous Cameroon. While many held the position that such moves were calculated steps by Ahidjo to establish a personality cult (Lukong, 2019), textbooks in use in the classrooms downplayed any part which would distract the youth from forging respect for national leadership, state symbols and an integrationist attitude (Epitime, 2019). Rather than being viewed as the destruction of the parliamentary democracy which the two spheres of Cameroon had each entered the union with, the establishment of the single national party; *Grand Partie Unifie* on September 1, 1966 was presented as a move "to reduce the political infighting which had characterised pre-1966 political activity in Cameroon." "Such an atmosphere," learners read, "was not healthy for national unity which needed all the energies that Cameroonian nationalists dispensed in arguing against one another" (Tita, 1990; Ngoh, 1987:257).

In the September 1966 event, the president of the republic was presented in history lessons as the "father of the nation…who in his usual generosity," was coming "towards the warring factions of West Cameroon and volunteered to dissolve his large and well established party, the *Union Camerounais* (UC) so that *we* may together build up a stable country united and equal with no advantage or privilege to anyone big or small" (Etangondop, 2004). In the same light, the dissolution of the federal system in 1972 was presented in school lessons as:

> *... the peaceful revolution; as government's genuine effort especially that of the president to limit expenditure and preserve the resources initially spent on duplicating functions through federal institutions to enhance development…. A young nation like Cameroon required a united action in terms of planning policies to achieve progress* (Fonkeng 2007:193).

The establishment of a unitary state was also presented as the failure and unworkability of the federal system since the state of West Cameroon continued to experience financial difficulties despite federal government balancing of its subsidy totalling more than three quarters of its budget annually (Ngoh, 2004).

All in all, the rationale for a curriculum approach emphasizing national unity and integration is manifold but the point to emphasize here is that, such an approach guaranteed state stability, peace, social harmony and respect for state institutions as could be seen in pre-1990 Cameroon. It made it difficult for the learners, even as they grew from children to youth and adults to unnecessarily impede state action or see fellow Cameroonians as strange bedfellows. Learners saw history as an evolution of the process of nation building and development (Ngongang 2009).

Curriculum development had therefore taken the form of "reproducing the society" which the leadership sought to build (Ndlovu, 2009:68) and for history, justified the development of nationalist political historiographies. As Ogot (1978:72) puts it, such were born out of the perceived role that historical learning was to play in the newly independent states.

Generally in Cameroon, a certain feeling of nostalgia for the years 1960-1980s has hardly waned. The phrase "in those day" is often used to look back at these years where peace and stability prevailed; years in which people from the south served in the northern-most parts of the country without fear of being tagged *gadamayo* or when those from the northwest

lived amongst the coastal people without been seen as *come-no-go*.[2] These years were also characterised by sustained economic growth, investments in national infrastructural development, a generalized adherence to the state structure and its symbols, peace and unity amongst Cameroonians. There was an attempted *coup d'etat* in 1984 but generally until 1990s, no overt threats to national cohesion marked the history of the country. While the autocratic nature of Amadou Ahidjo's one party state (inherited by Paul Biya in 1982) may have played a significant role in attaining these goals by neutralizing dissidents (Joseph 1980), consciously established policies in the social domain such as a curriculum approach highlighting the essence of national unity and citizens adherence to national symbols as seen above, cannot be underestimated.

In fact it is possible to surmise that the impact of a nationally based history education programme was very high until the 1990s. As Mbiatat (2019) attests, "contents derived from such goals created 'a pleasant attitude for emotional unity and essential integrity among the children of the nation." Epitime (2019) also agrees that the kind of history they learnt in their days (1970s and 1980s) made them to see one another first as Cameroonians before their ethnic or regional origins. This, according to her, has been the major reason why Cameroonian parents began downplaying the various ethnic and cultural practices such as forbidding inter-ethnic marriages. Evidence has also shown that where a curriculum for national integration was not implemented, little was achieved (Peshkin, 1967; Akpan, 1990; Ajor and Odey 2018:71).

## De-emphasis on the National Integration Orientation of History education and its Consequences

It must be mentioned that the degree and level of national integration and state cohesion in a country can be measured in many spheres of life. This includes the extent of ethnic and cultural mix in work spaces and regions of the country characterised by a harmonious living together; a high level of tolerance for different ethnicities and alternative social and political affiliations; sustained peaceful co-existence; limited ethnic/ regional/political clashes and the respect for state authority. It is also

2 Gadamayo is a term used in the northern parts of Cameroon to refer to Southerners (literarily meaning people coming from across the Mayo River locally assumed to be marking the southern fringes of the northern polities. On the other hand *Come-no-go* is used in the coastal areas (predominantly in the Southwest region) to refer to people from the Northwest region literarily meaning permanent settlers). While there has been a significant mix of Cameroons populations as far back as the colonial days, these terms have been popularized (and derogatorily to) with the advent of multiparty politics of the 1990s and its effects; one of which is the fading of national harmony.

characterised by a shift in individual and group loyalties and a look towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing parochial identities and easily obtain such without unnecessary coercion. Evidence of the contrary as in the recurrent Christian-Muslim/northerner-southerner clashes and the 1967-70 Biafran war in Nigeria, the post-electoral ethnic clashes in Kenya, the civil wars in the Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone and South Sudan as well as the current Anglophone crisis in Cameroon, to cite but these, could attest to the abating of the spirit of national cohesion in favour of some sort of sub-national identities within the state.

From the 1990s onwards, Cameroon has experienced several crises of co-existence which in part can account for some northern youths joining the Boko Haram quest for an Islamic state on parts of the Cameroon national territory since 2013 and a secessionist movement in the Anglophone regions of Cameroon since 2016. The reasons for such developments may be many and varied but certainly includes shifts in government policies after 1990 which de-emphasized the role of the school in fostering and sustaining national cohesion. The 1990s marked the end of the cold war and the adoption of neoliberalism as a global indication of openness and reform. This came with its own pressures on African nations. For Cameroon it required the reintroduction of multiparty democracy and the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme in the economic and socio-political domains.

In response to these developments, the enabling laws of 19 December 1990 (Cameroon 1990) led to the sprawling of micro and competing sub-nationalisms; regional/ethnic based political parties, regional elite associations, private press with various political leanings as well as patronising, tribalism, partisanship, discrimination, unequal distribution of resources and divide and rule (Nyamnjoh, 1998; Ngwoh 2017:1 Easyelimo 2019; Nkwi 2006; Vubo 2006). In the heavily cosmopolitan coastal cities and towns, issues of indigene and stranger re-emerged alongside mutual suspicion and open clashes (Nkwi, 2006; Vubo, 2006). Neoliberalism therefore contributed to the resurgence of the identity question and the politics of fragmentation as "the gradual unravelling of identities based on political ideology and culture" became characteristic of everyday life. There grew "a radical questioning and discrediting of the very basis of the erstwhile models of nation states" (Vubo, 2005:1) which had been characterised by streamlining efforts of governments but which had helped to sustain unity amongst the people.

In addition to the above, neoliberalism also inspired new orientations in economic and social policy which affected education and the role of the school as a vector for national integration. It emphasised human capital formation which to the advocates was an urgent demand of the new knowledge economy (World Bank, 2005). As part of the response of the education department, a National Education Forum was held in Yaoundé in 1995 and a new educational policy was enacted into law in 1998. This saw goals of education being revised in favour of a local and global rather than a national orientation to curriculum. Social sciences in general was de-emphasized to the advantage of sciences, technology and mathematics. This implied limited time allocations for social sciences and a revision of the contents. As the 1998 law stated emphasis was henceforth to be on "training citizens firmly rooted in their various cultures but open to the world… cultivating a love of effort and work well done; developing creativity and the spirit of enterprise, guaranteeing the right without discrimination to gender, political, religious opinion, social, cultural, linguistic and geographic origin' (Cameroon 1998).

As Tambo later observed, this new orientation of education was more of a desire to meet the demands of structural adjustment of the funding agencies and friendly governments (2003b:35) than of the national realities especially at that time when the country was soaked in political crisis and needed to rather emphasize the role of history and other social science subjects in building national integrity and solidarity. The neoliberal approach to education rather placed premium on human capital formation rather than the development of social capital (World Bank 2005). The development of a single national culture espoused by the Ahidjo regime (1961-1982) in the history curriculum was pushed aside. The new six years primary school course (until then it was 7 years) reduced emphasis on history by limiting its study to three years (previously it was four years). The new approach places premium on local history which is predominantly the history of ethnic groupings in Cameroon (Cameroon 2001). The consequence of this trend is a comparatively reduced knowledge of national history and sometimes a biased or skewed appreciation of the efforts of the state authorities and institutions as historical agents. These added to freedom of press, social media and the general socio-economic hardship has led to a high critic of government action rather than support and increased ethnic, colonial linguistic, regional, cultural heritage consciousness and political rivalry to the detriment of a harmonious living together.

## Conclusion

In the paper, I have drawn from primary literature and some oral sources to demonstrate historically, the relationship between history education and national integration in Cameroon. I have pointed out that a major challenge for most African countries at independence was how to derive common values from the values of the diverse communities which characterised their polities. I have shown that for Cameroon values like national integration and peaceful coexistence were sustained through the teaching of nationalist history between 1961 and the early 1990s. I have also shown that the post 1990 turbulence in the country culminating crisis such as the Boko Haram in the north and the Anglophone crisis show are evidences of "a dearth in values of national cohesion "(Mbiatat, 2019). While bearing in mind the multiplicity of causal judgments in history, changes in educational goals and curriculum orientation away from national cohesion certainly account (to a large extent) to such a deficiency. Although the concept of a "one and indivisible Cameroon" continues to be a priority of government policy, various vices of subnational awareness have dug very deep in the fabrics of Cameroon's society to the point where mere rhetoric as is the case contemporaneously would hardly bring the train back to its rails if not accompanied by a revision of school curriculum and by implication history education.

Education policy developers therefore need a rethink of the orientation of history education for a country with a multiplicity of heritages as Cameroon. This will encourage social justice, equity, tolerance and compromise. Such an emphasis on history has shown positive results in early decades of independence and would evidently continue to do so in Cameroon if re-engaged. It must be mentioned that critics of this approach to history education may not find rational in its implementation. They may also see such a curriculum approach as propaganda. This notwithstanding, evidence has shown that an integrationist history curriculum discourages vices that imping on multi-cultural co-existence and enforces and reinforce virtues of social acceptance, promote shared attitudes and rejuvenates historical memories which in many respects have proven to guarantee peace and harmony in the face of divergences and multiplicities.

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# Creating a historical sport narrative of Zonnebloem College for classroom practice

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***Abstract***

*This article attempts to create a sport narrative of the Zonnebloem College prior to 1950. The introduction provides a motivation for proceeding with a decolonising format and lays out what the elements of such a format would entail. Next, an overview of sport historical developments at the Zonnebloem College is explored. The administrative history of sport at Zonnebloem is explored as well as selected sport codes. Finally, the article is summarised and concluded by presenting teachers and learners with sample questions, which they could consider using in their local conditions.*

**Keywords:** Athletics; Netball; Soccer; Decolonisation; Institutional Culture; Past Student's Union; Zonnebloem.

## Introduction

According to the sport historian, André Odendaal, at the centre of South African sport history must be the effort to understand how the silences of the colonial subject in sport are manipulated and how colonial narratives are set in the literature and minds of South Africans – and to attempt to redress the situation (Odendaal 2018:1). One example of the silence on black school sport is the publication, *Some famous schools*. It is a 279-page work that is dedicated to "teachers, pupils, old boys, parents and the local public that [came from] schools founded on the Arnoldian ideal" (Peacock 1972: Editor's Note). The Arnold ideal here refers to the life view of Thomas Arnold, the headmaster of Rugby School from 1828 to 1842, who advocated a schooling system that suits the rising middle class (McIntosh 1963:65). School histories such as these are expectedly silent on their privileged position in society and their complicity in silencing narratives that emanate from the underclass. This article directs attention

largely to redressing the vacuum of black[1] school sport in 20th century Cape Town by presenting a narrative of developments at Zonnebloem College (henceforth called Zonnebloem) in a decolonising format. Zonnebloem College is the oldest training institution[2] in Cape Town, being established in 1858 (*Bylae tot Die Burger*, 2008:16). This institution exists today (2020) as the Zonnebloem Nest Senior School.

A decolonised sport narrative contains the following elements: putting in place new paradigms for understanding the past, integrating from the beginning, at every stage and in every area, the experiences of hitherto excluded black sportspeople from history, and reconstituting the entire statistical history of South African [sport] (Odendaal 2018:1-4). Applied to Zonnebloem, this necessitates the documentation of available data regarding biographies and sport results where they are available. Such data may appear insignificant to readers located outside the Zonnebloem experiences; however, they do provide evidence of the importance (and lesser importance) that the institution attached to sport. This article therefore includes college sport results that contain names of later school administrators. Such data also provide substance for individual athletes, such as the poet Sydney Petersen, who recalled his school athletics experience as follows: "When the tape is near and the heart and nerve and sinew are all gone, then one man will rise to victory" (Willemse 2010:34).

What this study also hopes to achieve is to create an awareness amongst history teachers about school populations of "knowledges encoded in the dominant beliefs, values and behaviours deeply embedded in all aspects of institutional life" (Jansen 2009:126). It is stated here with a degree of certainty that successful school teachers transfer their acquired beliefs, values and behaviours during teacher training to their employment environment. One such teacher was the 1936 Zonnebloem graduate, Allie Fataar:

> [Allie] *emerged during* [his teacher training period] *as a confident young teacher-in-training, admiring his teachers for their conscientiousness and passion for going beyond the expected because of their belief-systems and commitment to fairness in an exploitative system* (Omar 2015:166).

1 In this study the term, black, refers to the politically constructed references African, Coloured and Indian in the South African context. The author distances himself from any biological stereotyping associatied with these classifications.

2 Initially Zonnebloem was an ordinary school. Later, it was divided into a teacher training department (referred to as the College in common terms), a secondary school and primary school. All three divisions together is referred to as the Zonnebloem Institution.

Significantly, Fataar stated that if ever a biography of him should be written, it would have to include the words, "I always became secretary at club-sport level". Furthermore, he said, "[I was] co-founder of Harold Cressy High School Sport Council as we sought to salvage the ethos of mass-based school sport" (Omar 2015:165, 167). As far as the author of this article is aware, there is only one published academic journal article on the subject of Zonnebloem school sport (Cleophas 2012:63-87). This was an article that explored athletics during the 19th and early 20th century, thus leaving scope for a wider exploration of other sport types. There have however been considerable endeavours in the area of research into Zonnebloem school history (Cleophas 2012; Hodgson & Edlmann, 2018; Hodgson 1975; Hodgson 1982; Hodgson 1983; Hodgson 1984; Hodgson 2003). The reader/teacher is advised to read this article against the historical backdrop of the above-mentioned authors' works. These recorded narratives have illuminated, in part, a hitherto obscure compartment of South African education history – missionary school sport. This study adds to this collection of works by foregrounding the above-mentioned decolonisation elements that constitute a sport narrative.

**Sport administration**

In 1900 William Parkhurst took over the wardenship of Zonnebloem (Hodgson & Edlmann 2018:167). Parkhurst was a Muscular Christian who promoted the idea of "developing the hand, eye and muscle as well as soul and mind" (Hodgson & Edlmann 2018:167). Muscular Christianity is the label given to the philosophy that physical fitness and sporting prowess were important avenues through which mental, moral and religious (meaning Christian) attitudes were developed and sustained (Siedentop 1990:69). Parkhurst was part of a cohort of Muscular Christians who influenced the institutional culture at centres of higher learning in the Cape Colony. Canon Ogilvie, who is regarded in some quarters as the pioneer of rugby in South Africa (Dobson 1990:21; Van der Merwe 2007:162), was also such a Muscular Christian. Another noted Muscular Christian was the Reverend H. R. Woodrooffe who was appointed in 1859 to be in charge of "the native branch of St. Andrew's College" (Currey 1955:24). Woodrooffe was succeeded by Robert John Mullins in 1864 (Stevens c.1992:41). An internet source claims that Mullins introduced rugby to boys who were attached to the Xhosa Institute, started in 1859, which was attached to St Andrews (St Andrew's College 2015). It was in 1904,

when Rev. Oscar Charles Hine joined the Zonnebloem staff as the manual work teacher, that sport was gradually introduced on a formal basis. He brought with him his experience of British public schooling received at Manchester Grammar School (Anon 1944:5). Hine, no doubt imposed the Manchester Grammar school and sport ethos on to Zonnebloem. This was an ethos expressed in 1903 by the high master at this school, John Lewis Paton, that "a strong body is your servant, a weak body is your master" (Turner 2015:166). According to Paton's biography, written by his son, he "saw in the great public schools that the moral tone was fostered by corporate life, organized team games, personal influence of the masters, continued attachment of scholars after they [had] left" (Turner 2015:166). Parkhurst and Hine were two Muscular Christians who expanded existing 19th century sport programmes at Zonnebloem and brought them in line with Muscular Christianity. In 1904 also, a Zonnebloem Old Boy gave an account of a visit to his alma mater in the *Veld and African Pictorial*. One of the things he reported on was the boxing matches (*Veld and African Pictorial* 1904:21-22). In that same year, the editor of the *Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine* mentioned in the July edition that those activities which required bodily exertion, whether manual work or athletics, were a great weakness [at the College]. Football (soccer) was however being played with some energy (*Zonnebloem Quarterly* 1904a:2).

Early in the 20th century, a sport committee at Zonnebloem was established to control sport. A similar situation developed earlier at the South African College where in 1895, an athletics committee was established to control sport, and especially to manage financial matters in connection with various clubs. This committee was composed of a representative from each year's classes and each club in the College, together with two professors, Ritchie as president and Corstorphine as secretary and treasurer (Ritchie & Kemp 1918:357). By 1905 there existed a Zonnebloem sport committee (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist,* 1905b:29). The cover pages of various *Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazines* list the following students and lecturers as "Games officers":

> *For the period October – December 1905: Norman Cressy (football captain), Cristopher Lobenguela (football secretary and cricket captain), G. Sekgoma (vice-captain), Harold Cressy (cricket secretary) and J.H. Makenna (athletics secretary) (Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist 1905c: cover page). Lobenguela entered Zonnebloem in 1895 and stayed until 1907. The following year he left for England to attend*

> *Denstone College, and possibly one of the universities. His academic record indicates that he obtained the First-Year-Woodwork Pupil-Teacher Certificate in 1904 (WCED Pass Lists). Norman Cressy wrote an admission examination in 1904 and the last record found of him was of him passing the third-year P. T. examination, second grade, in 1907* (see also WCED Pass Lists).

For the period April-June 1906: Norman Cressy (football captain), M Xiniwe (football vice-captain), Christopher Lobenguela (football secretary and cricket captain), Isang Pilane (football treasurer), G Sekgoma (cricket vice-captain), Harold Cressy (cricket secretary), J Beukes (second team cricket captain) and JH Makenna (athletic sport secretary) *Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist,* 1906a:cover page).

For the period July – September 1906: Norman Cressy (football captain), M Xiniwe (football & cricket vice-captain), Christopher Lobenguela (football secretary & treasurer & cricket captain), Percival Victor Sokopo (cricket secretary) and William Hanekom (cricket second team captain) (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist,* 1906b:cover page). Available records indicate Sokopo was a student at Zonnebloem between 1904 and 1908, while William Matthew John Abraham Hanekom passed a Teachers' Model Drawing examination at a vacation course in Cape Town in 1911 (see also WCED Pass Lists).

For the period October 1906 – March 1907: Norman Cressy (football captain), M Nixie (football & cricket vice-captain), Christopher Lobenguela (football secretary, treasurer & cricket captain), M Xiniwe (cricket vice-captain), Percival Sokopo (secretary) and William Hanekom (cricket captain of the second team) (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist,* 1906c: cover page).

Some of these names had historical significance. Thus, Norman Cressy was the brother of the more well-known Harold Cressy (Adhikari 2012:12). Nguboyenja (Christopher) Lobenguela was a Ndebele royal heir who was baptised in St. Phillip's Church on 15 January 1900 and christened, Christopher (Hodgson 2018:164). Isang Pilane was a translator for Bechuana chiefs who visited Zonnebloem; he was also part of the Tswana-speaking Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela in Bechuanaland Pilane dynasty and became an advisor to the Royal House (Hodgson 2018:175). Harold Cressy became principal of Trafalgar High School in 1912 and first president of the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) in 1913 (Adhikari 2012:32, 36).

After the First World War, sport at Zonnebloem gradually started to be administered by teachers who were not clergy. The low number of pupil-teachers was however a major obstacle in the development of team sport. The situation improved slightly by 1935 when Ms Grover was the sport mistress. Thereafter Zonnebloem produced stalwarts in almost every branch of sport and these stalwarts took their skills to various parts in the Union of South Africa and beyond. The contribution of Gilbert Little was highlighted in the press as particularly outstanding in this regard (*Sun* 1932d:7.) He was singled out for praise in an article written by George Golding on the progress made in school sport in the Western Cape (*Sun* 1932e:7). Little's brother-in-law, W.G. Bapoo, was also on the Zonnebloem staff and a prominent tennis player in the Cape District Tennis Union (*Sun* 1936e:12). When a former Zonnebloem student, William Darries, died in 1937, his obituary stated that he taught with success at Mossel Bay, Brandwacht, Oakhurst and George, and he was a "beloved brother and friend in the world of sport, I.O.T.T. and the Brigade" (*Sun* 1937g:4). At some stage Zonnebloem introduced a Derbyshire Shield for inter-school sport. In 1948, Gray House won this shield (*Clarion* 1948:3).

### *Sport fees*

In 1933, a 5-shilling annual sport fee was compulsory for students (UCT, MAD BC 636 D2.75). At the beginning of the 1937-football season, the warden asked the principal in a confidential letter to discuss the inclusion of sport fees in the school fees, so that assistance could be given to players travelling to Rosebank and Mowbray. This was asked because players had to walk both ways, play a hard game and return to their homework at night, utterly fatigued and unfit for study. An example was given of two boys who walked to Rosebank and back. They got back at 19h40 (prep started at 19h15), and had a hurried meal and a wash before doing homework. This was the regular routine for a number of boys who could not afford to pay the train fare. He suggested that every boy pay 1d. of the 5d. train fare from Woodstock Station and that a special fund cover the balance. According to the warden, most schools and colleges (i.e. white schools and colleges) had such an arrangement, so that the best players could be selected, irrespective of finances. The warden also wrote to Gilbert Little about the matter, who was asked to consult with the principal (UCT, MAD BC 636 A10.49). The acting principal agreed to deal with this suggestion (UCT, MAD BC 636 A10.50).

## Hostels and netball

Boarding houses or hostels were important stimuli for sport participation at British schools. The living conditions in Zonnebloem hostels however were not conducive to school sport because the living conditions left much to be desired. In 1936, the warden reported that the buildings of the boys' hostel were unsatisfactory, the sanitary and bathroom arrangements were quite inadequate and the floors were in an appalling condition (UCT, MAD BC 636 C2. 57). Another report was vague on the question of unsatisfactory dietary conditions. It stated that although nutrition at the boys' hostel and girls' hostel was satisfactory, food should be increased by adding a second vegetable at dinner daily, and sweets (with fruit predominantly) thrice weekly instead of only twice as at present (UCT, MAD BC 636 C2. 78). One of the suggestions made by a commission of enquiry, headed by Canon Lavis, into the causes of unrest at the Zonnebloem boys' hostels in 1937 was that there should be opportunities for social intercourse between the warden and the boarders, possibly in the evenings (UCT, MAD BC 636 C2. 77). Despite these shortcomings, netball at Zonnebloem was closely associated with the St. Clare's hostel for girls.

According to an internet source, netball was introduced to students at both the University of Stellenbosch and the University of Cape Town in 1925 by a certain Mrs Salmon (Anon n.d.). It could not be determined when and how the game reached Zonnebloem, but in 1932 a proposal was made for the introduction of a second Zonnebloem netball team consisting of hostel girls (UCT, MAD BC 636 D2. 84). From then on, the St. Clare's Hostel was very successful in the netball section of the Central School Sports Union (CSSU) (see Cleophas 2014 for a historical account of the CSSU). Zonnebloem fielded their A team and hostel team in the over-15 age division, who played each other in the final match in 1932. The final score was 20 for the A-team and 26 for the B-team (hostel team) (*Sun* 1932d:7). Conflicting evidence exists about the year 1934. According to diverse Zonnebloem papers in the University of Cape Town archives, St. Clare's Hostel withdrew from the school sport league, making it possible for one team to represent Zonnebloem in all games (UCT, MAD BC 636 C2. 48). However, that same year, the *Sun* reported that Zonnebloem was the winner of the over-15A netball competition and that the St. Claire's team was the winner of the over-15B competition (*Sun* 1934e:8). In 1936, Zonnebloem entered three over-15 teams in the CSSU league competitions.

The A-team won the A division while the other two teams (Zonnebloem 2B and Zonnebloem B) finished first and second respectively in the B division. The Zonnebloem 2B-team won the knockout division in 1936 (*Sun*, 1936d:11). Three results for the 1936 CSSU final matches could be found, although with unknown scores:

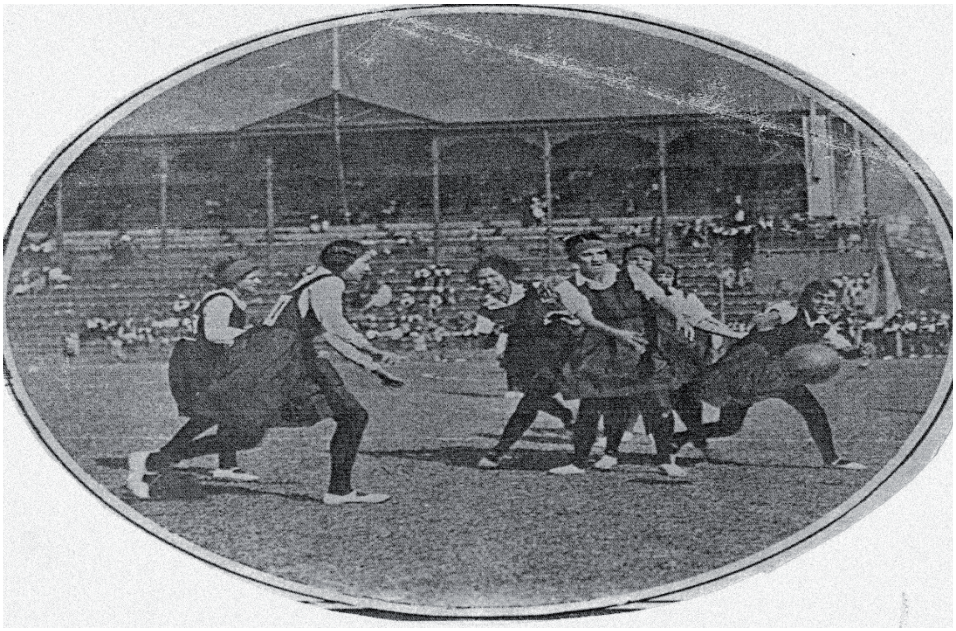
**Table 1: Zonnebloem netball results for 1936**

| Team | Result |
|---|---|
| Zonnebloem over 15 A | loses to Trafalgar |
| Zonnebloem over 15 B | defeats Wesley over 15 |

Source: *Sun,* 1936c:12; *Sun,* 1936d:11.

Except for one insignificant media report about the game in 1943, no further media reports about netball at Zonnebloem could be found (*Zonnebloem College Magazine* 1944:10).

**Image 1: Zonnebloem girls playing netball in knee-length dresses c. 1920s-1930s**



Source: National Library of South Africa, Cape Town campus, Special collections.

## Sport facilities

By 1904, a past student reported that the grounds were well laid out and many opportunities were available to students for indulging in

healthy athletic games. A special feature was the swimming pool, which the students patronised well, especially in the summer season (*Veld and African Pictorial* 1904:21). This swimming pool was in existence by 1902 (*South African Spectator* 1902:5). For many years, Zonnebloem was also the only Coloured school in Cape Town with a proper soccer field, whilst St. Phillip's School used the netball court immediately above the working brickfield, free of charge (*Cape Standard* 1945:3; *Cape Standard* 1947:6). The extent of the ground was such that a reader in the *Cape Standard* asked the Cape Town City Council to arrange for golf facilities for Coloured players on the Zonnebloem grounds, on the edge of Devil's Peak (*Cape Standard* 1936:8).

The Zonnebloem archives has an article from the *Cape Times* about the use of the Rosebank Common by the Coloured sport fraternity being under threat, as well as the use of Woodstock Beach by Coloureds facing a similar threat because of the Harbour Scheme. Those responsible for Coloured sport were concerned about the inadequate provision of grounds for the thousands of school children and adult Coloured sportpeople in the city area. Therefore, when Zonnebloem started laying out their fields, a request came in immediately for the use thereof by the St. Mark's School (UCT, MAD BC 636 A10.53; UCT, MAD BC 636 A10.61).

Archival records show that recreation on the official sport facilities was sometimes directed by club culture, which dictated certain formalities. On 17 September 1923, an agreement was signed between the Young People's Circle Recreation Club and the College authorities. The club was allowed the use of a section of the grounds in front of the Training School and that part of the Zonnebloem School known as Prowse's Brick Works for playing football, cricket, hockey, basketball, etc. The club agreed to maintain the area and also to see to it that no property surrounding the grounds is damaged in any way. The agreement was valid for a year, starting from 1 October 1923 to 31 September 1924, and subject to any bylaws the College authorities may deem necessary (UCT, MAD BC 636 B3. 133). The club also agreed to donate the sum of 10 shillings per month to the College authorities for the use of the grounds. The first payment was due on 1 August 1923. William Musselwhite, who became warden in 1916, signed this agreement for the College, while Roland Botha signed it for the recreation club (UCT, MAD BC 636 B3. 134; Hodgson & Edlman 2018:191).

By 1934, the College authorities started paying increased attention to the development of playing sites as sport grounds. A sub-committee suggested that the matter of making bricks should be expedited so that the profits from brick making may be applied to the preparation of sport grounds (UCT, MAD BC 636 C2. 48). In the same year, the students and teachers at Zonnebloem Training School started to build their own sport field because of insufficient funds to hire labour (UCT. MAD BC 636 A 10.20). The College also had access to the Anglican archbishop and appealed to him in 1936 for support in the acquisition of playing fields (UCT, MAD BC 636 C2.71). Included in correspondence from the warden to the principal on 29 April 1937, and marked as confidential, was a progress report on the sport field development project. At that time, there were no playing fields in playing condition yet; therefore, those in Mowbray and Rosebank had to be used (*Sun* 1937f:6). The result was that players, many from financially poor families, in addition to a hard game, had to walk 10 miles (in order to get to the fields and back) (UCT, MAD BC 636 A10.52). According to archival records, the warden also arranged for the planting of 20 trees to fill up the gaps amongst the existing trees surrounding the boarding house and suggested that the new field be called "Coronation Field" (Zonnebloem papers, BC 636 A10.49). The College authorities also used collection cards for the purchase of equipment for this field (UCT, MAD BC 636 C2. 71).

The warden was in the process of getting quotations on fencing, implying that the field would be an enclosed space (see Cleophas 2020 for the closed-field movement in Cape Town). He asked Mary Waters to arrange with Gilbert Little to have a regular supply of 12 to 24 dayboys, who did not have any game commitment, to assist daily. Waters, a white woman, was singled out for appreciation by Allie Fataar as follows:

> *She was a teacher of geography, and of course psychology, and her method of teaching was very good. English-trained, but she'd worked in the Transkei so she could also speak Xhosa. Lived in Sea Point in a flat there, but a woman without any colour … consciousness. And she had apparently inherited some money, so whatever she earned at Zonnebloem she spent on us* (Omar 2015:160).

The College authorities kept detailed records of sport facility development, which benefits Zonnebloem school historians. A certain Mr Gaven plotted out the lower field and said that with £1000 capital and a lorry he could level off the field and show a profit in two years. Income from the fields could come from both fund raising and the hiring

out of Coronation Fields. A loan of £500 from the Brick-making and Playing Fields Committee was also necessary. A third field, Cambridge Field above Coronation Field, could also be levelled in a year's time with the help of a regular labour supply of dayboys. The warden also hoped to obtain a small piece of land for the layout of a fourth fully-sized field below De Waal Drive. This was to be called Plantation Field and was the last of the fields to be developed. He also identified certain sites suitable for tennis courts and netball pitches. In May 1937, the Zonnebloem College authorities launched an appeal for funds for two playing fields (UCT, MAD BC 636 A10.49). The Developments Committee of the Zonnebloem Advisory Council oversaw the project and had its first meeting on Saturday 26 June 1937. This committee also had a Coronation Sports Fund consisting of 9 members (UCT, MAD BC 636 A10.62).

However, the support in general for the development of playing fields was unsatisfactory. When the Zonnebloem Past Students gathered for their annual meeting on 29 September 1937, the acting warden, Le Sauer, stated that the response to the appeal for help in obtaining playing fields at Zonnebloem was disappointing (*Sun* 1937i:2). In correspondence between Father Bull (an Anglican minister who had previously been associated with Mission School in Ndabeni) and the Zonnebloem administration, the cleric was made aware that Zonnebloem counted on St. Phillip's Church and School - the new location of Father Bull – for financial support for the development of the playing fields (UCT, MAD BC 636 A10.66; Rousby 1906:26). At the monthly meeting of the City Council, a recommendation from the Parks and Improvements Committee was accepted that £500 be granted to Zonnebloem College for the purpose of putting in order a playing field for use by the students and children of the immediate neighbourhood (*Cape Standard* 1940a:5.) The Second World War however put a hold on any further development. After the war, in December 1946, the City Council approved a scheme for the erection of large sport grounds for use by the "non-European" group. The site in question was part of Zonnebloem, adjoining the area known as Dry Docks, just below De Waal Drive (*Cape Standard* 1946:4).

**Athletics**

Athletics was the most reported sport code at Zonnebloem and therefore the historical narrative can be periodized.

### *1901-1908*

It was under the tutelage of Parkhurst that the *Zonnebloem College Magazine* (*ZCM*) reported on an athletics sports day held on the football field in 1901. This was the first sports event held for some years, indicating that such events had occurred previously (Parkhurst, 1901:1). The boys were divided according to height for the high jump, and according to age for the foot races. J. Mvabaza won the champion's prize for the day and Jacoba Meyer won the girl's prize (Hodgson & Edlman 2018:171; Parkhurst 1901:1). The official results are seen in Table 2 following below:

**Table 2: Results of the first athletics meeting at Zonnebloem in the 20th century**

| Event | Category | Result |
|---|---|---|
| Boys high jump | Under 5 feet 3 inches | 1. J. Stonier; 2. G. Smith |
| Boys high jump | Over 5 feet 3 inches | 1. Masenti; 2. Sello |
| Long jump | Open | 1. Stonier; 2. J. Williams |
| Three-legged race | Under 15 years | W. McCoy & Davidse |
| Tug-of-war | College vs School | Winners: College |
| 100 yards | Boys over 10 and under 12 | 1. Richardson; 2. C. McCoy |
| 100 yards | Boys over 12 and under 15 | 1. N. Cressy; 2 W. McCoy |
| 100 yards | Boys over 15 and under 18 | 1. Faroe; 2. J. Williams |
| 100 yards | Open | 1. Magabela; 2. Masenti |
| 220 yards | Over 16 | 1. J. Williams; 2. Magabela |
| 220 yards | Under 16 | 1. S. Johnson; 2. Fredericks |
| 440 Yards | Boys under 16 (handicap) | 1. Mji; 2. Norman Cressy |
| 440 yards | Boys over 16 | 1. J. Mvabaza; 2. Qobo |
| Half mile | | 1. D Mosesh; 2. Masenti |
| Mile open | | 1. J. Mvabaza; 2. J. Moshesh; 3. Qobo |
| V.C. race (senior) | | 1. J. Mvabaza & A. Jones |
| V.C. race (junior) | | 1. Mji & A. Johns |

Source: Parkhurst, 1901:1.

The next recorded athletics meeting at Zonnebloem that could be found was one held on 3 September 1904. The meeting continued to be in the English rustic tradition, where sport was still untransformed by qualities of rationalization, standardization, calculation and measurement (Table 3; see

Mandell 1984:151). No results could however be found for this athletics meeting. The report in the *Quarterly Magazine* does however show to what extent British culture had infiltrated missionary school sport, especially in the after-celebrations. After the meeting, Mrs Parkhurst presented the prizes and was herself presented with a bouquet. Daniel Moshesh presented it and his remarks were followed by hearty and approving applauds. A musical programme was performed under the directorship of Michael Gaboutloeloe, who led the Bechuana choir in amusing the onlookers with choruses and comic items. The warden, Parkurst, urged the boys to keep up their athletics and congratulated them on their great success that day. Afterwards, G. van der Hoven and J. Moshesh were each presented with a gold-nib fountain pen for the trouble they had taken in arranging the sports. "God save the King" brought the evening to a close (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist* 1904:10, 16-17).

**Table 3: Draft Zonnebloem Athletics programme**

| Event | Category |
|---|---|
| One mile | Handicap, open |
| Half-mile | Handicap over 14 and under 18 |
| 440 yards | Handicap open |
| 220 yards | Open |
| 220 yards | Over 14 and under 18 |
| 220 yards | Over 10 and under 14 |
| 120 yards hurdle race | Choisters[4] only |
| 100 yards | Open |
| 100 yards V.C. race[3] | Open |
| 100 yards V.C. race | Over 14 and under 18 |
| 50 yards wheelbarrow race | Over 10 and under 14 |
| 50 yards Siamese race | Under 10 |
| High jump | Over 18 and between 10 and 14 |
| High jump | Between 14 and 18 and under 10 |
| Long jump | Over 10 and under 14 |
| Long jump | Under 10 |
| Tug of war | Over 5 feet 3 inches in length |
| Gymnastics competition | Under 5 feet 3 inches in length |
| Woodchopping competition | Over 5 feet 3 inches in length |
| | Under 5 feet 3 inches in length |
| | By forms (6 in a team) |
| | Open |

Source: *Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist* 1904:17 (format adapted for reader).

3 The author was unsuccessful in determining the meaning of 'V.C'. It is however left in the text so as to add to the completeness of reporting.

4 The author was unsuccessful in determining the meaning of 'choister'. It is however left in the text so as to add to the completeness of reporting.

In 1905 a swimming race, diving competition, throwing the cricket ball and kicking the football were added to the existing athletics programme (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist* 1905a:29). Three years later Zonnebloem competed in a Cape Town Gala Sports Day competition at Green Point Track. The *ZCM* reported on the Zonnebloem winners of different events as follows:

**Table 4: Zonnebloem winners at 1908 Gala Sport Meeting in Cape Town**

| Event and age category | Winners |
|---|---|
| 100 yards flat race, boys 10-12: | Lotter & M. Dirkse |
| 100 yards flat race, boys 14-16: | Paul Heneke & R. Smith |
| 220 yards hurdle race, boys 14-16: | Paul Henecke |
| Three-legged race, 80 yards, boys 10-12: | Hales & M. Dirkse |
| 120 yards flat race, boys 10-12: | M. Dirkse |
| 120 yards flat race, boys 12-14: | P. Arendse & J. Taylor |
| 100 yards obstacle race, boys 10-14: | E. Smith & Hartman |
| Senior high jump, boys 16-18: | J. Arendse, 4 foot 5 inches |
| 440 yards flat race, boys 16-18: | Paul Heneke |
| Senior broad jump, boys 16-18: | J. Arendse, 16 foot 5 inches |
| Junior high jump, boys 10-16: | Paul Heneke & R. Smith |
| Obstacle race, boys 14-18: | Noble |
| 220 yards flat race, boys 12-14: | J. Hendricks |
| 440 yards flat race, boys 16-18: | Hoedemaker |
| One-mile flat race, boys 14-16: | Paul Heneke |
| Junior broad jump, boys 10-14: | Paul Heneke |
| Half-mile walk, boys 12-14: | J. Hendricks |
| One-mile flat race, boys 16-18: | Hoedemaker |

Source: *Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist* 1908:83 (format adapted slightly).

Paul Heneke's name appears in the *ZCM* 1907 list of successful first-year pupil-teacher candidates. And in 1935 he was the TLSA president (Adhikari 1993: 185; *Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist* 1908:83). A gap exists in the archival record that can only be continued from 1932.

### *1932-1933*

The next available media report that could be traced was from a 1932 CSSU series athletics meeting at the City and Suburban Rugby Ground, Mowbray. The Zonnebloem results were: D Klein – first in Boys under 17 100 yards flat in a winning time of 11.5 seconds; R February – second in Boys over 17 100 yards flat; D King – third in Boys over 17 100 yards flat (*Sun* 1932b:8). A prominent Zonnebloem athlete during the early 1930s was Colin Wynne. He was coached by Gilbert Little and later became principal of Zonnebloem (Primary) School. Like many other prominent Coloured sportsmen and women, he emigrated to Canada (Little 2005). Wynne made his debut at a CSSU meeting held on Wednesday 9 November 1932. The Zonnebloem results of that meeting were as follows: D Klein – first in Boys under 17 220 yards in a time of 25 seconds); Colin Wynne – second in Boys under 17 220 yards; R February – second in Boys over 17 100 yards flat; D King – third in Boys over 17 100 yards flat. The Zonnebloem results for the last meeting in the 1932 CSSU series were as follows: Colin Wynne – first in Boys under 17 440 yards flat in a time of 55 3/5 seconds; W Jonkers – second in Boys under 17 440 yards flat; D Klein – third in Boys under 17 440 yards flat (*Sun* 1932c:8). Zonnebloem entered an athletics team for the inaugural Alexander Shield inter-school athletic competition at Trafalgar High in 1933. Here follow the names of the Zonnebloem students who finished in the top three positions for their respective events. Boys under 17 100 yards flat: Colin Wynne – first in 11 1/5 seconds and J Vegotine – third; Boys under 17 half-mile walk: M Oliver – third; Boys under 17 880 yards: W Jonkers – third; Boys under 17 440 yards flat: Colin Wynne – first; Girls under 17 200 yards flat: C Pietersen – first in 28 seconds (*Sun* 1933b:7).

### *1934*

In 1934, the Alexander Shield athletics day was held again. There were the following officials: judges (Rev. Oscar C. Hine, Edward Augustus Ball, G Veldman, Ms Mary Waters, Ms M Hughes and Ms D Cloete), timekeepers (W Seaton and E Mercury), director of sports (Gilbert S Little), starter (G Malherbe), record clerk (Roland Botha), competitors' steward (I Kiewitz), corner judges (DJ Isaaks and Dan Jacobus Abrahams) and secretary of the meeting (G de Rouxbaix) (*Sun* 1934a:1). A few of these names have been noted elsewhere in historical research. Oscar Charles Hine was referred to earlier in this study. Edward Ball was the College principal while Mary Waters

contributed to the shaping of the political thoughts of a later radical left-wing activist, Allie Fataar (Omar 2015:167, 216). Then, Dan Abrahams and Gilbert Little were administrators of the early Central School Sports Union in the 1930s (Cleophas 2014:1871). Regarding the above-mentioned athletics day results, the available Zonnebloem results in finishing position order (1st, 2nd and 3rd) for the under and over 17 age divisions appear in the next table.

**Table 5: Athletics results for the 1934 Athletics Day**

| Age division | Event and names | Time/Distance/ Height |
|---|---|---|
| **Boys under 17** | **100 yards** | |
| | V. Strachan | 11 4/5 seconds |
| | L. Stone | |
| | **880 yards** | |
| | D. Maggot | 2 minutes 27 4/5 seconds |
| [ | J. Petersen | |
| | High jump | |
| | J. Barnes | 4 feet 8 inches |
| | D. Maggott | |
| **Boys over 17** | **100 yards** | **Time/Distance/ Height** |
| | J. Ziervogel | 11 2/5 seconds |
| | Colin Wynne | |
| | **220 yards** | |
| | J. Ziervogel | 24 3/5 seconds |
| | Colin Wynne | |
| | **440 yards** | |
| | J. Ziervogel | 56 4/5 seconds |
| | Colin Wynne | |
| | **880 yards** | |
| | J. Muller | 2 minutes 17 4/5 seconds |
| | W. Jonker | |
| | J. Wagner | |
| | One mile | |
| | J. Muller | 5 minutes 6 1/5 seconds |
| | C. Frederickson | |
| | D. Maggott | |
| | **Long jump** | |
| | C. Wynne | 7 feet 11 inches |
| | W. Dantu | |
| | High jump | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | C. Wynne | 5 feet 1 inch |
| | E. Wrankmore | |
| | **Shot put** | |
| | J. Stuhardt | 30 feet 5 ½ inches |
| | N. Adkins | |
| | J. Ziervogel | |
| **Girls under 17** | **100 yards** | **Time/Distance/ Height** |
| | C. Pietersen | 13 seconds |
| | U. Clementson | |
| | **220 yards** | |
| | C. Pietersen | 32 seconds |
| | C. Manning | |
| | **Long jump** | |
| | C. Pietersen | 18 feet |
| | M. Johnson | |
| | **High jump** | |
| | C. Pietersen | 4 feet 3 inches |
| | M. Johnson | |
| **Girls over 17** | **100 yards** | |
| | M. Allison | 14 1/5 seconds |
| | L. Summers | |
| | **200 yards** | |
| | M. Ross | 30 3/5 seconds |
| | C. Zinn | |
| | **Long jump** | |
| | M. Ross | 13 feet 5 ½ inches |
| | C. Zinn | |
| | **High jump** | |
| | M. Ross | 4 feet 3 inches |
| | C. Zinn | |
| **Old Boys** | **100 yards** | |
| | G.S. Little | |
| | R. February | |
| **Old Girls** | **75 yards** | |
| | C. Kellerman | |
| | F. February | |

Source: *Sun* 1934a:1.

Overall, Zonnebloem College tied for second place with Battswood College with 28 points in the Alexander Shield Competition. Livingstone High School won the competition with 47 points and Trafalgar High finished fourth with 5 points (*Sun* 1934c:7). The individual Zonnebloem results for this competition in the under 17 and over 17 age divisions are presented in the following table:

**Table 6: Zonnebloem athletics results for Alexander Shield inter-schools' meeting in 1934**

| Age division and names | Event | Position | Time/Distance/ Height |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Girls under 17** | | | |
| C. Petersen | 100 yards | Second | - |
| | | | |
| **Girls over 17** | | | |
| M. Ross | 100 yards | First | 12 seconds |
| M. Ross | 200 yards | Second | 25 3/5 seconds |
| C. Petersen | 100 yards | Second | - |
| C. Petersen | 200 yards | Third | - |
| | | | |
| **Boys over 17** | | | |
| C. Wynne | 100 yards | Second | - |
| J. Stuhardt | Putting the shot | First | - |

Source: *Sun* 1934c:7.

**Table 7: Individual Zonnebloem results for a CSSU meeting**

| Age division and names | Event | Position | Time/Distance/ Height |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Girls under 17** | | | |
| I. Walker | 150 yards | Second | - |
| S. Franz | High jump | Third | |
| | | | |
| **Boys under 17** | | | |
| G. Barnes | High jump | Second | |
| | | | |
| **Boys over 17** | | | |
| M. Esmael | Shot put | First | 28 feet 7 inches |
| G. Barnes | High jump | Second | |

Source: *Sun* 1934c:7.

Also, in 1934, a series of athletic meetings was organised by the CSSU, of which only one result sheet could be traced (Table 7).

By 1934 Zonnebloem athletes were competing in community athletics meetings and Colin Wynne finished eighth out of nine places in the Salford Harriers Athletics Club handicap series (*Sun* 1934d:8). This was a club that was established in 1911 by a former Battswood Training School student, S.F. Davids and a few others (*S.A. Clarion*, 1920b:14).

### *1935-1938*

In 1935 Zonnebloem competed again in the Alexander Shield inter-schools' athletics competition. The individual results for Zonnebloem participants are given in Table 8.

**Table 8: Individual Zonnebloem results for Alexander Shield in 1935**

| Age division and names | Event | Position | Time/Distance/ Height |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Girls under 17** | | | |
| G. Webb | 200 yards | Joint first | 26 3/5 seconds |
| G. Fisher | 200 yards | Joint first | 26 3/5 seconds |
| Girls over 17 | | | |
| | Relay | Third | |
| **Boys under 17** | | | |
| F. Murray | 100 yards | First | - |
| P. Meyer | 100 yards | Second | |
| F. Murray | 220 yards | First | 25 seconds |
| Groenewald | 220 yards | Third | - |
| C. Fredericksen | 880 yards | Third | - |
| | | | |
| **Boys over 17** | | | |
| E. Sloan | 440 yards | First | 55 1/5 seconds |
| M. Esmael | Shot put | Second | |
| K. Kima | Shot put | Third | |
| W. Jonkers | One mile | Joint first | 5 minutes 7 4/5 seconds |
| Men's open | | | |
| M. Esmael | Shot put | Third | |

Source: *Sun* 1935c:7.

No Zonnebloem athletic results could be obtained for 1936, but members of the 1937 Zonnebloem athletics team are given here: (Boys) A Bavasah, F

Murray, P Meyer, Petersen, J Damonzem, C Abrahams, Vries, S Levendal, R Oliver, W Williams, P Jansen and A Rorich; (Girls) J Titus and E Ahrends (UCT, MAD BC 636 D2.85). Individual Zonnebloem results for CSSU competitions in 1937 are presented in Table 9. These results may prove useful for later statistical purposes.

**Table 9: Individual Zonnebloem results for CSSU competitions in 1937**

| **Competition date** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **10 February** | **Age division and names** | **Event** | **Position** | **Time/Distance/ Height** |
| | Girls under 17 | | | |
| | J. Titus | 100 yards | Second | |
| | Girls over 17 | | | |
| | Boys under 17 | | | |
| | S. Levendal | 100 yards | First | - |
| | Boys over 17 | | | |
| | A. Bavassah | 100 yards | Third | |
| **18 February** | **Age division** | **Event** | **Position** | **Time/Distance/ Height** |
| | Girls under 17 | | | |
| | J. Titus | 220 yards | Second | - |
| | Boys under 17 | | | |
| | S. Levendal | 220 yards | Second | - |
| | R. Oliver | 220 yards | Third | - |
| | Boys over 17 | | | |
| | A. Bavassah | 220 yards | Third | - |
| **24 February** | **Age division** | **Event** | **Position** | **Time/Distance/ Height** |
| | Girls under 17 | | | |
| | J. Titus | 220 yards | First | - |
| | **Boys under 17** | | | |
| | R. Oliver | 880 yards | First | - |
| | W. Williams | 880 yards | Second | - |
| | Boys over 17 | | | |
| | F. Murray | 880 yards | First | - |
| **3 March** | **Age division** | **Event** | **Position** | **Time/Distance/ Height** |
| | **Girls under 17** | | | |
| | J. Titus | 100 yards skipping | Second | - |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M. Davids | 100 yards skipping | Third | |
| | **Boys over 17** | | | **-** |
| | C. Abrahams | 1 mile | Third | - |
| **10 March** | **Age division** | **Event** | **Position** | **Time/Distance/ Height** |
| | Girls under 17 | | | |
| | E. Fisher | Long jump | Third | - |
| | Boys over 17 | | | - |
| | W. Ludolf | Long jump | Third | - |
| **17 March** | **Age division** | **Event** | **Position** | **Time/Distance/ Height** |
| | Boys over 17 | | | |
| | W. Ludolf | High jump | First | - |

Source: *Sun* 1937a:10; *Sun* 1937b:12; *Sun* 1937c:10; *Sun* 1937d:10; *Sun* 1937e:11.

The available results for Zonnebloem participants in the CSSU competitions for 1938 are as follows:

**Table 10: Individual Zonnebloem results for CSSU competitions in 1938**

| Age division and names | Event | Position | Time/Distance/ Height |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Girls over 17** | | | |
| M. Davids | 50 yards skipping | First | - |
| | 100 yards | First | - |
| | 200 yards | First | - |
| | Relay | Second | |
| **Boys over 17** | | | |
| J. Pietersen | 880 yards | Third | - |
| | 1 mile | Third | - |
| | Relay | Third | - |

Source: Cape Standard 1938a:11; Cape Standard 1938b:2; Cape Standard 1938c:8.

### *1939-1945*

No results could be found for 1939 and results for only one athletics meeting was found for 1940, on 31 May. This was probably due to Zonnebloem downscaling their extra-mural activities because of the Second World War. The final individual Zonnebloem results for the C.S.U. meeting of 31 May 1940 follow in the next table:

**Table 11: Individual Zonnebloem results at the CSSU athletics meeting held on 31 May 1940:**

| Age division and names | Event | Position | Time/Distance/ Height |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Girls under 17** | | | |
| M. Corbett | 100 yards | First | - |
| M. Davids | 100 yards | Third | - |
| | Long jump | Second | - |
| V. Veenendal | 100 yards skipping | Second | - |
| P. Chisolm | 100 yards skipping | Third | - |
| Winners of P.R.B. Trophy[3] | | | |
| **Girls over 17** | | | |
| M. Corbett | 100 yards | First | - |
| | 200 yards | First | - |
| M. Davids | 100 yards | Third | - |
| | 100 yards | Second | - |
| | Long jump | Second | - |
| | High jump | First | - |
| D. Abrahams | 100 yards skipping | Third | |
| Winners of P.R.B. Trophy | | | |
| | | | |
| **Boys under 17** | | | |
| A. Marshall | 100 yards | Third | - |
| | 220 yards | Third | - |
| | Shot put | Third | - |
| | Long jump | Third | - |

Source: Cape Standard, 1940b:2.

The year 1941 proved to be a successful athletics season for Zonnebloem in the CSSU annual competition. Zonnebloem Training School won the 1941 Diamond House Trophy[6] at the Green Point Track on Friday 30 May. The school also won the senior Coronation Cup for most points in the under 17 and over 17 sections (*Cape Standard* 1941:8; *Cape Standard* 1942:10). The outstanding athletes of that meeting are presented in Table12.

5 This is possibly a trophy donated by the Percival R. Biggs, a chemistry teacher at Trafalgar High School, Cape Town, who made a name for himself in the local science community for his research into hydroponics (*Cape Herald*, 1965) p. 8.

6 At this stage it is uncertain who the donor of the Diamond Trophy was.

**Table 12: Outstanding Zonnebloem athletes in the 1941 CSSU annual competition**

| Age division | Event | Position | Time/Distance/ Height |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Girls over 17** | | | |
| M. Frensch | 100 yards | First | |
| | 200 yards | First | |
| | Skipping competition | Second | |
| **Boys over 17** | | | |
| C. Gordon | 100 yards | Second | |
| | 200 yards | Second | |

Source: Cape Standard, 1941:8.

In the 1942 CSSU annual athletics meeting, Gordon was singled out in the media as the most outstanding Zonnebloem athlete in the over 17 division. He won the 220 yards in 23.9 seconds, 440 yards in 54.9 seconds and finished second in the 100 yards. Another Zonnebloem athlete who excelled was M. Wynne, who "won several events in the girls' section in fine style" (*Cape Standard* 1942b:11). Two years later, in the CSSU athletics tournament, Zonnebloem won the Diamond House Trophy (*Zonnebloem College Magazine* 1944:10; *Sun* 1944:5). In March of 1944, the Achilles Athletic Club was established and sponsored by Dr JM Joshua. The club trained at Green Point Track and the sessions were open to all, irrespective of race or gender. The first secretary was a teacher from Livingstone High School, BJ Petersen, and Gilbert Little was the first chairman (*Cape Standard* 1944:8). Gilbert Little was a teacher at Zonnebloem at the time. Zonnebloem archival records indicate that the College also planned inter-house athletics meetings during the Second World War. In 1944, Carter House won the annual inter-house competition and received their shield from the archbishop (UCT, MAD BC 636 D2.101). The Zonnebloem inter-house athletics meeting for 1945, with Gilbert Little as the convenor, was cancelled because of bad weather (*Cape Standard* 1945b:11).

## Cricket before 1907

Team sports were encouraged at most Anglican schools (Worden, Van Heyningen & Bickford-Smith 1998:239). Sufficient evidence exists of cricket being played by Zonnebloem and Zonnebloem Old Boys during the 19th century (Hodgson & Edlman 2018:35-37, 121-123). A few former Zonnebloem cricketers became national personalities in public life and

sport. These include Robert Grendon and Frank Robb (Winch & Parry 2020:43, 116-117). Cricket was the favourite sport and matches were played against local community teams (Hodgson & Edlman 2018:171). By 1864 the College had two teams, and in 1865 cricket was a budgeted item and the College spent 18 shillings on a cricket bat and 8 shillings and 6 pence on a ball (Hodgson 1975:453). That year two away matches were recorded – in Rondebosch and Wynberg (Hodgson 1975:453). The earliest recorded match in Stellenbosch was between a group of Zonnebloem boys visiting the town on 30 June 1865 and a group of local boys (Hodgson 1975:454).

A "droll cricket match" took place between members of the Dutch Reformed Synod, who visited Cape Town in 1886 and the College team (Hodgson & Edlman 2018:155). Sometime during the 19th century, the Molteno Club was established by a few Zonnebloem Old Boys. This club practised at a venue called Varney's Corner in 1899 (*Cape Times* 1899a:6). A historical account given by two captains, Dan Smit and S. Sampson, provides insight into the nature of the game played at the time. Both spoke enthusiastically of a time when "fast and straight bowling was the correct method of attack and the batsman who could score the fastest was the hero of the day". Smit reminisced on the time when "the innings were shorter but bright and spectacular cricket could always be witnessed and spectators were in plenty" (*Cape Standard,* 1939b:2). The club was named, in colonial fashion, after the Cape Town mayor, who had opened the Molteno Reservoir in 1886. The first games were played against the other clubs in a Coloured "Union" that existed during the 19th century: Mowbray, Wasps and Simonstown Advanced Clubs. After Molteno won the Mowbray Cup for two consecutive seasons (1895-1896) the "Union" went into decline and League cricket "became a dead letter for the coloured people of Cape Town" (*Cape Standard,* 1939b:20. The Moltenos arranged friendly matches between themselves and the Garrison, the visiting Australians that toured South Africa in 1902. They also arranged matches between themselves and the Western Province, and Cape Town clubs during the week at Newlands, as well as playing in other games on Thursday afternoons (*Cape Standard,* 1939b:2; Chesterfield, 2003:7). The article in the *Cape Standard* could however be misleading since there was also a Cape Town-based club called "Australians" (*Cape Times,* 1899b:6). Most of the Molteno players were in government employ and got time off from work. The heads of government departments and other civil servants were supporters at the games. A veteran recalled that it was "Sampson who

was one of the first batsmen to play the off-ball hard and he and Theys were the original slow bowlers … shortly afterwards slow bowling was introduced to the Cape" (*Cape Standard,* 1939b:2).

By 1906, Zonnebloem had their own cricket grounds but also played away matches. Two reports appeared in the college magazine that year. On 8 September they played against the Rhodesian Cricket Club and the following week against the St Augustine Club (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist,* 1906:55). The College defeated the Rhodesians by 15 runs although they bowled badly. Against the St Augustine Club, they lost by 40 runs (*Quarterly Magazine and Journal,* 1906:55). To date no research could be found that has explored the historical background of the Rhodesian Club, but it is known that St Augustine Club was established in 1899 at the St Paul's Church in Cape Town under the direction of Canon (later Bishop) Lavis (Cleophas n.d.). That year of 1906 the cricket club released its batting and bowling averages, which is presented in Table 13.

**Table 13: Zonnebloem batting and bowling averages for 1906**

| **Batting averages** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Name** | **Matches** | **Innings** | **Total Runs** | **Highest score** | **Average** |
| Christopher Lobenguela | 8 | 8 | 90 | 38 | 11.25 |
| Maurice Xiniwe | 8 | 9 | 96 | 37 | 9.5 |
| Charles Dean | 6 | 7 | 55 | 19 | 7.8 |
| Percival Sokopo | 7 | 7 | 42 | 17 | 6 |
| D. Madala | 8 | 9 | 35 | 9 | 3.8 |
| **Bowlers** | | | | | |
| Percy Sokopo | 32 wickets | | | | |
| Maurice Xiniwe | 31 wickets | | | | |
| Theo Mani | 16 wickets | | | | |

Source: *Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist,* 1906:9.

Finally, there is a report from the Anglican Church on a cricket match between the St. Cyprian's Mission School in Ndabeni and the Zonnebloem second team in 1907 (Worden, Van Heyningen & Bickford-Smith, 1998:239).

## Indigenous games

Little evidence exists of boys playing indigenous games at Zonnebloem. There is, however, one account of boys playing indigenous games, games

that they played in their villages. In 1905, the *Quarterly Magazine* carried an article describing three indigenous games which were played by boys who were familiar with these games. The first, *Seloka,* was a Bechuana game, the second, *Insema,* was a Matebele game, and the third, *Karete*, was a Basuto game (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist* 1905a:12).

**Soccer**

When, on occasions, in 1901, the Zonnebloem boys played soccer with boys from District Six on Zonnebloem premises on Sunday afternoons, the warden, Parkhurst, denied it publicly that the students engaged in such activity. He stated in a *South African Spectator* that year that the students are neither allowed nor anxious to play games on Sundays. Instead, Parkhurst emphasized the need for removing the "riff-raff of the neighbourhood infesting the College grounds on Sundays with their footballs in defiance of the police and himself" (Cleophas undated). In 1904, Harold Cressy, after whom a well-known Cape Town school is named and who was the first president of the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA), served on the executive committee of the Zonnebloem College Football Club, and was described as a creditable wing (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist* 1905a:28; for an account of Harold Cressy's life story, see Adhikari 2012; for historical accounts on the TLSA, see Adhikari 1993 and Hendricks 2010). The office bearers of the soccer club that year were Norman Cressy (captain), H Stonier (vice-captain), M Gaboutloeloe (secretary), G Mji, H Makenna, Harold Cressy (committee members) and Mr Ames (treasurer) (*Zonnebloem Quarterly Magazine and Journal of the Association of St. John Baptist,* 1904:16). In 1932, football (soccer and rugby) made relatively good progress, and between the two rugby teams and the six soccer teams that entered the SCU competition, Zonnebloem won 9 trophies in the competition (*Sun* 1932d:7).

**Zonnebloem Past Students' Union**

Zonnebloem alumni organised themselves into an organisation called the Zonnebloem Past Students Union (ZPSU), sometimes referred to as Old Zonnebloem Union or Old Zonns. In 1920, the Cape Town branch of the ZPSU formed an Old Zonn's Athletic Club, with the intention of keeping former scholars together. The club consisted of football (already in existence), cricket and gymnasium sections. The organisers were JC

Wyngaard and R. Hoedemaker of 11 Primrose Street, Cape Town. One of the football players was Phil Petersen who was also a Western Province backline player. When he joined the Y.M.O. soccer club, the *S.A. Clarion* called it a scoop for them. W. Hanmer was the Old Zonn's goalkeeper at that time (*S.A. Clarion* 1920a:9, 14).

Social days at Zonnebloem were almost always accompanied by sports events. In 1932, the past students played against the present students in a soccer match at the Festival of the Association of St. John the Baptist where the past students defeated the present students 2-1. When women were allowed into the ZPSU, a netball match between past and present students was also played where the former defeated the present girls 19-15. The day was concluded with "God save the King" (*Sun* 1932a:2). In 1933, a concert was arranged on 28 April for funds towards the purchase of suitable sports equipment for the junior boys (*Sun* 1933a:5). The following year, two Victor Ludorum trophies were donated by the Union to the College to be awarded to deserving sportspersons (*Sun* 1934b:7). An Old Zonns' Day was planned for 31 August 1935 where cards, chess, baseball and netball were on the entertainment list (*Sun* 1935a:1). After the mayor, Louis Gradner, gave a speech on how the Coloured community should imitate his community, the Jewish community, and raise above discrimination, a programme of elaborate sports followed (*Sun*, 1935b:1). The following year, on 9 October 1936, the Cape Town Dance Teachers' Association (CTDTA) staged a Grand Dance Display in the City Hall as part of the ZPSU festival. According to the *Sun*, this was the first of its kind for a 'non-European' audience (*Sun*, 1936b:9).

A *Cape Standard* reporter wrote in 1943 that the Old Zonns' Day has always been an important event on the College calender. This was no less so when, in the same year, the ZPSU planned a programme for 27 September. The afternoon session consisted of a netball match and rugby match between past and present students. Afterwards, tea was served in the warden's garden, followed by a bioscope show in the College Hall, the film being *Climbing high*, featuring Jessie Matthews. The evening session was concluded with a welcome address to the past students by the new principal, Frank Cullis, followed by a social, a dance and games (*Cape Standard*, 1943:12).

## Old Zonnebloem Union in Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia)

A ZPSU student branch was established in the Bulawayo Coloured School in 1939 in Rhodesia (*Cape Standard* 1939a:10). That year, a games and hobbies section was started at the Rusapi Coloured School in Rhodesia. The following gifts were donated by well-wishers: a cricket set with three sets of pads and wicket-keeper's gloves, a ball for netball and a set of netball rings, two dozen tennis balls, a football, one set of boxing gloves and skipping ropes (*Sun* 1939a:12). The ZPSU in Rhodesia was also connected to the Shamrock Football Club in Bulawayo, which was established in 1925 (*Sun* 1939b:11). In 1938, the chairman of the club was FC Fischer, a Zonnebloem Old Boy (*Sun* 1938:11).

## Concluding classroom exercises for reflection

| | |
|---|---|
| Identify significant sport administrators at Zonnebloem and explain why you think they are historically significant. | (4) |
| Describe the enabling as well as limiting factors for sport participation at Zonnebloem. | (5) |
| Identify the career of one male and one female Zonnebloem sportsperson as mentioned in this article, and provide statistics for this person. | (6) |
| Identify historically significant sporting moments in Zonnebloem's history and justify why you regard them as historically significant. | (5) |
| Identify two sporting examples of a formal nature and two sporting examples of an informal nature at Zonnebloem. | (4) |
| Describe what you consider to be either virtues or vices of the Zonnebloem Past Students Union. | (5) |
| Comment on the differences between the track and field histories of girls and boys. | (3) |
| Identify a sportsman and sportswoman of the year for any year at Zonnebloem. State what criteria you have designed, mention the shortlisted candidates, and justify your decision. | (10) |
| Identify a possible family sport history based on surnames in the Zonnebloem narrative. | (5) |
| Design a time- line cricket history for Zonnebloem between 1864 and 1907. | (10) |
| Write a one-page essay, where you argue for or against: "Zonnebloem was an elitist school that was in its existence removed from the surrounding community." | (20) |

Write an athletics history of Zonnebloem by referring to the results. Compare the times, distances and heights with other colleges and present a general historical overview of athletics at Zonnebloem for the time period under review. Ensure that you pay attention to the role of women in athletics at Zonnebloem. (15)

Identify any five sport codes that the Zonnebloem Old Boys played. (5)

Design two tables where you describe the similarities and differences between Zonnebloem and an English boys' school such as Eton, Rugby or Winchester. (any number of marks)

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Anon. 1937d. *Sun*, *The*, 19 March.

Anon. 1937e. *Sun*, *The*, 25 March.

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## Hands-on articles

# Higher education community engagement projects at local museums

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***Abstract***

*The University of Pretoria, South Africa, presents a compulsory undergraduate module, Community-based Project (code: JCP) in the Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology. It entails students working for at least 40 hours in the community, and then reflecting on their experiences through various assignments, including a presentation, a report and a YouTube video. A large number of students are enrolled in the module each year. Projects vary from basic renovation and building projects to the teaching of Mathematics and Science, repairing old computers for schools and non-profit organisations, and teaching community members basic computer skills. A number of projects are also taking place at local museums and other historical sites. This service-learning-related course aims to make students more aware of their social responsibility and to teach them soft skills, for example, communication, leadership and time management skills.*

**Keywords:** University of Pretoria; Service learning; Community-based Project Module; JCP module; Museums.

## Background

Students in higher education have to take responsibility for their social responsibility in the demanding context of South Africa's socio-economic environment. It is, therefore, essential to include social responsibility skills in the curriculum of students to empower them to understand the social context of the country (Bielefeldt and Canney, 2014). To address this, the curriculum of the University of Pretoria's Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology includes a compulsory undergraduate module: Community-based Project (Code: JCP). This free-standing module gives every student in the Faculty an opportunity to be of service in the community and learn essential life skills (Jordaan, 2012). A large number of students, mainly second-year students, enrol in the module (1 598 students were enrolled in 2019). One lecturer and one

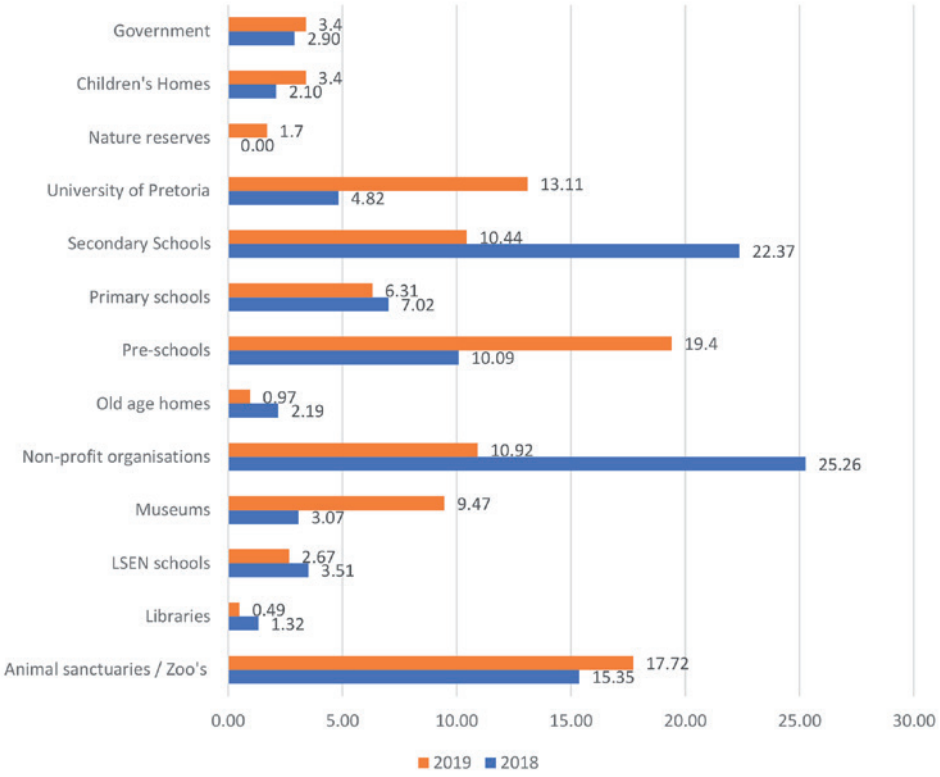
administrative assistant are allocated to the module (Jordaan, 2014) Most of the students are enrolled in the School of Engineering (in 2019, 60.03% of the students were from this school).

The module entails students working for at least 40 hours in the community, and then reflecting on their experiences through a presentation, a report and a YouTube video. Students identify a project that will address the needs of the community. They may identify their own community partner or choose from the community projects that have been identified by the Office of the Community-based Project Module. Students may choose to work in teams of two to five members and have the option to choose a project within prescribed criteria. Some of the criteria include that the project may not be linked to a religious or political party, and they may not earn money while doing the project. Through the execution of the project, students must develop an awareness of their personal, social and cultural values. The students must develop an attitude that shows that they are willing to serve and that they have an understanding of the social issues in South Africa. They need to develop important multidisciplinary and life skills that include communication, interpersonal and leadership skills (Jordaan, 2014).

The module has more than 350 sustainable community partners. These partners include pre-primary schools, primary schools, secondary schools and non-profit organisations, such as museums (Graph 1). Students prefer to do basic renovation and building projects, teach Mathematics and Science, repair old computers or teach basic computer skills to school learners or community members (Jordaan, 2013). Students do projects in various local museums (2018: 3.07%; 2019: 9.47%), such as the Ditsong Pioneer Museum, the Post Office Museum, the Swartkop Air Force Museum, Smuts House Museum and the Irene Concentration Camp Cemetery.

Each community partner gives permission for the students to take photographs and also approves the final YouTube video. The students also give written permission that their photographs and information on their projects may be used for publication. The module has received various campus, national and international awards, and is used as a case study in an international massive open online course (MOOC) on university social responsibility.

**Graph 1: Community partners of the JCP module**




Source: M Jordaan, Data adapted from final outcomes of the 2019 JCP-numbers, 2019.

Upon completion of the module, students reflected positively that they had acquired various skills, including teamwork, communication and project management skills, and they thought that the module had an impact on their awareness of their social responsibility (Jordaan and Mennega, 2019).

The following are examples of different history-related projects.

## Irene Concentration Camp Cemetery

For the past three years, students assisted with various tasks at the Irene Concentration Camp Cemetery. The projects vary from basic renovation projects to the identifcation and tagging of trees, and adding information boards.

The projects are monitored and supervised by the Centurion History Society. The cemetery serves as a remembrance of the tragic events that took place at the concentration camp, which was in operation from 1900 to1902, and includes the graves of those who died in the camp (The Heritage Portal, 2016). The Centurion History Society finds it difficult to make the required progress with restoring the tombstones as any work done in relation to the museum and memorial is funded and driven by the community.

A group of JCP students worked in the Irene Concentration Camp Cemetery. A historic part of the cemetery, which the students had to address, was restoring the tombstones of the original graves that were kept in a shipping container. These tombstones had been stored in an unorganised manner for many years, doing a disservice to the memories of those who had died in the camp. The students were assigned to make the tombstone more assessible to the broader public. In order to do this, they organised the tombstones so that any of the tombstones could be linked to records of the deceased. The tombstones were also organised more efficiently for any future projects that may be undertaken. The students digitised the gravestones so that they may be accessed anywhere in the world, even once the physical evidence may have weathered away.

The students removed all the tombstones from the container, cleaned them and placed new bubble wrap around them. They correlated the record of each person with the British Concentration Camp Database (University of Cape Town, n.d.). The students then wrote the unique ID of the deceased on a tag and attached it to the tombstone. They then took a picture of the tombstone and packed it back into the container in a more organised manner. Finally, the students developed a website (https://www.ireneconcentrationcamp.co.za) where they added more information about the concentration camp, as well as links to the relevant databases and the image database that they had created.

The students reflected as follows upon completion of the project:

> *The fact that I was not even remotely aware of the past tragedies that had taken place there made the task of immortalising the memory of the place even more important…the thought dawned on me that many of these tombstones were sitting in a container where they might one day be forgotten, along with the people for whom they were made. I believe the value of the work we did was to help immortalise the memories of those who had died, for the community around the site, as well as for anyone else in the future.*

*The reality of working with only the physical remembrance of the people whose lives ended in that camp... We quickly realised that some of the gravestones are fragile and should be handled with care. What really had an impact on me was the differences that exist between the gravestones. Some are made by professionals, while others are homemade, most of the time because the family could not afford to have a gravestone made professionally. One other thing that had an impact on me was the incomplete dates on some gravestones. This is mostly due to the people in the camp not knowing what the date was at the time. The people in the camp were so disconnected with the outside world that even the date was unknown to them.*

**Image 1: Students in front of the container with some of the gravestones (with permission from the students and museum)**

Source: Photograph, Jason Kamps.

## Smuts House Museum

The last couple of years, the JCP students assisted with making an inventory list of all the books in the Smuts House Museum. They also scanned fragile documents, built shades for the tanks and cannons, and renovated and painted the railings of the veranda and the windows of the house. All projects were closely supervised and monitored by the curator of the museum.

One group decided to repaint the armoured vehicle that is part of the outside exhibition. Students from a previous year had built a shade over the armoured vehicle, a Marmon-Herrington MK IV. The students did a lot of

research on how to prepare an autobody surface for repainting. Their biggest challenge was to find the correct colour paint. The solution was to remove part of the vehicle where the colour was still in a good condition and send it to an auto paint shop to be scanned. The students then sanded and washed the vehicle with a pressure washer. The vehicle was repainted with a spray gun, the tyres were polished and the information board was redone.

The students reflected afterwards:

> *This project was a great experience for me because of the fact that it was like opening a time capsule…working on the tank and restoring it as close to the original as we could.*
>
> *We surprised ourselves with this project. I think we did exceptionally well. This project made me realise not to take museums and their history for granted. We should conserve our history for future generations.*
>
> *…with a different perspective towards history and its importance of educating the next generations about the past.*

**Image 2: The Marmon-Herrington MK IV after renovation (with permission from the museum)**

Source: Photograph, Henco Venter.

## Swartkop Air Force Museum

Every year, students assist the Swartkop Air Force Museum to get it ready for its annual air show. An alumnus organised the 50 students into groups of five and made sure that all the hangars and exhibitions were cleaned and in working condition. Final-year students served as mentors and monitored the execution of the projects. This is one of the most popular projects of the module and students have to apply to be part of the project. Students are interviewed to determine if they have the correct focus and motivation to complete the project.

**Image 3: A group of students that were assisting with the maintenance of the Swartkop Air Force Museum (with permission from the students and museum)**

Source: Photograph, Sarthak Kokane.

Students reflected as follows on their experiences at the Swartkop Air Force Museum:

> *It gives me a sense of pride, knowing that I am maintaining the beauty of these masterpieces. I loved witnessing the beauty of engineering in aircrafts and I learnt the responsibilities of looking after items.*
>
> *In being able to help my community, I was able to see a side of it I hadn't previously seen. I often go to watch the air shows at the Swartkop Air Force base, but I never knew just how much preparation and effort goes into it until now. I was privileged to be in a team that was selected for this project, and I feel that my life has definitely been enriched by the whole experience.*

## Impact of the JCP module

Annually, more than 30 groups of JCP students are involved with a variety of projects at local museums. The curators, supervisors and alumni on site mentor and supervise the students. They ensure that the students become enthusiastic about preserving the artefacts and become knowledgeable about South African history. After completing the projects, the students reflect on how they became more aware of South African history and the role they played in preserving South Africa's heritage. Students also reflected that they were more engaged and had acquired various skills, including basic renovation, building or soft skills. Students always find their service more meaningful when they actually meet the needs of the community. A number of students continue as mentors for students in following years to continue the project at the specific museum. In return, the museums manage to maintain projects or exhibitions with the assistance of the JCP students.

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# Using graphic organisers to teach History

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## *Abstract*

*The reality of teaching History in government schools in South Africa is that the subject is many times the "dumping ground" for students not performing well in other subjects. Many learners are not in the subject by choice and are consequently disinterested. Classes are filled to capacity or overfilled - the biggest class I taught had 68 learners. So, naturally, if we do chalk and talk or the textbook marathon, we lose the learners. The challenge is to make History fun, to make it relatable and to get learners involved. It is in this vain that I have used and developed teaching tools that in my view succeed in achieving the above. Evidence of this is that I get a bunch of disinterested learners in Grade 10 and by the time they get to Grade 12, they have been transformed to interested Historians, loving and acing the subject. The results, both in terms of marks and attitude towards the subject, are so good, that my fellow teachers from time to time approach me to ask: "How did you do it? We know the quality of learner you work with, how?" In this article I will share "how" I do it.*

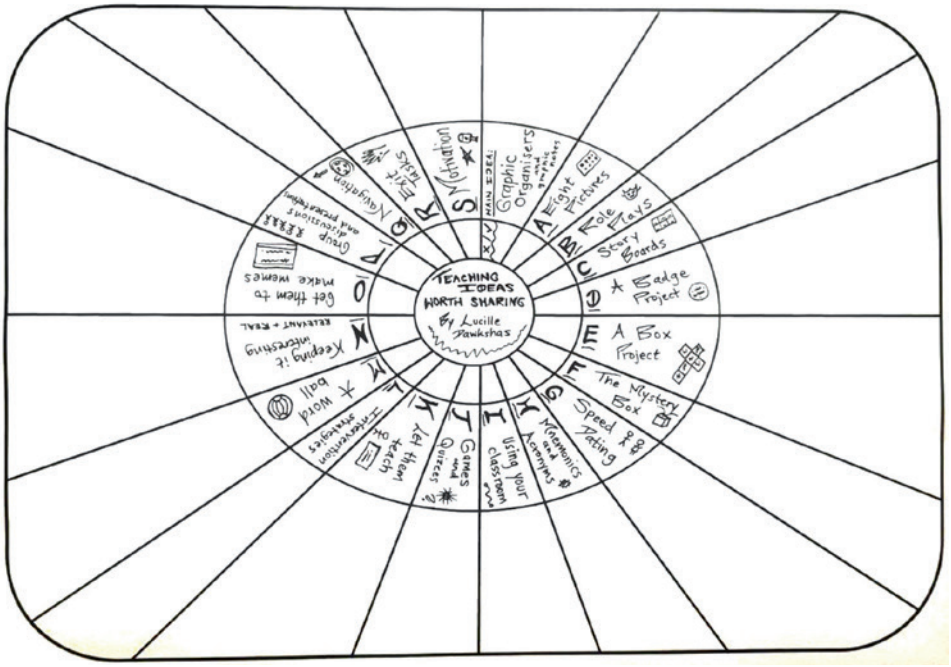
**Keywords:** Make History fun; Teaching tools; Teaching ideas; Methodology; Best practice; Didactics; Graphic organisers; Visual learning.

In October 2018, the South African Society of History Teaching (SASHT) conference was held at the Mowbray Campus of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) Cape Town. Two teacher friends had suggested that I present a workshop, sharing some of my History teaching ideas. This I did. The feedback from the conference attendees was very positive. But it was one idea that I had touched on that delegates were interested in learning more about. So, in late September 2019 I flew to Johannesburg to present at the SASHT conference held at the University of Pretoria. The focus of the presentation was the use of graphic organisers in the History classroom.

What are graphic organisers? They are basically empty mind maps that can be used to organise a particular topic. As such the learners fill in the historical detail, as they learn. My use of graphic organisers was born out of three issues:

- If learners have nothing to do while you teach, you lose them.
- In my experience learners equate learning with writing things down.
- Learners have at least six subjects, all of them loaded with content knowledge, as a result they tend to lose oversight.

Image 1: Graphic organiser used when presenting teaching ideas to teachers




Source: Designed by author.

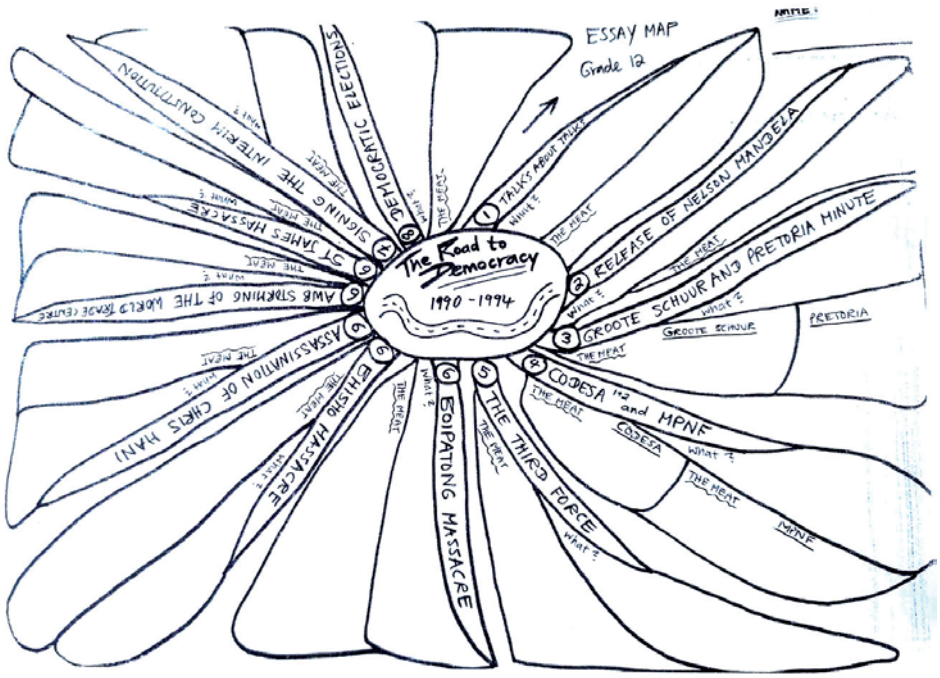
This is the graphic organiser I use to demonstrate and share other teaching ideas. In the workshops I've presented, each participant receives one. They indicate if they would use this idea in the empty space in the middle. In the outer open spaces, they take notes on each idea, where they could use it etc. while I present the ideas. Similarly, in a classroom context, learners start with the graphic organiser, filling in details as we go along.

In my experience a graphic organiser gives them the oversight they need. Furthermore, completing the graphic organiser gives History learners a sense of ownership, since they created it. As such it is much more than notes handed to them. It is also a key tool to study from, as it acts as a topic summary of the theme covered. A graphic organiser, because it is in the form of an image, supports spatial memory. Although it is a simplistic teaching aid, I have found that my History learners love it. So much so

that if we are studying a topic without a graphic organiser, they request one. The construction of the graphic organisers is determined by how the topic is organised, the metanarrative engaged with, and the proposed line of argument followed. Ultimately, graphic organiser are tools to organise historical content.

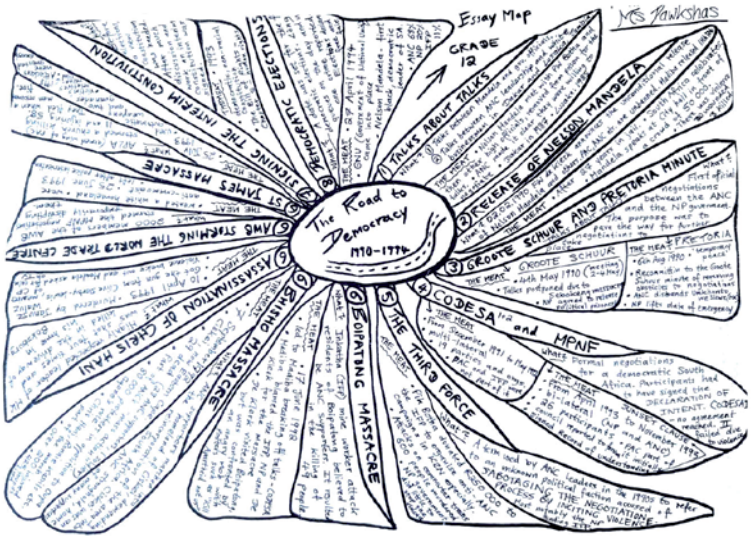
Below is an example of a graphic organiser for the Grade 12 topic – The Road to Democracy, 1990-1994. As a History class we start with an empty mind map, like the one below. I'll teach a section, for example 'Talks about talks' while the learners listen. They are then given the opportunity to take notes on what they think is important here, using the PowerPoint slides. Then we move on to the next part, moving clockwise around the 'empty mind-map', filling it up.

Image 2: Example of an incomplete graphic organiser – The Road to Democracy 1990-1994




Source: Designed by author.

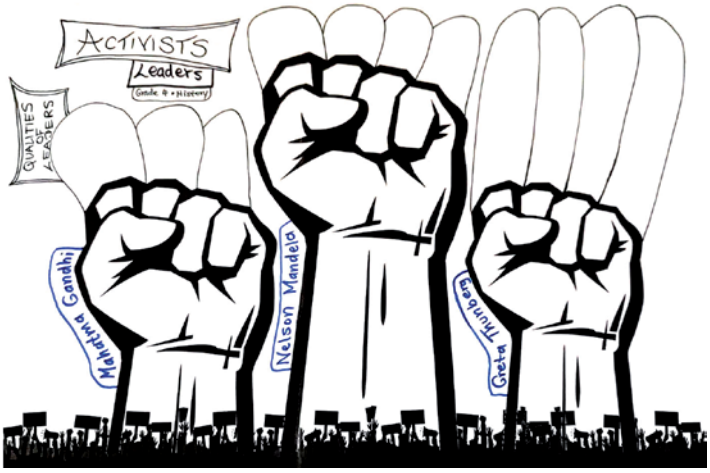
Image 3: Populated graphic organiser - The Road to Democracy 1990-1994




Source: Designed by author.

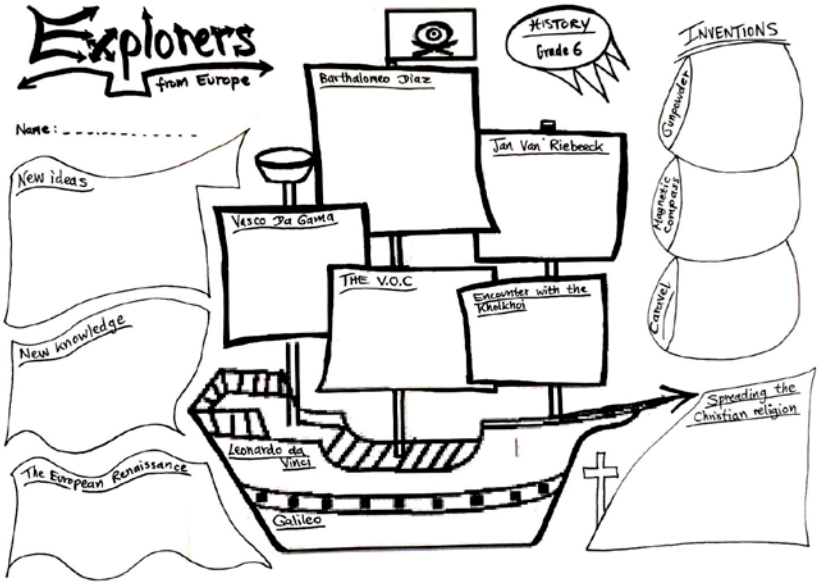
What I have found is that graphic organisers work very well across all grades. Below find examples of various graphic organisers. I have not used the primary school ones myself, I created them for a workshop I presented, so I'm sure there's room for improvement. The concept is always the same – it's a tool to collect information and have an overview of a topic.

Image 4: Grade 4 – leaders and activists



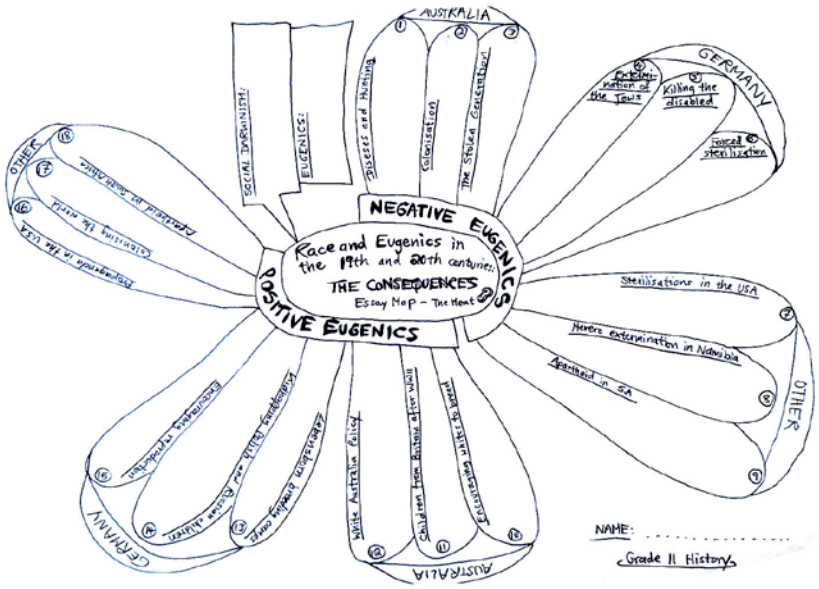

Source: Designed by author.

Image 5: Grade 6 Explorers




Source: Designed by author.

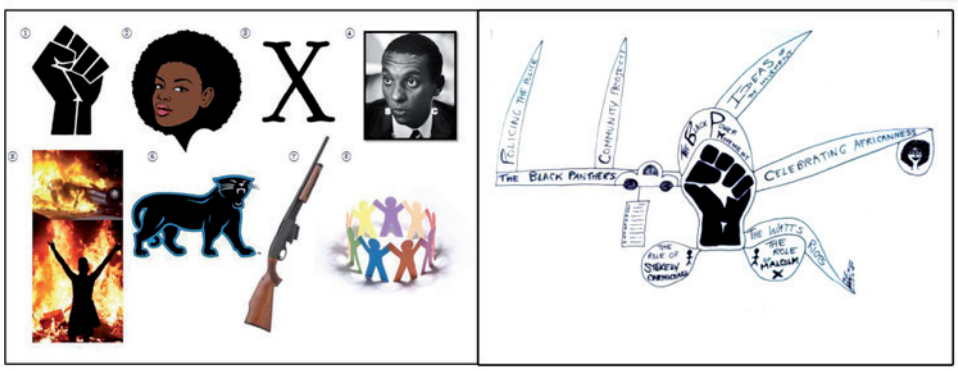
Image 6: Eugenics in Grade 11 (Race and Eugenics in the 19th and 20th centuries)




Source: Designed by author.

I have also augmented my use of graphic organisers successful with what I call the "Eight Picture Summary". For most topics I teach, I have eight pictures that symbolise the key parts of what will be taught. I taught at a township school for five years, where quite a number of the learners came from the Eastern Cape. Their English language abilities were not very strong and as a consequence they would get lost in the sea of historical language used. The challenge was how to bring across the content of an entire topic without overwhelming the learners. Since a large number of learners are visual learners, and since we live in a visual age, I developed the "Eight Picture Summary" as a visual learning aid. I would start off with the eight pictures, the aim being to give learners an overview of the topic. Thereafter I would get into each picture in greater detail. In every lesson we would go back to the eight-picture summary. I would call on learners to tell me about the pictures and how it relates to the topic we have studied. Before a test or the exams, we go back to the eight-picture summary for revision. The learners would also get a mini copy of the eight pictures to take home to be used to explain the topic to a family member. In some instances, the eight-pictures also link to the graphic organiser. Each picture is represented in the graphic organiser or corresponds to the same numbering on the page.

Image 7: Eight pictures for the Black Power Movement and the corresponding graphic organiser




Source: Designed by author (Image on left).

Besides these two tools, I'll use role plays, story boards, games and quizzes. I've also used badge projects, box projects, speed dating as historical figures, a word ball, getting them to teach, making historical memes, group discussions, presentations and many more. History is fun

and they look forward to it.

The graphic organisers and the "Eight Picture Summary" are in my view excellent ways to get the historical content across to learners. While historical thinking skills, such as causality, multiperspectivity, empathy and critical analysis are important, they will not be possible unless the learners understand the content. In my view the nuances of History follow an understanding of the metanarrative. So, the criticism of these methods are that their primary focus is to 'get the content across', the minimum we as teachers are trying to achieve. But this is an important foundation when you then aim to teach skills, nuance and critical analysis. It's a faster way, a more organised or efficient way, than wading through a textbook and copying down a copious amount of notes. I would like to build in analytical tools in future. In the Nationalism graphic organiser, for example, learners check a box of whether the nationalism in each case study is civic or ethnic nationalism and then have to decide if it's more helpful or more destructive. This ties in with their argument in the essay they later write.

Another criticism is that it simplifies complex history. I think it depends on the teacher here, to zoom in and out of history and to complexify it where necessary. I think most of my students understand that History is not black and white and there's a lot more to it. With the confidence gained in the subject, through methods mentioned above, they are interested to learn more and understand better.

I fully accept that my article is nothing ground-breaking, it is just the sharing of practice. History teaching ideas worth sharing. I hope it has led to either insight or inspiration in other History teachers.

# Book Reviews

## *The ANC spy Bible: Surviving across enemy lines*

**(Tafelberg, Cape Town, 2020. pp. 248. ISBN: 9780624088967)**

**Moe Shaik**

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The book titled: *The ANC spy Bible: Surviving across the enemy lines* is a necessary and important addition to the struggle era archives. It is timely as the African National Congress (ANC) struggles to reposition and reinvent itself in society; battles policy ideas; deepened factionalism and the comradeship façade. It is opportune as South Africa navigates the state capture commission, corruption, deepened inequality and the land question.

The book first introduces the life of Moe, his parents, brothers and his childhood in general. It is at this point that Moe details his always intrigued and observant behaviour which later led to his exploration of intelligence work.

### The early years

Working as an optometrist, Moe was recruited by his older brother Yunis into an ANC underground unit (MJK). He did not need to be convinced to join the ANC, as this was a natural progression. It was a membership deeply rooted in sacrifice, dedication, loyalty, building a non-racial nation and discipline. As comrades, they were mates and allies, it was therefore their duty to protect each other. It was for this reason, trusting the movements' leadership and following them willingly blind that Moe agreed to be a decoy after smuggling an ANC leader Ebrahim Ismail and the security police knew of his presence and raided for his arrest. Safely crossing Ebrahim into Swaziland was a success, however, Moe was detained under the section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He initially prepared himself for Three days of detention, but the Act allowed unlimited detention without trial. What was to follow were months of physical torture from the security personnel. This would mentally and physically strain comrades to a point of "selling out", with Moe, it was an attempted suicide. His brother, Yunis, was also

captured and received a near death experience of torture witnessed by the "bathroom officer". The year is 1985 and there was growing resistance against apartheid, there were violent confrontations between protestors and the security forces, the country was spiralling into a civil war and Moe was released. Perhaps the slogans of resistance and shouts of defiance fuelled us, but endurance of detention remained unspoken. To this day, we can never fully fathom the experiences of struggle leaders during the apartheid era.

**The Nightingale**

The book becomes thrilling as the "bathroom officer" emerges to be a "guardian Angel". His role is critical and necessary as the country entered into a state of paralysis. Carrying a wad of documents, the bathroom officer visited Moe. This file carried Agents' reports; analysis by the Security Branch Officers, each page stamped "secret" (p. 78). This proved that the Security Branch was sophisticated in operation, recognised the lack of counter-intelligence and the amateur nature of the ANC. The ANC was significantly infiltrated and that showed in how the security branch easily destroyed underground units, arrested and killed people. This proved to be a valuable file, beckoning the world of secrets. This marked the beginning of Moe's intelligence operation and the bathroom officer was to be named the Nightingale. This file was detailed to an extent of revealing ANC comrades working for the "other side" (p. 86). I understand this as the betrayal of comradeship and it continues to date in different forms.

Moe learned to understand the workings of the Security Branch, their mind set and their ways of operating. He was drawn to the thrill and knew that this information will wage war against the apartheid system. Moe was a grounded foot soldier serving the ANC, he knew that he cannot act alone regarding the new information and thus requested to see Oliver Tambo (president of the ANC at the time). Tambo was exiled in London and Moe made the necessary arrangements to get there. At this point of the book (p. 103), Jacob Zuma is introduced as the ANC's head of intelligence. Moe posits that Jacob Zuma was easy-going, charming, disarming and endearing. This is how Zuma later won the hearts and votes of South Africans in 2009. He was said to be a "peoples' president", one with great humility and the will to change the socio-economic lives of South Africans. Moe accepts though, that he was difficult to read. I am reminded of the time during #ZumaMustFall #Paybackthemoney #Zupta,

herein, Zuma always maintained his composure and laughed. As head of intelligence, Moe and Zuma were to be "fellow travellers into the secret world of intelligence" (p. 106).

When president Tambo read the file he said "In so far as the reports that concern me, I believe they are as true as the Bible" (pp. 105-106). These files were "gospel truth" thus, this became the Bible project. The highest office of the ANC then tasked Moe with professionalising the breakthrough and cautioned the sensitivity and secrecy of the matter. It was agreed that neutralisation was an imperative part of the intelligence game and was also necessary for the ANC's success in defeating the apartheid regime. Whatever that was to be done, one thing had to be certain and that is, to protect the Nightingale by all means necessary. Moe was then deployed to Germany for intelligence training, upon his return he knew he had to be in charge and control of his relationship with the Nightingale.

The Security Branch was hard at work and that showed in the penetration of Swaziland, they operated with impunity and became a killing machine. Due to the long communication lines between Moe and Lusaka (were Zuma was based), it was difficult to be effective. Moe details the one point were the ANC through his intelligence work was able to successfully capture the Security Branch agents. This marked a significant milestone for the ANC, particularly its neutralisation of infiltration. It was necessary for the ANC to have political and economic intelligence in order to understand the shifting power. This was important as the ANC prepared itself to take over the country. They did well in shifting the political power, however, the economic shift is yet to happen as South Africas' economy is still dominated by white people who only constitute 10% of the population.

The limited financial resources of the intelligence unit posed challenges for the Bible project. At this point of the book (Chapter 20), Shabir Schaik is introduced as the money guru and he introduced the Hawala. This earned him respect within the finance structures of the ANC, it was also at this point that he befriended Jacob Zuma. I am tempted to argue that Shabirs' relationship with Zuma has always been a moneytionship (money relationship).

**On the Run**

It seemed that the ANC had lost its grip, with most of its leaders either in jail or exiled and the Security Branch infiltration, it had to reconfigure

itself. At this point (chapter 22) we learn that O.R Tambo wanted to shift the political centre of the ANC from exile to South Africa, for that he coined and implemented Operation Vula headed by Mac Maharaj. The operation injected new life into the ANC's underground units, brining command, co-ordination, connection and communication (p. 143). Moe asserts that this brought a sense of "professional revolutionary ethic" (p. 144). As Operation Vula was at risk with the security branch, a necessary counter attack proved that Operation Vula was in full swing and the ANC had power to dismantle the regime. As the underground units looked intact, the country edged towards the abyss, the National Party under P.W Botha was under pressure and thus offered to release Nelson Mandela. One would think that the international pressure, sanctions and a civil war looming would stop the Nationalist party and the Security Branch from further killing and arresting people. It seemed that this gave them renewed strength. Chapter Twenty-Four reminds us of a bold and decisive call by O.R Tambo to intensify the struggle on all fronts, this call shifted the balance of power in favour of the ANC. F.W de-Klerk took over in 1989 and as a sign of operating in good faith, negotiated the release of senior political leaders of the ANC. A desperate time indeed calls for a desperate measure, the Nationalist government fuelled black on black violence in the townships, particularly in Natal (were Zuma was deployed to bring peace in the region).

The unbanning of the ANC and other political parties in 1990 was another milestone, many felt that indeed freedom was near, from this point, they felt there was no longer a need to be on the run. The negotiations were to start. This was not the case as the security forces were able to encrypt Vula communications and arrested its leaders (known as the Vula Eight). The media used these communications to paint the ANC as an "enemy of progress" and it was shocking that some within the ranks of the ANC labelled it reckless. This is a good example to show that the ANC always had ideological differences and "the jostling for power within the party led to little attention being paid to the existing underground structures" (p. 163). It seems, the desire for the gravy train long engulfed the ANC, it is sadly too late to self-cleanse. Moe asserts that it was a lonely time for the trialists as the ANC distanced itself from Operation Vula. A time he says, was an opportunity to defend O.R Tambo, after all, Operation Vula was his idea. It was also a time that Moe had to be in hiding as the Security Branch was able to link his involvement. How does the running life continue when

the ANC is unbanned? It was a time Moe refers to as "being on your own". The ANC had begun eating on its own, it continues to eat and regurgitate many of its comrades today. The decay long started.

**From here to eternity:**

Negotiations were a confusing time, it was uncertain of whether the Afrikaners can be trusted or even trust the process. Moe reminds here (Chapter 30) that though negotiations were criticised "they were not about surrender of power from one party to another. They were not an option, but a necessity". The fundamental questions on Amnesty are: Was it an escape route for those ANC members who avoided prosecution? Did the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) achieve its intended objective? Where are we today as the country in terms of reconciliation and forgiveness? Those who received amnesty from the TRC, did so without reflection or remorse for their role in the "dirty war". The TRC failed to deal with the issues of spies, informers, collaborators and so forth. Chapter 32 covers the Rise of Jacob Zuma. Bringing JZ into the leadership of the ANC and later of the country, was at first considered by many as the smart move, however, at a much later stage, it proved otherwise. When he took over the reigns as the president of the country, he cultivated a relationship with Schabir Shaik which was somewhat economic as opposed to of a relationship being political. At some stage, he allegedly awarded him contracts because of their *"You do me, I do you"* kind of a relationship.

Then came the Mbeki-Zuma battle which I term the last nail to the self-crucifixion of the glorious movement. Moe appears to be soft towards his brothers' corruption. Coming to his defence on the corruption charges laid against him, Moe clearly attests to this assertion, thereby compromising the impartiality of the narrative. The Mbeki's "tiki-taka" around the Bulelani Ngcuka's "spy" allegations at the Hefer Commission of Inquiry, as well as the ANC's refusal to participate, were deeply unsettling. The politicisation and the factionalisation of the Intelligence, created a dangerous loophole within the ranks of the ANC. It was manipulated by those in power to achieve their own selfish ends (we saw this during Zuma's reign). The Zuma-Gupta relationship is an example of this manipulation, and while the State Capture commission continues, what has come out is deep corruption. The 2007 Polokwane Conference, marked a crescendo for the entire leadership of the ANC.

Finally, the book uncovers trends of unethical leadership within the ranks

of the ruling party, however, its presentation of the essential realities of the ANC`s Democratic rule, is lacking in objectivity and impartiality. Moe left many things unsaid in this book, however it is well written and a necessary contribution to the struggle era.

## *The teaching of one's country: International experiences in a comparative perspective*

**(Frankfurt: Wochen Schau Gesichte 2020. pp. 359. ISBN: 978-3-7344-0983-7)**

**Nadine Fink, Markus Furrer and Peter Gautschi (eds.)**

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With the resurgence of identity-based populist politics which has intensified over the past decade, the question around the purpose of national history in the school curriculum has once again begun to occupy centre stage. This debate is multifaceted in the sense that on the one side of the spectrum, there are obvious echoes of the 19th century republican nationalist history, evident in Victor Orban's "illiberal turn" towards promoting a "new patriotic education" which legitimises Hungarian nationalism over the past decade (Toomey, 2018). The recent "History Wars" in Great Britain, which has seen politicians and historians on both sides; the left and the right, call for the renewed emphasis on national history, is another example of the popularisation and politicisation of the school curriculum. On the other side of the spectrum, however, there is a discernible shift towards a values-based approach to school History, in which the act of "learning lessons" from the past will produce a socially conscious and morally just generation of active citizens. Both of these interpretations of the purpose of teaching national History at school level, pose urgent intellectual challenges to us all, they provoke reflection on the most essential of historical questions, namely; what is school history for?

*A well-organised society*, in the words of the late historian Tony Judt, *is the one in which we know the truth about ourselves collectively, not the one in which we tell pleasant lies about ourselves*. Since the emergence

of the 19th century European Liberal Nation-State Education, history education has been, and invariably will continue to be instrumentalised to realise particular political ends. Whether promoted as a means to inculcate Durkheimian social solidarity in young people, or used to legitimatise the oppression of one group over another, the school history curriculum has long been an ideal conduit through which the romanticised mythologies of an imagined past can be transposed upon a contemporary socio-political landscape. The subject, as highlighted by a number of articles in *The teaching of the History of one's own country*: *international experiences in Comparative Perspective*, is frequently taught through a range of historical prisms, rendering it particularly vulnerable to the alluring trap of pernicious presentism or amoral amnesia. With the resurgence of political narratives which rupture the illusion of transnational unity and co-operation at the seams, this book could not be published at a more opportune time.

Despite its discernible European orientation, the themes which emerge through the articles in *The teaching of the History of one's own country*: *international experiences in Comparative Perspective,* are applicable to classrooms worldwide. Contributions to the collection include studies on countries whose histories have been characterised by internecine violent conflict, ethnic and religious sectarianism, linguistic divisions, impenetrable regional identities, cultural exceptionalism, as well as settler silence. In the introduction to the book, the editors explain the decision behind choosing "country", as opposed to "nation", as its title. They argue that the term "country", evokes a geographical space which defies the political boundaries of the nation-state and is therefore more intimately aligned with Benedict Anderson's notion of the Imagined Community". "The authors further explain that the people", give shape to a country and has an influence on the reign, economy and culture. A closer reading of the articles may suggest otherwise. The nation-state – or indeed the "absence" of one, holds an ubiquitous presence throughout the text, even in cases where a national narrative appears to be submerged under regional curricular autonomy, such as in Belgium and New Zealand.

A limitation of the book for the Anglophone reader is that, only five of the articles, including the introductory chapter that are published in English, while the remaining are written French or German[1]. The majority of the articles focus on Europe and the developed world, with studies on Switzerland (the collection is funded by the Swiss government), Belgium,

1 For the purposes of this review, the focus will be on the English articles included in the collection.

New Zealand, Israel, Japan and South Korea appearing alongside articles on History education in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Turkey and Cameroon. Of particular interest and value in the collection, is the thematic focus in a number of the pieces on the classroom environment itself. Ethnographies, drawing on interviews with teachers and classroom observations, offer a welcome departure from the structural focus on aspects of intended curricula which commonly prevail in studies on the relationship between history education and the state.

The chapters in the book go far beyond merely stating the obvious, namely that teachers' personal and professional identities influence their praxis or the fact that the curriculum cannot be read at face value. Indeed, reflection on the teachers' own sense of purpose and identity in the classroom, as well as their understanding of the purpose of school history, allows for a more nuanced understanding of the lived experiences of curricular enactment. This is of particular significance when teachers are faced with teaching a national history characterised by present or past civil conflict. One of the teachers in a Belgian case study, for example, actively avoids debates about identity in the classroom, fearing that they may give rise to politically charged debates surrounding Flemish nationalism (p. 78). This sentiment would no doubt be echoed by a number of teachers in post-conflict or politically tense climates, who are often subjected to critique for towing a moderate line or avoiding contentious issues entirely. We often tend to forget that even teachers need jobs.

Although the book's emphasis is on the *teaching* of history, this does not preclude an engagement with the nature of the relationship between classroom, curriculum and citizenship. For example, in the chapter entitled *Building, ignoring or deconstructing students' identities?*, Karel van Nieuwenhuyse argues that it is the absence of the appeal to national identity in the regionally autonomous history curricula in Belgium, which unites the otherwise disparate cultural, political and linguistic disparate identities of Wallonia and Flanders. The politically convenient marginalisation of a national perspective does not result in the sublimation of a "civics discourse" in Belgian history classrooms. The author argues that the respective Western-orientated curricula, elevate the relationship between civilian and state to a supranational level of valuing Enlightenment principles of citizenship, freedom and democracy, thus embedding a national past into a European identity framework. This international trend towards "human rights" or values-based approaches to the teaching of History is not without

its limitations, in spite of its ostensible commitment to the cultivation of social cohesion and civic education. As Halse and Harris (cited in Parkes, 2007) claim, seemingly benign citizenship education can "be seen as an effort to extol a particular vision of nationalism" (Halse and Harris, 2004: 20, cited in Parkes, 2007). Indeed, it does not necessarily follow that the rhetoric of integration and inclusion does not hold equal, if not more, potential to exclude.

Exclusion is a theme which emerges in Michael Harcourt's fascinating chapter on "setter silence" in New Zealand's history curriculum. Although New Zealand shares similar regional curricular autonomy to its neighbouring island, Australia's "history wars" seem not to have spread further south. The influence of revisionism and social theory on Australia's 1992 curriculum, denigrated and later dismissed by Michael Howard's conservative government in the late 1990s, as "black armband history" (Warhaft, 1993, cited in Parkes, 2007), resulted in the marginalised indigenous voices (Parkes, 2007). Although this approach was later replaced by a short-lived 1998 curriculum, which emphasised national identity and citizenship, a thinly veiled return to a triumphalist "master narrative" (Parkes, 2007), is worth highlighting because of its counter-position to the content selection exercised by teachers and regional authorities in New Zealand in Harcourt's piece. This practice of autonomy has led to greater pedagogical comfort in teaching a sanitised version of national history, perpetuating "settler myths" and cleansing the national narrative of its difficult histories. Although "Wait, there was a war in the Waikato?: settler colonialism, White ignorance and the New Zealand History Curriculum" denotes a departure from the main theme of the book, given that its emphasis is arguably more on teachers' selection of the intended and not enacted curriculum, it remains a valuable contribution to the debate.

The debate of whether one can consider the birth of Israel to be an example of a "settler" nation-state whose actions embody those of an imperial power falls beyond the scope of this review. What can be said without question, however, is that Israeli national identity is deeply politicised and inevitably linked to the context of the protracted conflict with Palestine. The more robust and rich narrative of Bob Mark's chapter, "Undermining national narratives with family stories: An Oral History Project in a Palestinian-Jewish School" differs from the linguistic style and approach of other chapters, thus it stands out as a more robust and textured read. His

conclusions emphasise the possibility of adopting discursive resistance (Ashcroft, 2001, cited in Parkes, 2007) through critical pedagogy as a means with which history teachers in Israel would be able to reimagine and re-inscribe the rhetorical representations of the "master narrative". Mark argues that it is the moral responsibility of teachers to explore these strategies in the classroom (p. 272) such that diverse voices are heard within the prescriptive and state-mandated material space of textbooks and curriculum.

National identity and cultural pluralism in traditionally ethnically homogenous societies forms the focus of Soo Joo Kang's chapter on South Korea, entitled "National, Mono-cultural vs Global, Plural and the Pursuit of Wisdom". It is argued that, unlike the case of most countries in the world – including many which are included in this collection, the imagination of the Korean nation-state is inextricably tied to a sense of unique socio-cultural and ethnic exceptionalism. It is therefore not surprising that the "myth" of homogeneity was imported by the Korean intellectuals who were heavily influenced by the ethnocentric historical nationalism of the late 19th century German state, which would have been strengthened in response to Japanese occupation during the first half of the 20th century. Increasingly, however, the monocultural façade of South Korean society, which has long been perpetuated by largely nationalist history in school history curricula, is at odds with 21st century globalism and this has led to political debate governments across the political spectrum. By using the teacher and student interviews as a methodology, this chapter highlights the way in which teachers have exercised, or did not exercise, modes of discursive resistance to previously nationalist history. Frequent curriculum revisions, without adequate teacher training, no doubt have an impact on teachers' interpretations of content in the classroom – indeed, South Africa is a case in point. Insecurity about new content, a belief that Korean history, rather than world history, is "easy History" for students and the influence of decades of nationalist school history has resulted in a large number of teachers struggling to transcend the "master narrative" of Korean exceptionalism. This study thus offers insight into causes of the chasm between the intended and the enacted curriculum in South Korea, highlighting the need for teacher co-operation in order for pedagogical transformation to materialise.

While some argue that History as a subject occupies - or should occupy- a central position in furthering the values of democratic citizenship and

promoting social cohesion, others contend that adopting such an approach results in an over-simplified and a historical conception of the national past. History can contribute to violent conflict by reinforcing negative stereotypes of the "other", by essentialising sectarian identities and also by normalising the superiority of one group over another (Paulson, 2015). On the other hand, History education is also often positioned within a broader framework of peacebuilding and national reconciliation in post-conflict (or post-agreement) societies, and thus becomes embedded within a broader discourse of democracy, national healing and the forging of collective memory. Despite the potential linguistic challenges posed by the trilingual "The teaching of one's own country" to the monolingual English speaker, the variety of subjects which collectively relate to the under-researched subject of pedagogical practice and national histories, render it an informative and interesting read. Some of the chapters may perhaps have benefitted from greater theorisation on historiographic representation in national curricula, but this is arguably more pertinent in a study on national history and curriculum itself. Viewed largely from the perspective of history teachers, the book adds a refreshing angle to the implicit and explicit "history wars" which have, and will no doubt continue to occupy a central position in the politics of the now-established wave of "new Right" proto-nationalism.

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# *The Palgrave Handbook of conflict and History education in the post-Cold War era*

**(Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. ISBN: 9783030057213)**

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In the last three decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the concept "history wars" has gained a growing interest from history scholars, teachers, civilians and politicians alike. This phenomenon finds its' popularity in the public debates over the content of official History in contrast to that which is ingrained in the public's memory. Acting as a contextual frame, the end of the Cold War, is used to guide the conceptual understanding of the conflict over history teaching, where the intention of the guide is to "map the conflicts, identify commonalities, locate and illuminate hidden rationales and connect the individual cases with the fundamental changes" (p. v) since the collapse of the Soviet Union. With this statement, the reader's expectation is that the reference guide will provide accounts of contemporary conflicts as they relate to the end of the Cold War. However, this is not entirely the case. The editors have used the collapse of the proverbial 'iron curtain' as a wider symbol for the start of an era of social media, globalisation and national populism.

The case studies provide a detailed and well researched account of the public debates around History and the teaching thereof. This is testament to the key questions posed in the introductory chapter which guided the analysis of each case (p. 9):

- Has there been any substantial conflict, public debate or controversy on history education in the country in question since the beginning of the 1990s?
- Had debates and controversies on history education taken place previously in the country? If so, what continuities and/or changes can be observed?
- What prompted the more recent controversy or conflict? What are the main concerns of the debate, its principal agents, its primary competing discourses and central arguments?

- What roles have the state, social groups, and agents and agencies of memory played in discussions of the controversy in public media? Have there been moves towards polarisation or resolution? Specifically, how have teachers, academics, journalists and politicians been involved?
- What was, or is, the nature of the relationship between collective memories, master narratives and counter-narratives of the past, and the progression of the conflict? How do memories and narratives interact with broader historical and educational discourses?

The history wars present, but are not limited to, a struggle of conflicting narratives and the primacy of these above the master narrative. This specific theme is especially prevalent in societies where the memories of the past contradict the retelling of the same past in the History classroom and textbooks. In addressing the above questions, cases provided insightful accounts of controversy which not only depict conflict between opposing narratives, but between historians, policy makers and other agents in the sphere of History education. The guide provides the reader with a conceptual understanding behind the politics of History education. Much of the controversy lies in the acceptance of History as a tool for identity formation, and in former Eastern Bloc countries, History teaching after the collapse of the Soviet Union concentrated on the formation of a national identity 'true' to the new nation state. Many of the former Soviet-controlled states are multinational which creates conflict within the nation-state when a specific ethnic identity is promoted. An example of this case can be seen in the report on Tatarstan and Russia respectively.

Tatarstan is a republic within the Russian Federation consisting of the specific national group, Tatars. Conflicts exist behind the negative representations of Tatars in federal Russian history textbooks, and the Tatars own collective memory surrounding their own role in Russian history. At the fundamental level of this conflict, is Tatarstan's history of being a minority and silenced group during the Cold War, but their status of being a minority group has to a certain extent not changed in the post-Cold War era. Nevertheless, the freedom awarded with the collapse of the Soviet Union allowed Tatarstan historians, politicians and activists to explore the history of Tatars independent from Russian control and ideology. By reporting on both Russia and Tatarstan, the guide provides a useful transnational perspective of the conflict and to be frank, a guide that bases its selection of cases on the era after the Cold War that does not have a chapter on Russia would have little credibility, if any. In the same

vein, not including the USA would have had the same effect. Keeping in mind America's historic policy of isolation, the controversy over what constitutes a world history in the American History syllabus, partly reflects the cause of debate between historians and conservative members of the public. In a battle between patriotism and critical historiography, the American case provides a strong argument towards the role of politics and media in shaping curriculum. As reported in the case of South Africa surrounding a political cartoon and textbook, and the feature films in the Netherlands and Romania, politics and mass media play an important role in the teaching of History. The above cases allow the reader to form an understanding of the interplay between public and academic history.

Within the realm of public history lies the centrality of the Church in some of the cases, providing key insights into the control that religion and collective memory holds in determining master narratives. Nationally, the debate within Serbia provides a conceptual understanding of how collective memory plays a role in the debates over History teaching. The controversy which appears occurs between historians and the Church over the Battle of Kosovo (1339) which is a key event in Serbian national identity and collective memory. With this controversy, textbooks and historical sources contradict the Church's notion that the battle against the Ottomans was lost due to treason within the Serbian camp. The symbolic nature behind the Battle of Kosovo was utilised to muster a national pride and identity during the Ottoman rule, as well as to foster nationalism in the run up to the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Not only is the Church in opposition with History teaching, but within the language and literature curriculum, the epic tales and poetic narratives of the battle are studied before students are introduced to the event within the History classroom, which raises the question on whether the outcomes of History teaching will be achieved or mistrusted. In addition, when viewed from a global perspective, the influence of the Church in the History curriculum as well as fostering a national identity finds resonance with the reports on Cyprus and Greece. Secular history such as in Cyprus, Greece and Serbia is similar to that in India. In the case of India, debates arose that a revision of the History curriculum in 2002 was an attempt at imposing religion as a school subject. The report highlights a strong correlation between those in power and the public in curriculum revision, even going as far as using History within political campaigns. In the mentioned cases, historians were key in the struggle against the secularisation and misuse of the History curriculum,

this is unfortunately not the norm.

Historians are widely assumed to be knowledgeable in the field of academic History, which is providing relatively objective accounts of the past, devoid of bias and ideological agendas. However, as detailed in the cases of Rwanda and Azerbaijan, historians are the forerunners for the use of History teaching to achieve a specific ideological agenda. Most of the politicians and policy makers in the Azerbaijani case are historians, however this does not mean that the History curriculum teaches critical thinking or objectivity. History in Azerbaijan particularly in the post-Soviet era, rather retained control over teaching and the dissemination of state-approved knowledge much like during the communist regime. The master narrative within Azerbaijan centre on the struggle against Armenia for territorial control over the Nagorno-Karabakh region. This conflict translates into the narrative of Armenia as a historical enemy, along with Russians and Iranians. This master narrative views Azerbaijanians as victims of an endless struggle against 'outside oppressors' and propagates a siege mentality. It comes as no surprise that the case study of Armenia includes a contradictory narrative, providing a useful transnational perspective. What the guide can be commended on, is for the inclusion of conflicting nations and their narratives, the Azerbaijani-Armenian cases, the Tatarstan-Russia cases, as well as the Rwanda-Burundi cases. These nations are engaged in a transnational history war which is ethnically based and emphasises the victimhood of both nations.

Within the scope of silenced histories after the 1990's, the inclusion of cases from the African continent is expected when taking into consideration the broad theme of post-colonial discourse. When thinking of colonialism, the popular narrative which comes to mind is the 'Scramble for Africa', hence the cases of Senegal, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Burundi and Rwanda. Often overlooked, is the post-colonial status of non-African countries such as New Zealand, Australia, India, Taiwan, Caribbean and Malaysia. For a reader with these expectations, the guide provides a conceptual shift by including not only the above post-colonial cases, but a report on France as a colonial power. The cases of Senegal, Rwanda, Burundi and Sudan present a contradiction to the trends in historiography within France, where the former places sole blame of ethnic conflict and negative intergroup relations on the nations' colonial legacy whereas the latter attempted to revise the History curriculum to present a positive view of France's colonial involvement. These trends present opposite sides of a "historiographical

spectrum", where the inclusion of both narratives within one History curriculum would equip learners with multiple perspectives and deny the amnesia of historical facts. The omission of certain facts within Historical narratives present the controversy surrounding History teaching when trying to satisfy the need for reconciliation. Furthermore, as presented in the cases of Chile, Argentina and Spain, History teaching is influenced not only by recovering from past atrocities, but also from navigating the agendas of the public. In Argentina, History education came under fire for its inclusion of the 'disappeared' people due to the accusation of the narrative teaching learners of a shameful past rather than glorifying the nation. This is also largely influenced by many of the role players during the dictatorship still hold influential positions within society.

Israel and Palestine's conflict has been widely researched and publicised, the History education deeply analysed that their inclusion in this guide is no surprise. Nonetheless, as with the Israeli case, it is noteworthy to state that on the outside the curriculum and textbooks appear to have changed towards the inclusion of multiple angles of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, however the implementation of a more objective history in the classroom is another story. This is largely due to the opposition of teachers, ministry officials and the general public. What the Israeli case presents and supported by the reports from Palestine, Tatarstan, Moldova, Armenia and Azerbaijan, is that History teaching and the content thereof struggles to move from a subjective, one-sided memory discipline to a critical discipline due to the ongoing political disputes within the nations themselves. These above cases present a strong argument that in nations recovering from recent conflicts or still engaged in hostilities have a strong collective memory of the conflict, which is often misused by historians, politicians and teachers alike. Furthermore, the master narratives within these nations provide a strong identification basis to promote a unified nation against an outside enemy. In this regard, collective memory becomes an obstacle towards reconciliation and peace.

From the outset, it can be stated that the book is an ambitious endeavour seeking to provide a contemporary account of changing shifts in History education of countries both formerly part of the Eastern Bloc, post-conflict countries struggling with notions of reconciliation, as well as countries which have "forgotten", or silenced histories. However, even though the introductory chapter provides a succinct "Terminology", the classification of who or what is regarded as a minority or silenced history remains

unknown. Without the classification of silenced histories outside those as a result of the Cold War, the broad perspective appears to be presumptuous. The inclusion of some African as well as of Latin descent countries would suggest that these nations classify as minority and silenced histories when taken in the context of a wider theme of dictatorships and colonialism. Furthermore, the selection process of which countries would be included centred on public "history wars", that is, controversy surrounding academic history versus popular history. However, there seems to be a certain amount of contradiction surrounding the selection of cases, where on the one hand it is stated that 62 scholars were invited to provide accounts of 57 countries, which would suggest purposive sampling based on a set of clearly stated criteria beforehand. However, on the other hand it is stated that some cases could not be included due to the sensitive context of the specific cases. This suggests that more than 62 scholars were approached to report on more than the included 57 cases, which invokes speculation surrounding the cases which scholars could not report on, which is ironic in itself as the very objective of the guide is to shed light on such silenced histories in an era assumed to be characterised by a greater flow of information and ideas ( –I did notice the absence of the Koreas).

The very intention of bringing to light the minority and silenced histories, is to achieve a greater goal of de-Westernising History and in a broader sense, decolonise knowledge. However, it would seem that by including this agenda in a guide which also has the intention of discussing History education in a post-Cold War era, the status of silenced histories is still to a large extent not fronted. This critique still stands even with many of these silenced histories existing as a result of the Cold War. For future research and study, this guide lays the foundation for an academic piece solely dedicated to the history of the forgotten and silenced. Furthermore, the cases reported are highly valuable for future research in the field of victimology and the fostering of collective victimhood not only through public history, but through the school curriculum as well. Nonetheless, as achieved through all the cases in the guide, the recounting of the historical background of the debates around History education, provides a clear indication of the change and continuity, as well as the cause and consequences within each case. The guide is valuable in its reporting of a broad range of themes, successfully allowing the reader to make national, transnational and global connections, whilst providing an in-depth reference to the state of affairs of History education in a post-Cold War setting.

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

# SASHT Constitution

## The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)

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

## 1. CONSTITUTION

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

1.1.1 the precise terms of any proposed alteration shall be set out in a notice prior to convening the meeting and/or Circulated to members via electronic medium at least a month before the meeting;

1.1.22 the purpose and objects of the Society shall not be altered without the consent of 66% of the members (via electronic medium and formally communicated/confirmed at the AGM that follows the approved/disapproved alteration.

## 2. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Society (since date of founding in 1986) shall be to assist its members in every possible way and in particular:

2.1 To improve the contact between educators of History training at tertiary level and teachers in the broad educational field.

2.2 To renew a training in the didactics of History education.

2.3 To utilise the expertise of educators teaching History to assist with the training of future History teachers.

2.4 To continuously debate the content of basic and advanced educational programmes in the training of History educators with the intention to continue to improve quality.

2.5 To make history educators and student teachers aware of the relationship between History as an academic discipline and the didactics and teaching of History at school level in order to keep abreast with educational development and academic debates.

2.6. To encourage educators of History to strive towards achieving and sustaining high academic standards in the teaching methodology and in the general knowledge of History as a discipline.

2.7 To make educators of History and student teachers in History aware of the relevance or "value" of History for communities and the nation at large.

2.8 To explore, if the SASHT grows in membership, the idea of identifying and organising committees that can explore and develop certain fields in History to benefit all the educators of History in South Africa.

## 3. MEMBERSHIP

3.1 Membership shall consist of three types:

3.1.1 Individual membership (History educators or other academically-focused members from institutions) who are fully paid up members of the Society (Annual fees will be determined by the Executive each year and communicated timeously to members and potential members). The individual members representing an educational, institution will be eligible to vote or serve on the SASHT Executive and any committees/portfolios, and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the peer reviewed and DHET-indexed reviewed SASHT- connected Journal, *Yesterday&Today*.

3.1.2 Group membership (schools, academic institutions, private organisations & publishers): Will pay an annual membership fee determined by the Executive Committee on a yearly basis which will include a membership provision of more than one individual. These members will be eligible to vote but not all be eligible to serve on the committees. Electronic correspondence will be received as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected *Yesterday&Today* Journal obtained.

3.1.3 Individual membership outside the borders of South Africa: Will pay the annual fee as determined by the Executive Committee in Rand or in another currency as indicated on the SASHT membership form.

The individual members outside the borders of South Africa will be eligible to vote but not serve on the Executive Committee (these members could serve on other commit-

tees as occasionally identified, as well as on the *Yesterday&Today* editorial board) and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected Journal, *Yesterday&Today*.

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

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

3.2.2 is approved by the Executive Committee as a member.

3.3 Any member may resign by notice to the chairperson, the vice chairperson or the secretariat/treasurer.

3.4 Membership will be held confidential, and it is up to individual members to disclose his or her membership to the general public.

## 4. MANAGEMENT

4.1 The interests of the Society shall be managed by at least a ten-member Executive Committee consisting of a chairperson, a vice chairperson (when required), a secretariat and a treasurer (this position can also be combined into a secretary-treasurer position) and six to seven additional members as portfolio members and/or regional representatives. These members in the leading position of the SASHT shall hold the respective positions for a maximum of three years, after which they may be re-elected at an annual general meeting (usually to be held in September-October). Two additional members (the guest hosting a conference during the following year and a History educator abroad) may be nominated.

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

4.2 An election of new Executive Committee members for the SASHT Executive during every third Annual General SASHT meeting should be conducted by one of the SASHT members or an executive member who has been nominated to undertake the task (and not the current chairperson or vice chairperson).

4.3 A process of nomination and election becomes necessary if Executive Committee members have served a three-year term. Both new nominees and retiring committee members are eligible for re-nominating in a re-election. Electing the new SASHT Executive of 10 members through Internet will be conducted at least two weeks prior to an annual SASHT conference. The secretariat manages the term of office of the SASHT Executive, sends out notifications to retiring/re-election status members and invites new nominations, to be done formally and on a standard SASHT nomination form.

4.4 Only fully paid-up members of the SASHT (and preferably only one member per institution in the Society having served in the Society for at least one year) are eligible for election as Executive Committee members. A nominator of a nominee and the seconder (inclusive of the nominee) must all be paid-up members of the SASHT.

The newly elected SASHT Executive from the nominations received will be formally revealed during an annual AGM meeting of the SASHT.

From the ten nominees, fully elected by secret vote and accepted, the positions of chairperson and vice chairperson should be voted for by the newly elected SASHT Executive Committee. This voting process will normally be done after the AGM meeting in the year of election.

4.5 The SASHT Executive Committee may co-opt a member to the Committee in the event of a vacancy occurring for the remaining period of the term of office of the person who vacated the position OR the opening of a vacancy due to any other reason and with the consent of the rest of the SASHT Executive.

4.6 The Executive Committee of the Society may appoint sub-committees as it deems fit.

4.7 Each sub-committee or portfolio of the Executive Committee shall be chaired by a committee member and may consist of so many members as the committee may decide from time to time.

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

## 5. MEETINGS

5.1 Executive Committee Meetings

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

5.1.2 SASHT Executive Committee meetings will take place BEFORE an annual SASHT conference and AFTER the conference.

5.1.3 Committee decisions shall take place by voting. In the event of the voting being equal, the chairperson shall have a casting vote.

5.1.4 Should a committee member absent himself from two successive committee meetings without valid reason and/or not replying twice on e-mail requests in decision making, he/she shall forfeit his/her committee membership.

5.2 General Meetings

5.2.1 The Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the Society shall take place during the annual SASHT Conference.

5.2.2 A special general meeting may be convened by the Executive Committee upon the receipt of a signed, written request of at least ten registered members of the Society which request must be accompanied by a full motivation for requesting such a meeting.

5.3 The Executive Committee may call a general meeting as it deems fit.

5.4 The following procedures shall apply to all general meetings:

5.4.1 A minimum of ten members will form a quorum. In the absence of such a quorum, the members present may adjourn the meeting for a period of seven days where the members present at the adjourned date will automatically constitute a quorum.

5.4.2 Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

5.5 Finances

5.5.1 All the income of the Society shall be deposited in an account at a bank and/or other approved financial institution. One to two members, consisting of either the chairperson and/or the vice-chairperson and/or the secretary-treasurer if so arranged, shall be empowered to withdraw and deposit funds for the use of/on behalf of the Society.

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

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

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

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

5.5.6 Guest SASHT conference organiser(s)/Society member involved, shall be accountable for transferring the remaining income obtained from organising an annual conference into the SASHT bank account, as part of the effort to strengthen the SASHT's financial capacity. Any contributions, towards the covering of conference expenses by the Society are on a strictly voluntary basis.

## 6. RIGHT TO VOTE

Each individual subscribed member (and one member of a subscribed institution) has one vote at any meeting.

## 7. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Any amendment to this Constitution shall only be effected by a two-thirds majority decision at a general meeting or via proper E-mail communication prior to a general meeting; or a special general meeting, and further provided that seven days' prior notice was given of the proposed amendment.

Notice is to be given in the same manner as a notice for a general meeting.

## 8. DISSOLUTION

8.1 The Society may dissolve, or merge, with any other association with a similar purpose and objectives in each case only:

8.1.1 On a resolution passed by the majority of members present at a duly constituted general or special general meeting of members; or

8.1.2 On an application to a court of law by any member on the ground that the Society has become dormant or is unable to fulfil its purpose and objectives,

8.1.3 On a merger, the assets of the Society shall accrue to the Society/Association with which the merger is affected.

8.1.4 On dissolution, the assets of the Society shall be realised by a liquidator appointed by the general meeting or the court, as the case may be, and the proceeds shall be distributed equally amongst such Societies/Associations with similar objectives as may be nominated by the last Executive Committee of the Society.

## 9. MISCELLANEOUS

9.1 Every Executive member/ordinary member of the Society shall be entitled at all reasonable times to inspect all books of account and other documents of the Society which the custodian thereof shall accordingly be obliged to produce.

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

## Editorial policy

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

2. The Y&T journal is a journal for research in especially the fields of History teaching and History discipline research to improve not only the teaching, but also the knowledge dissemination of History, History of Education and History in Education. The Journal is currently editorially managed by the University of Pretoria 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 apply to History teaching and research in general, are equally welcome.

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

6. All manuscripts are subjected to a double-blinded review process.

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 full institutional affiliations/addresses must accompany all contributions. Authors also have to enclose their telephone and E-mail and postal addresses and orchid numbers.

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 (Professor Johan Wassermann) electronically at: Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za Notification of the receipt of the documents will be done within 72 hours.

14. The text format must be in 12pt font, Times New Roman and in 1.5 spacing. The text should be in Microsoft Word format.

15. The length of articles should preferably not exceed 8 000 words.

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 and on the Scielo platform at www.scielo.org.za

17. For scientific research articles, page fees of R220.00 per page (for 10 pages R2 200) will be charged from the South African author's university. However, in the end it remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.

18. The journal utilizes the Portico digital preservation system in order to create permanent archives of the journal for purpose of preservation and restoration.

19. Yesterday&Today is an Open Access journal which means that all content is freely available without charge to the user or his/her institution. Users are allowed to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of the articles, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without asking prior permission from the publisher or the author. This is in accordance with the Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) definition of Open Access.

20. The journal has a registered deposit policy with SHERPA RoMEO. This policy indicates to institutions whether they are allowed to upload a duplicate copy of an article by an author affiliated with the home institution, into their institutional repository (Green Open Access). The following link to SHERPA RoMEO can be followed: http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo/issn/0038-2353/.

21. Copyright and License terms remains with the authors/s of the article/s. All articles published Yesterday&Today can be re-used under the following CC licence: CC BY-SA Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

# Yesterday & Today
# Template guidelines for writing an article

1. **Font type:** Times New Roman.
2. **Font size in body text:** 12pt.
3. **Author's details: ONLY provide the following:** Title, Campus & University full address, e-mail address, orchid number.

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

   Example: Pieter van Rensburg, *Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University,* p.vanrensburg@gmail.com.
4. **Abstract:** The abstract should be placed on the first page (where the title heading and author's particulars appear). The prescribed length is between a half and three quarters of a page.

   The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.

   The heading of the ***Abstract***: Bold, italics, 12pt.
5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract.

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

   Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;). Example: Meters; People; etc. (A minimum of six key words is required).
6. **Heading of article:** 14pt, bold.
7. **Main headings in article:** 'Introduction' – 12pt, bold.
8. ***Sub-headings in article: 'History research'*** – 12pt, bold, italics.
9. **Third level sub-headings: 'History research'**: – 11pt, bold, underline.
10. **Footnotes:** 8pt, regular font; BUT note that the footnote numbers in the article text should be 12pt.

    The initials in a person's name (in footnote text) should be without any full stops. Example: LC du Plessis and NOT L.C. du Plessis.
11. **Body text:** Names without punctuation in the text. Example: "HL le Roux said" and NOT "H.L. le Roux said".

12. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:

    Example: p.space23 – p. 23. / pp. 23-29.

13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.

14. **Quotes from sources in the body text** must be used sparingly. If used, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and **NOT** in italics. Example: An owner close to the town stated that: "the pollution history of the river is a muddy business".

15. Quotes **(as part of the body text)** must be in double inverted commas: "…and she" and *NOT* '…and she'.

16. **Images: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures:** Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript's body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.

    Example: **Image 1: 'Image title'** (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.

    Sources of all images should also be included after the 'Image title'.

    Example: **Source: 'The source'** (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.

    Important note: All the images should be of good quality (a minimum resolution of 200dpi is required; if the image is not scanned).

17. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text. Example: the end.[1] **NOT** …the end[1].

18. **Single and left spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.

19. **Dates:** All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: **23 December 2010; NOT** 23/12/2010 **[For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines].**

20. Language setting in Microsoft Word as **English (South Africa); do this before starting with the word processing of the article.** Go to 'Review', 'Set Language' and select 'English (South Africa)'.

## The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines

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

## The footnote reference method

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

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

The titles of books, articles, chapters, theses, dissertations and papers/manuscripts should NOT be capitalised at random. Only the names of people and places (and in some instances specific historic events) are capitalised. For example:

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

**NOT**

P Erasmus, "The 'Lost' South African Tribe – Rebirth Of The Koranna In The Free State", New Contree, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

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

**Examples of an article in a journal**

R Siebörger, Incorporating human rights into the teaching of History: Teaching materials, *Yesterday&Today*, 2, October 2008, pp. 1-14.

S Marks, "Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries", *Journal of African History*, 3(1), 1972, p. 76.

**Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal**

**From:**

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

**To:**

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

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

**Examples of a reference from a book**

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

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

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

**Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book**

**From:**

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

**To:**

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

**Example of a reference from a chapter in a book**

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

**Shortened version:**

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

**Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis**

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

**Examples of a reference from a newspaper**

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

or

*Zululand Times*, 19 July 1923.

**Archival references:**

**• Interview(s)**

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

**• Example of interview reference**

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

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

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

**• Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter**

E-mail: W Pepler (Bigenafrica, Pretoria/E van Eeden (Researcher), 22 October 2006.

**• National archives** (or any other archive)

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

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

**A source accessed on the Internet**

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

**A source from conference proceedings**

**First reference to the source:**

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

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

**Shortened version:**

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

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

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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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## Hands-on Articles



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