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Layout and Publishing

Editor

Dr Pieter Warnich (North-West University)

Book Review Editor

Mr Marshall Maposa (University of KwaZulu Natal)

Assistant Editor

Prof Sonja Schoeman (University of South Africa)

Layout & Cover design

Yolandi Jordaan: +27 (0)82 553 6463 / Email: yolandi.yevents@gmail.com

Printers

Bontshi Business Services Pty (Ltd), Wierda Park, Centurion, Pretoria

Tel: +27 (0)12 653 7263

Postal address – *Yesterday&Today*

Dr Pieter Warnich

Faculty of Education Sciences, School of Human and Social Sciences for Education

North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus

Private Bag X6001

Potchefstroom

2520

Telephone: (018) 299 4728

Ronelle van Staden (Admin assistant)

Email: 20505957@nwu.ac.za

Yolandi Krone (Admin assistant)

Email: yolandi.yevents@gmail.com

Email: pieter.warnich@nwu.ac.za

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Contents

EDITORIAL

In this mid-year issue of *Yesterday & Today* (2015) articles on a diversity of topics are published. The scientific research section contains topics such as moral judgments in the history classroom, history curriculum reforms in England (from which South Africa can learn valuable lessons), the cell phone as a teaching and learning tool in the history classroom, and the challenges and prospects facing History education in Lesotho. The two articles in the hands-on section refer to the importance of the implementation of various thinking maps as a teaching and learning resource in the history classroom, followed by a first person narrative of a teacher's experience in creating an environment in which learners can foster their own historical gaze in the multicultural South African context.

In the first scientific research article entitled, *Moral judgments in the History classroom: Thoughts of selected novice history teachers,* Marshall Maposa argues that history is burdened with contentious issues which challenge the history teacher to make moral judgments in terms of historical issues that they (the teacher and learners) engage with. By means of a small scale qualitative study using narrative enquiry as a data-gathering method, he investigates the thoughts of novice teachers on the making of moral judgments about the past. Drawing on Wineburg's moral ambiguity framework, Maposa elucidates the teachers' views after they had been given the opportunity to identify certain historical themes that they have considered making moral judgments about. The findings of this article revealed that all the participants in the research project agreed that they had made moral judgments while teaching particular topics. Maposa concludes that history teachers need an applicable framework that they can rely on when making moral judgements in their teaching of contentious issues.

Kirsten Kukard in her article entited, *Content choice: A survey of history curriculum content in England since 1944. A relevant backdrop for South Africa* reviews the circular patterns of history curriculum content over time in terms of the what and how history should be taught to learners between the ages of 11 and 14 years. She discusses the divide that existed between those who advocated for more world history versus those in favour of more British history, and the tension between the supporters of content-led pedagogy and those who are in favour of a more skills-led approach. In the end, she concludes that these developments had particular relevance for the national

and history curricula reforms that took place in England from 2011 to 2014 as it was generally concluded that learners should be exposed to a healthy balance of both world and British history and not be taught to be narrow-minded in their patriotism. The procedural knowledge of history should also be taught alongside the substantive content. Kukard finalises her article with possible lessons for South Africa from the British history curriculum reform experiences, especially in a time that the Department of Basic Education is considering the notion of making History a compulsory subject for the National Senior Certificate.

Pieter Warnich and Clare Gordon's article, *The integration of cell phone technology and Poll Everywhere as teaching and learning tools into the school history classroom* is a timely and leading contribution. The issue of the integration of cell phones and Audience Response Systems (ARS) such as Poll Everywhere as teaching and learning tools in the History classroom has not been extensively explored internationally, and never before in a South African school context. They argue that despite the rapid proliferation of the cell phone as an indispensable mobile tool in the lives of 21st Century teachers and learners, it remains a rare teaching and learning resource in most of History classrooms. The researchers explored and assessed how the ARS, Poll Everywhere which is based on the cell phone SMS function, can be integrated into History lessons to support and enhance the teaching and learning experience of secondary school learners. The study also establishes the perceptions and attitudes of History learners, and the teacher experiences after having had a first-time opportunity to integrate SMS technology and Poll Everywhere into their lessons. Warnich and Gordon found that an overwhelming majority of the learners had positive perception levels about the integration of cell phone technology into their History lessons despite of the fact that most of them identified data costs/charges as the biggest possible hindrance to its utilisation in the classroom. For the History teacher who presented the lessons, both positive and negative feelings were reported in terms of the integration of cell phone technology in classroom teaching and learning.

Raymond Fru explored the challenges facing History education in the Kingdom of Lesotho with his article entitled, *History education at the crossroads: Challenges and Prospects in a Lesotho context.* From a historical-pedagogical perspective, he firstly investigates the different challenges that contribute to the decline of history education in Lesotho. He also proposes that these challenges are not unique to Lesotho and draw on the South African

and Cameroon contexts to substantiate his argument. He then examines the rationale for the promotion of History education through an exploration of its applications and value as reasons why the discipline/subject should be taken more seriously in Lesotho. Fru concludes with practical suggestions and measures to be considered by the Ministry of Education and other relevant education stake-holders in Lesotho to turn the tide in the present status of history education.

In the first hands-on article entitled, *Teaching and learning History through Thinking Maps,* Marj Brown and Charles Dugmore share their personal experiences by offering inspiring possibilities on how thinking maps can be utilized as teaching and learning tools in the history classroom. Each of the thinking maps represents a different cognitive skill that can be used to prepare learners for essay writing, completing of short class tasks and the summarising or understanding of concepts, political stands, cause and effect, the flow of events and to compare and contrast. The authors concluded by suggesting that if history teachers expect from their learners to broaden their critical thinking skills and enhance their creativity in terms of their own writing and cognitive processes, they should be allowed to follow a flexible and eclectic approach in the designing of their own thinking maps.

In her article, *Race, power and me: My position as a History educator in relation to the position of learners,* Denise Gray argues that the history teacher has an important role to create an environment in which learners' historical gaze can be fostered. A precondition for this is, according to her, to develop a relationship between the teacher, learners and environment that facilitates its development. She admits that the development of the relationship might be complicated by structural inequalities in the South African context which may hamper the way learners accept that they can develop an own historical gaze. Through a personal, first-person narrative, she constructs significant turning points in her journey as educator forcing her to think differently about human rights. She concludes her article by challenging teachers to make space for personal openness and reflection in assisting their learners to develop their own understanding and appreciation of history.

Apart from the above scholarly and hands-on contributions, included in this issue are also three interesting and thought-provoking book reviews. Finally, important information regarding two upcoming events are provided: the December 2015 special edition of *Yesterday & Today* and the annual SASHT conference to be held in October in Polokwane.

Moral judgments in the history classroom: Thoughts of selected novice history teachers

Marshall Tamuka Maposa

University of KwaZulu-Natal: Edgewood Campus

maposam2@ukazn.ac.za

Abstract

History is laden with contentious issues and the history teacher has to negotiate how to handle such issues in almost every class. One of the propensities of both history teachers and learners is to make moral judgments over the historical issues that they engage with. Indeed, history is a subject that invariably carries the burden of civic education and nation-building and this can be done through identifying right from wrong. In this article, I present the thoughts of selected novice history teachers (who have been in service for at most 3 years) in relation to making moral judgments about the past in the classroom. The teachers identify the historical themes that they have considered making moral judgments about. They also explain the approaches that they have contemplated in this challenge. I then utilise Wineburg's (2001) framework on moral ambiguity to explain the implications of the teachers' views. I conclude that while South Africa's history is flooded with moral references that make it almost impossible to avoid making judgments, the history teacher needs a usable framework that they can rely on for teaching all contentious issues.

Keywords: Moral judgments; Values; School history; Novice history teachers; Pedagogy; South Africa.

Introduction, focus and rationale

The history classroom can be a hotbed of contentious issues if one considers the argument that virtually all nations have historical topics that are contentious in some way (Low-Beer, 1999). This leaves the history teacher with the unenviable task of guiding the learners to ensure that the goals of the teaching and learning process are achieved, while making sure that they do not lose control of the class. The purpose of school history is not uniform across countries. However, it can be argued that history is a subject that carries the dual burden of civic education and nation-building – depending on the nation that incumbent governments want to build. Civic education and nation-

building, amongst other things, entails providing for learners a framework that they can use in identifying right from wrong so as to become responsible citizens. While societies are guided by various ethics and moral codes inspired by religions and cultures, at a national level the values that determine right from wrong are enshrined in the constitution. For example, the preamble of the South African constitution emphasises the aim to "establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights" (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: 1). The implication of such a statement is that any South African citizen who acts contrary to the promotion of the identified values can be judged to be acting in the wrong. Therefore the constitution plays a crucial role in providing a moral compass for the citizen of the nation state.

The values of the constitution may then be cascaded into the education system through the curriculum documents. Indeed, in South Africa, the contemporary curriculum documents promote values whose roots can be traced to the constitution. The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for Further Education and Training (FET) History is based on knowledge, skills and values that are worth learning. It goes further to state that school history plays a part in promoting democratic citizenship by:

> *... understanding and upholding the values of the South African Constitution; encouraging civic responsibility and responsible leadership … ; [and] promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia* (Department of Basic Education, 2011: 7).

Evidently, the role of school history is not limited to just the development of academic knowledge, but it extends to the growth of a responsible citizen who engages with what is right and wrong from the study of history. It is partly for this reason that history teachers and learners voluntarily, and sometimes involuntarily, make moral judgments as they study the past.

It is on this basis that I set out to understand the thoughts of novice History teachers with regards to making moral judgments in history. At a personal level, the findings from this small scale study are important for me to be able to critique my own thoughts on why I am in the field of history education. More importantly, at a professional level, this study was critical for me – as a history educator who trains history teachers – to be exposed to the thoughts of novice teachers who are still negotiating their own teaching based on the training that they have received. According to Gorman (2004) and Oldfield (1981) issues of making moral judgments in history are more difficult for the

novices and the expectation is that they are able to grapple with such issues as they mature more in the field. I should also add that South Africa is a post-conflict country that is still navigating new societal values after years of colonialism and Apartheid and therefore, the teachers and learners still have burning issues to deal with (Mouton, Louw & Strydom, 2012).

The debate that gripped South Africa over the removal of the statue of former Cape Colony Governor Cecil John Rhodes is ample evidence of how South African history is riddled with controversies. For example one headline read: "Cecil John Rhodes: As divisive in death as in life" (news24 Online, 2015-06-01). This national debate was dominated by opinions on whether Rhodes was a good or evil person. Using the Rhodes debacle as an example, history learners are often encouraged to learn from the past, but it should be understood that such learning would mean that they have to make moral judgments about the past if they are to learn what/who was good or bad. I therefore set up this study to find out the history topics that the novice teachers concede making moral judgments about; the reasons why they make moral judgments and the approaches they follow in doing so.

Literature review

The key concept at the focus of this study is moral judgments in history. This literature review will show that some scholars like Gorman (2004) and Gibson (2011) prefer to call them ethics in history while others deal with value judgments in history (Bentley, 2005). The debate on moral judgments is not a new one in history. In fact, it was at the epicentre of debates in history education about a century ago with Mandell Creighton and Lord Acton as the central characters. Herbert Butterfield was to join in and become another key scholar on this issue (Butterfield, 1931). As early as 1951, Child bemoaned the paucity of moral theory and singled it out as the reason for the contention between scholars such as Lord Acton and Herbert Butterfield. Child (1951) uses moral judgments and value judgments as two interchangeable concepts, but clarifies that what makes moral judgments is consideration of the human factor. In other words, it is impracticable to make moral judgments on events and institutions because they are not human. Gibson (2011:1) further endorses the argument that moral judgments should not be confused with moralising by explaining that, "To make ethical or moral judgments about individuals or a society is not the same as reporting one's

subjective responses to that morality". Therefore moral judgments are not the immediate statements of praise or blame that one makes as soon as they are exposed to particular phenomena, but are the end product of a process of historical enquiry (Oldfield, 1981). Therefore in this article, I will referring to as moral judgments what literature also refers to as value judgments or ethics judgments.

Various contentions have been identified in the debate on moral judgments in history. One of the key scholars, Lord Acton, led the school of thought that argued that historical characters (especially leaders) and events should be judged on a particular moral evaluation (Zagorin, 1998). Opposing this view was Mandell Creighton, but more so Herbert Butterfield, who argued, amongst other things that historians should not busy themselves with making moral judgments about the past (Vann, 2004). Therefore, while acknowledging the negligible neutrality there is, the debate on moral judgments has been dominated by either advocates or detractors.

One position advanced, comes from advocates for making moral judgments on historical accountability. They contend that the historian should be guided by certain professional morals and therefore should take past people to task for the decisions they made. Vann (2004) categorically states that a history teacher should take a position about the evil nature of historical experiences such as slavery and fascism, otherwise he/she might be interpreted as condoning them.

Some historians argue that it is actually impossible not to make moral judgments (Low-Beer, 1967; Gorman, 2004). Their argument is that all humans have a moral compass within them and they cannot run away from it. In fact, Tsan Tsai (2011:1) claims that "our moral and historical views are interdependent," meaning that the former influences the latter and vice versa. This would mean that it is as futile to avoid moral judgments as it is to avoid bias, regardless of our attempts. It is also argued that the language that we use is laced with evaluative implications, which makes it difficult for us to avoid moral judgments (Oldfield, 1981). Acknowledging making moral judgments therefore strengthens historical understanding because if history is about the past, present and future, then historians should take lessons from the past in order to understand the present and the perceived future.

It is crucial to understand, as Babbage (1964) notes, that the nature of history is at the centre of the debate on making moral judgments. If history is viewed as objective as scholars such as Gorman (2004) imply, then moral judgments

can be applied, but if it is subjective, then making moral judgments becomes complicated. On this basis, Butterfield (1931:1), had this to say about Lord Acton, who was a Whig historian:

> *It is the natural result of the Whig historian's habits of mind and his attitude to history – though it is not a necessary consequence of his actual method – that he should be interested in the promulgation of moral judgments and should count this as an important part of his office.*

Labelling Lord Acton according to political ideology shows how the study of history goes further than mere academic pursuit of knowledge.

The argument against making moral judgments has been based on a number of reasons. To start with is the debate over universalism and/or locality of morals. Universalism refers to moral absolutes while locality implies moral relativism (Bentley, 2005). Moral absolutes are problematic if one considers differences in that moral compasses are not based on one fundamental. Differences in, amongst other things, cultures and religions, may mean different moral compasses. It does not mean though, that people within the same culture or religion will share the same view. For example, both Herbert Butterfield and Lord Acton were Christians, – albeit the former was Protestant while the latter was Catholic – but they were not on the same side (Child, 1951). If he had to make moral judgments, Butterfield separated the historical act from the individual and emphasised that it is the act that has to be condemned and not the individual (Bentley, 2005). This was a key aspect of his debate with Lord Acton, who according to Murphy (1984) went too far with his assumptions and exaggerations.

There are also problems with quantification of what constitutes acceptable good or acceptable evil. For example, is a historical character who is responsible for the death of two people morally acceptable than one who is responsible for the death of millions of people? If one were to apply religion to moral judgments, as was done by Herbert Butterfield (whose moral compass was Protestant Christianity), then one "sinful" act can be equated to many. In other words, everyone in history is a "sinner" and can be judged negatively for some action that they took. This argument is even extended further; that no one has a right to be making moral judgments about another.

Another related issue concerns determinism versus chance in the historical process. To explain, a determinist understanding of the historical process would imply that historical agents are limited in their historical agency because fate or other forces play a part. Similarly, accepting the role of chance

in determining history means that some historical events cannot be fully attributed to historical characters (Oldfield, 1981).

Historians also have to consider presentism while making moral judgments about the past. The difference in time entails that it may be anachronistic to apply the morals of the present onto the actions of the past, especially a past during which the present-day morals did not exist. Gorman (2004) argues that whose morality forms the basis of judgement is not the issue; rather it is about admitting that historians have an obligation to use the historical narrative in order to show social responsibility of historical knowledge. Nevertheless, Gaddis (2002) maintains that our present-day values will always be within us and therefore it becomes ahistorical to try and use our values to make judgments about the past. This view is linked to the argument raised by Bentley with reference to Herbert Butterfield, that moral judgments "must itself be seen in relation to time and circumstance" (2005:67). However, the scholars against making moral judgments argue that we will never know enough about any event, which is why even eyewitnesses can come out with conflicting versions of the same event (Clark, 1967). The versions then get even more varied when later-day historians try to interpret historical sources. According to Child (1951), it is most complicated to make judgments on the motives of historical characters because they are difficult to discern.

Historians also have to negotiate teaching without indoctrination if they are to pass moral judgments. History has been a tool for indoctrination over time in the name of good morals and values which is why teachers are regularly warned not to impose their view on their classes (Richards, 2007). Therefore the scholars against making of moral judgments argue that it tampers with historical understanding. According to Vann (2004), the more the moral judgments, the weaker the historical narrative and hence the poorer the historical understanding.

Finally, according to scholars such as Oldfield, (1981), Cracraft (2004) and Megill (2004) historians should not get involved in making moral judgments since they have no training in it and, in fact, it is not really their job. Butterfield (1955:79) stresses this point by referring to the making of moral judgments as "the most useless and unproductive of all forms of reflection". This is in spite of Gorman's contention that "Historians and moral philosophers alike are able to make dispassionate moral judgments, but those who feel untrained should be educated in moral understanding" (2004:103).

Literature has shown that the voice of the school of thought against the making of moral judgments is louder than that of the advocates. Still, the debate rages on – more than a century after it started – and history teachers have to find a way to deal with it in their classrooms. Wineburg (2001) gives an example of a history class where the teacher is faced with moral ambiguity and eventually suggests three scenarios which can be used as a framework for teaching about moral judgments. The first scenario entails the teacher owning up to his moral views and speaking to the learners like a fellow human being who has views on what is good or bad. The second scenario entails involving guests to come and speak about controversial issue under discussion so that the teacher's viewed are not imposed on the learners. The third scenario is when the teacher does not offer any judgment but gives the class readings and a task so that they express their views independent of the teacher's influence. This is the framework I used in trying to understand the approaches that the novice teachers recommend for use in the history classroom.

Methodology

This was a small scale qualitative study whose focus was on revealing and understanding the thoughts of novice teachers who also happen to be enrolled for the Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) Honours degree in History Education. I therefore worked in the interpretivist paradigm with a view to understand the socially constructed reality of the thoughts of participants (De Vos *et al.,* 2005). The methodology that I employed was narrative inquiry since my focus was to gather the thoughts of the participants based on their experiences in the history classroom with relation to what they were learning in their B.Ed Honours programme. The premise on which I worked was that narrative enquiry enables the participants to manifest their thoughts through stories that they tell without my interruption (Trahar, 2009). I refer to my sample as novice teachers since they were all within their first three years of teaching experience. The participants also happened to have been exposed to and discussed issues of moral judgments in history in one of their core modules. They therefore had an idea about some of the key issues on moral judgments. Therefore I practiced convenience sampling and ended up with a sample of eight novice teachers (Denzin & Lincoln 2008; De Vos *et al*., 2005).

Employing narrative inquiry to gather data I gave the novice teachers an open ended questionnaire on which they would write their narratives in

accordance with the tenets of qualitative research. The point was to avoid interviewing them since the power dynamic between me as an academic and them as students would have interfered with the trustworthiness of the data. The questionnaire expected the participants to firstly reveal if there are themes/topics in history that they would make moral judgments on. If so, they would then have to give reasons as to why they would make moral judgments while teaching such themes. Finally they had to provide an explanation of the approach they recommended for teaching their chosen topic.

I analysed the data through a qualitative content analysis. I already had three questions which the participants answered, namely: Is there a theme/topic that you would make moral judgments on? Why would you make moral judgments on the identified theme/topic? Which approach would you recommend in teaching the identified theme taking into consideration your position on the making of moral judgments? I used the answers to these three questions as guidelines in coming up with the key themes from my analysis. Within each theme I practised open coding of the data to come up with categories that I present below.

Findings

Choice of themes/topics

All the participants agreed that they have made moral judgments and will probably keep on doing so when teaching particular topics. The themes/topics that the participants identified were as follows:

- Pseudo-scientific racism (Participant A)
- Nazism and the Holocaust (Participants C, D, E)
- The My Lai Massacre (Vietnam) (Participant B)
- Wars in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (Participant F)

There is need to explain a few issues concerning the topics that the participants chose. Pseudo-scientific racism and Nazism and the Holocaust fall under one theme in the South African School History curriculum. The choice of the My Lai Massacre was not surprising as one of the articles that we had worked with in class referred to it. It is worth noting then that the participants decided not to choose an overtly South African contentious issue. Although I did not ask them why they did not choose a South African topic this choice can be understood as avoidance of contentious issues that are directly linked

to South Africans such as Apartheid. Still worth noting is the fact that the student who chose the "Wars in the Democratic Republic of the Congo" is actually Congolese.

Reasons for topic choices

The participants gave varying reasons informed by personal, religious, legal, collective norms, social responsibility and historical consciousness. One participant can be said to have given personal reasons for her decision on the topic that she would use to teach moral judgments. For example, in reference to the Holocaust, Participant E argued that "although it happened years ago it still cannot be justified; it is acceptable to make moral judgments … as it is not okay to kill regardless of doing it as obeying orders or not". The participant did not state the moral compass for judging the immorality of the Holocaust. She also did not make a moral judgment on Hitler only but all who participated, willingly or otherwise, in the Holocaust.

One of the moral compasses given by the participants is religion. With reference to the My Lai Massacre, Participant B emphasised "questioning the act of violence" and felt that learners can use "their moral compass not only mentally but through beliefs such as 'God'". Participant A (who chose pseudo-scientific racism) argued for the importance of the "religious perspective" and Participant D (who chose the Holocaust) supported this view by pointing out that "religion can also play a big role when one would not be able to think". Although the three participants did not explicitly declare their religious affiliation, they revealed how they relied on religion in making moral judgments.

A human rights perspective also came out with two participants referring to laws and conventions. For example, Participant A, who had earlier mentioned his religious influences, stated that,

> *I feel that it is important today to make moral judgments on such inhuman behaviour and human rights violations…. It was unlawful to implement sterilisation policies on other human beings; it is against the United Nations charter of human rights.*

Still on Nazism, Participant C had this to say: "Hitler trampled on human rights on a large scale and defied conventional and ethical norms of war". Evidently the two participants prefer to refer to legal documents as their moral compasses, including human rights documents that were penned after

the said historical event.

Another perspective that emerged from the data was the reference to collective societal norms. This is evident in such a statement: "Hitler is regarded by many people today to be the embodiment of evil" (Participant C). This means that he also bases his moral judgments on what collective society says about historical events or characters. The participant goes further to show that he refers to present-day society and not necessarily the views of the society contemporary to the historical event by claiming that "Hitler's actions during WW2 is *(sic)* regarded as one of the most immoral acts by present day's society". This would mean that teachers and learners take educational standpoints on the basis of what present-day collective society says.

Social responsibility also seemed to be driving some of the participants' decisions to make moral judgments. For instance, both Participants A and B regarded it as their duty to "raise awareness" about racism and violence which they consider immoral. Meanwhile Participant F considered it her responsibility to "address social, economic, and political problems within society". The participants therefore seem to view themselves as more than teachers, but also as activists who partake in building a fairer society.

Two participants demonstrated that they had not forgotten their primary task as History teachers and they were of the view that making moral judgments actually aid historical understanding. According to Participant A, if moral judgments are made, "learners are no longer unconnected from the past and today actions". Participant C was more explicit claiming that moral judgments help learners understand:

> *... ethical issues about human nature, blind loyalty and wilful ignorance. All the concepts above are relevant to many conflicts in the world today and also to many South Africans in both apartheid and post-apartheid.*

Approaches to teaching moral judgments

I had asked the participants to state their approaches to teaching the identified topics on the pretext that their approach would show if they allowed the leaners to make judgments for themselves. This was based on Wineburg's (2001) framework of three scenarios which, as explained in the literature review, offers teachers approaches to dealing with the making of moral judgments.

The students suggested various ways of helping learners to make moral judgments. One of the main suggested strategies was the teaching of empathy. Seven of the eight participants felt that teaching empathy is a key to making moral judgments about the past. Participant D further pointed out that the use of games and role play can enhance empathy skills that in turn help develop making moral judgments. Although Participant F did not mention empathy he suggested the employment of a "leaner-centred approach" exemplified by strategies such group work whereby learners would make their own judgments as groups then report to the rest of the class.

The participants also suggested that there are other key issues that should be taught. For instance, Participant A argues that the History teacher should "make sure they *[learners]* understand the concept of democracy and the UN Charter on human rights". This shows that the participant would encourage learners to make moral judgments about the past on the basis of the present norms. Participant C who also exhibited presentism by referring to the present-day norms, however contradicted himself when he claimed that it is important to highlight "time and context" in order to "compare present and past norms".

Another strategy that was suggested is the use of "parents, peers and other unofficial sources which students can rely on" (Participant C). This reveals the thought that learners need to be guided by others in making moral judgments about the past. Only one of the participants as noted earlier seems to suggest explicit learner-centeredness. The only other similar suggestion came from Participant A who, after suggesting that the learners should learn about democracy and human rights, then suggested that the teacher should "expose learners to different sources so that they can make their own moral judgments".

Discussion

Five key points of discussion can be extrapolated from the findings presented above. The first one is that the participants stress on the importance of making moral judgments about the past since all of them gave a topic that they would make moral judgments on. Even though they did not seem to be making extreme judgments, the participants can still be argued to be falling within Lord Acton's school of thought that moral judgments should be made in studying the past. They all subscribe to Vann's (2004) view that there are

some topics on which the teacher has to make a stand. Only one suggested an alternative pedagogy of bringing in guests to class as per Wineburg's (2001) second scenario. They mostly see it as their duty to teach the learners what is good from bad which means that they would take Wineburg's (2001) first scenario where the teacher owns up to their own moral views speaks to the class not just as a teacher but a fellow human being who cannot hide their own moral compass, such as religion. While this frees up the teachers from pretending not to hold a view, the danger is that making moral judgments for the learners may end up being laced with indoctrination based on the teacher's convictions. It was evident that the participants used different moral campuses and not just the national constitutional values as endorsed in the history curriculum.

The second discussion point is that the participants find it easier to make judgments on topics distant from their lives. Only one participant was an exception – a teacher of Congolese origin choosing to make moral judgments on the wars in the DRC. This was a crucial finding in that he was, incidentally, the only participant who suggested the application of Wineburg's (2001) second scenario of bringing in guests to class. Therefore all the participants did not want to apply moral judgments on topics that they personally relate to. The choice of distant topics can be understood to be evidence of the complexity of making moral judgments or teaching controversial issues. The closer to home and more recent the issue is the more personal it becomes, hence the more contentious it is (Low-Beer, 1999). Making moral judgments about a local issue might seem like making moral judgments about yourself as well and so it is easier to choose a distant issue. This distancing can also be understood in the light of the fact that the participants also made moral judgments on both the acts and the people of the past, unlike Butterfield's (1931) suggestion to condemn just the act, if ever one had to. Judging people and not just their actions, may be more difficult if one considers that history learners tend to align themselves with historical populations (for example, some African teachers may find it difficult to condemn some Africans for participating in the slave trade).

Thirdly, the reasons that the participants gave for making moral judgments are more civic and personal than pedagogic. The weak emphasis on historical concepts such as time and context and the stronger focus on civic issues, such as raising awareness and human rights, reflect the teachers to be conducting a civic duty more than a pedagogic one. Therefore there was evidence of the

participants' own historical views being interdependent with their moral views (Tsan Tsai, 2011). Failure to link the moral judgments to historical concepts gives evidence that the participants are still struggling to come up with a balance between the two. If one considers Vann's (2004) argument, it can be claimed that since the participants emphasised a lot on moral judgments, they may teach a weak the historical narrative which can lead to poor historical understanding for their learners. This was also the crux of the argument by scholars such as Butterfield (1931), Oldfield, (1981), Cracraft (2004) and Megill (2004) that it is not the job of the historian to be focusing on moral judgments lest they neglect what they consider the more important job of the historian – historical understanding. Therefore, the findings of this research reveal a weakness of the first scenario of teachers owning up to their moral views (Wineburg, 2001).

Fourthly, it was evident that the participants are entangled in presentism. An example is the continual reference to the concept of human rights to a time before the Human Rights Charter was passed by the United Nations. Evidently, "time and circumstance" as raised by Bentley (2005) were not made adequate reference to. The findings are evidence of Gaddis' (2002) point of view on how our present-day values will always be within us and we end up using them, knowingly or otherwise. Nevertheless, the participants could justify their thoughts with Gorman's (2004) argument that it is not a major issue on whose morality history is judged as long as there is evidence of social responsibility of historical knowledge. The argument by Gorman (2004) therefore supports the view that the teacher should own up to their moral views in order to help the learners make judgments (Wineburg, 2001).

Finally regarding the teaching approaches, the participants overtly suggest learner-centeredness on one hand while covertly submitting teacher-centeredness on the other. To explain, while they acknowledge the importance of learners making decisions for themselves, they also view themselves as the more knowledgeable partner who can teach and raise awareness about human rights, fairness, violence and other social, political and economic injustices. These approaches are in contradiction since the participants seemed to be imposing their moral judgments on the learners, in spite of their claim that learner-centeredness would be the best approach. What this reflects is that they seem to realise that the contemporary South African education system emphasises learner-centeredness – and this is not surprising since they have only recently completed their teacher training. However, they are embroiled in the

tension that they also know that post-apartheid education should contribute to identifying and correcting the wrongs of the past. This tension is therefore also evident in the framework that I used for this research (Wineburg, 2001). In fact, the choice of approach is not a simple one and may be influenced by other factors such as the topic under focus, the capabilities of the teacher and the nature of the learners in question. The teacher's experience may therefore be crucial in helping them to navigate the challenges they face in dealing with moral judgments in the history classroom.

Conclusion

This small-scale study shows that debates on the making of moral judgments in history are as relevant today as they were one hundred years ago. The study set out to find out and understand the thoughts of novice teachers with regards to the making of moral judgments. The results show that the novice teachers are still grappling with this issue – something that is characteristic of their lack of experience. As far back as 1951, Child (1951) lamented the lack of theory on moral judgments in history. I argue that the participants in this study showed that, even today, novice teachers need to learn more on the theory of moral judgments. However, it is important to remember Wineburg's (2001) warning that even in the hands of an exemplary teacher, the issues at the heart of history teaching can easily take a life of their own, defying our best and most valiant attempts to fix their course. Therefore I conclude that there is a need for history teachers to be always aware of the balance between their civic responsibilities and their pedagogic duties. Indeed, moral judgments are difficult to escape, but if they are to be encouraged as a benchmark for historical literacy, teachers need to be aware of the frames of reference that they are using and their consequences.

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Content choice: A survey of history curriculum content in England since 1944. A relevant backdrop for South Africa

Kirstin Kukard
University of Cape Town
kirstinkukard@gmail.com

Abstract

What history should be taught is a question that has vexed curriculum designers from the earliest days of mass education. The question of content becomes particularly pertinent when applied to Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14) as learners are old enough to begin appreciating historical concepts and it is usually the last age at which many learners will be exposed to history in their formal schooling. Decisions about the content of history curricula themselves have a curiously circular history. Although these questions have been discussed consistently throughout the approximately one hundred years that mass schooling has been in place in England, the inferences are fairly uniform. The conclusion that has now generally been reached is that children should be exposed to a healthy balance of world and British history; that they should be patriots, but not narrow-minded in their patriotism and that the procedural nature of history must be taught alongside the substantive content. These conclusions have not been reached without considerable debate and the question of what history should be taught has particular current relevance in light of the controversy around the national curriculum reforms in Britain in 2013 and 2014. There are important lessons to be drawn for South Africa.

Keywords: History education; Curriculum development; History Content; England; Key Stage 3; Curriculum revision.

Introduction

As the Department of Basic Education currently considers the idea of making history a compulsory subject for the National Senior Certificate in response to calls from, amongst others, the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), the role of history as a tool to shape national consciousness has come to the fore. In particular, the question of what content should populate this extended compulsory syllabus is under discussion. The goal of extending the teaching of history would be specifically to expose learners to more *South African* history. It is, as expressed in the SADTU draft proposal on "The

Importance of teaching History as a compulsory subject":

> *The future preservation of our culture and heritage lies in the preservation of our heritage, culture and values through education, and that means teaching History as a compulsory subject at school level to provide a foundation of much needed celebration of our past* (SADTU, 2014:2).

Debates on the content of school history have been and are being played out in the British arena. They provide both a backdrop to and a convenient resource for the exploration of what content choice can teach South Africa as it faces similar discussions about the history curriculum.[1]

Post-war discussions of Secondary School History content: 1944-1964

In the years from 1900-1918, when history was first introduced as a school subject, the general purpose and tone was set by government publications such as *Suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others concerned with the work of Public Elementary Schools* (1905). Although these publications had a somewhat limited impact on classrooms, they set the terms of the discussion of school history which continue even today. James Wycliffe Headlam, an influential Permanent Staff Inspector of Secondary Schools at the Board of Education, made specific recommendations for the curriculum of lower secondary school age children between the ages of twelve and sixteen. His suggestions were that children should be given a chronological study of English history but that European history needed to be studied in depth in order to understand "Britain's place in the world" (Wilbur, 2008:106). It is interesting that at this early stage history was "not just about character or patriotism or citizenship, it was also about curiosity, and imagination and life-long learning" (Cannadine, 2011:25). This vision for lower secondary history (ages 11-16) would remain the pattern for recommendations by government and educationalists throughout the rest of the century.

Post World War Two, for the first time in history, secondary level schooling became a reality for more learners as the school leaving age was raised from fourteen to fifteen (Cannadine, 2011:12). This was accomplished through the Butler Act of 1944, which also split schooling into primary, secondary and further education (BoE, 1944:online). The other significant component of this legislation was the requirement for three types of secondary schooling appealing to three posited types of minds: those who were technically minded;

1 In the writing of this article, I have drawn on the history of British history education written by D Cannadine, J Keating and N Sheldon, *The right kind of History* (2011) to provide the bedrock of chronology for my analysis.

those whose powers lay in academic thought and logic, and those who needed education in "concrete things rather than ideas" (BoE, 1943:3). Children would be divided into these technical, grammar and secondary modern schools through an intelligence test taken at age eleven ("eleven plus") (BoE, 1943:15-16).

The government recommendations for history content were published in a pamphlet titled, *Teaching History* in 1952 (MoE, 1952:7). The pamphlet outlined a detailed curriculum for lower secondary school history. The recommended curriculum for grammar schools was as follows:

Table 1: *Teaching History* Grammar School Curriculum 1952

Year group	Content
11 – 12	Pre-history Ancient civilisations Medieval history
12 – 13	Tudors Stuarts
13 – 14	Eighteenth century England Some American and Empire history

Source: Adapted into table format from MoE, 1952:11.

This content would then dovetail with the required material for the School Certificate examination, written at age 16. By contrast, secondary modern schools (secondary schools for those who did not qualify to enter grammar schools) were to cover history in more "concrete" terms (MoE, 1952:11). The schools would, therefore, be more likely to follow the topical approach, for example "clothing, trade, food or government", which would allow for content to be reconciled with the present day (MoE, 1952:31). The hope was that this education would expose learners to the "sweep of history" so as to put their lives "into some kind of perspective" (MoE, 1952:13-20).

The Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools published *The teaching of History* in 1950. This book was primarily a handbook for history teachers in grammar schools, who followed a more "academic type" education (Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters, 1950:xiv). The book outlined various sample syllabuses to help history departments develop their own. Two such contrasting syllabuses are listed below:

Table 2: Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters: Syllabus A

Year group	Content
11 – 12	England before 1485
12 – 13 (Upper IV B and C)	English and European History from the Discoveries to Napoleon
12 – 13 (Upper IV A)	England and Europe in Tudor and Stuart times
13 – 15 (Lower V C)	England and Europe from Captain Cook to the present day
13-15 (Lower V B)	Europe from the Renaissance to the present day
13 – 15 (Lower VA)	England, 1688 to 1815, with a digression into American history

Source: Association of Assistant Masters, 1950:26-29.

Table 3: Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters: Syllabus B

Year Group	Content
11 to 12 (Form III)	A general outline of English history by way of biographical treatment of selected individuals.
12 to 13 (Form IVB)	1) Houses and habits: 2) The spirit of adventure and exploration
13 to 14 (Form IVA)	1) Transport through the ages 2) On earning one's living
14 to 15 (Form VB)	1) An initial sketch of the interdependence of the modern world. Man's gradual growth in organization from primitive man by himself through such important landmarks as the discovery of agriculture marking the beginning of settled communities – the Greek city-states-the Roman Empire-the feudal system. With the rise of nation-state and of a commercial class, there begins in England an opposition to the unlimited authority of the Crown. Eventually authority is transferred to the King in Parliament. With the development of the Cabinet System and the Industrial Revolution there comes a great transference of power in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to an educated democracy based on adult suffrage. 2) The lesson of the American Revolution was learned and there grew up a Second British Empire based on full self-government culminating in the Statute of Westminster, 1931, and the co-operation of the great dominion in the War of 1939-1945. 3) Meanwhile there have been various experiments in international co-operation e.g. the Congress System, the League of Nations, U.N.O.

Source: Association of Assistant Masters, 1950:38-39.

The aims of syllabus A were outlined as being to:

> *Encourage an awareness of man's achievements in the past, a lively interest in at least some features of that story, and a fuller understanding of the social, economic and political set-up of the modern world* (Association of Assistant Masters, 1950:29).

As can be seen in the difference in detail between the topics outlined for Lower V B and C versus Lower V A in syllabus A, the higher ability learners were exposed to a greater range of topics. The content outlined for the Lower IVA and VA shows a focus on political and economic rather than social histories. This shows the general view of history as being about the actions of the politically powerful. The lower set classes were focussed on making links with understanding the present day, which reflected the trend in thinking that history needed to be linked with modern experience in order to be useful. The variety in topics between the various history sets shows that learners could have a very varied experience of history even within one school. The streaming of learners amongst different kinds of schools and within schools showed a presumption that there were certain topics in history which could only be dealt with by the brightest of learners, which was underpinned by the Norwood Report. This idea would continue to influence history syllabuses until the progressive education movement gained greater influence in the 1960s and 1970s.

The overarching trajectory of syllabus A for all learners was chronological, moving from Ancient history to the present day. The syllabus focussed on British history across all of the ability groups. Although there was a substantial focus on the history of America, the other colonies received only cursory attention; European and world history was only covered in so far as it related to British history. Syllabus B contrasts quite sharply with syllabus A. It makes use of the "lines of development" approach in all of the classes whereas syllabus A focussed on a more traditional chronological narrative. syllabus B is also different in that it makes no distinction amongst different sets of history classes; all learners are therefore taught the same history. There were no explicit aims outlined for syllabus B, but they are embedded in the syllabus itself in the language of clear narrative and "lessons" that have been learnt. The aims could easily have been the same as syllabus A, but they are reached through simpler narrative. Both syllabuses, however, show evidence of a very British history bias and a tendency to overload learners with content. The lack of focus on world history for its own sake reveals an Anglo-centric view of history which correlated with Britain's sense of its precarious position

after the end of the war.

Both sample syllabuses show a correspondence with the topics as recommended by the government pamphlet, *Teaching History. The teaching of History* was published in 1950 and predates the pamphlet. The government recommendations were therefore reinforcing what was already happening in schools rather than trying to radically alter and impose new ways of doing things.

The Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) to be written at age 16 by the 40% of learners below the top 20% was introduced in 1963 and first written in 1965 (Gillard, 2012:online). The top 20% would take the General Certificate of Education at Ordinary Level (O-Level). The inspectors continued to report that there was too much content being covered in secondary schools and that the teaching was overly focussed on preparing learners for their public examinations. For most learners, their experience of history was almost entirely British. Even in secondary modern schools, where many pupils were not expected to take these external examinations, the curriculum still often tended towards a "watered down" version of the kind of intensive grammar school curriculum seen above. For most eleven to fourteen year olds, history was still filled with minutiae of British history often without any real understanding of the significance of the facts being learnt (Cannadine, 2011:127-135).

The influence of the Schools Council History Project: 1964-1979

The decline of the British Empire and the new era of European cooperation generated renewed discussions around how British national history should be taught in schools. During the 1960s and 1970s, there was a movement towards comprehensive secondary schools and away from the tripartite division of schooling according to aforementioned "eleven plus" examinations (Cannadine, 2011:141-143).

The Newsom Report, published in 1963, made recommendations for the weaker learners over the age of eleven. The Report highlighted that learners in this category should not be overloaded with content which would have no relevance to their later working lives. As such, any history taught should be focussed on the relatively recent figures and events (MoE, 1963:164). This would hopefully serve the goal of setting ordinary minds "real world of human problems" (MoE, 1963:165). This view corresponded with the approach taken

in syllabus A discussed above. Another Department of Education publication, *Towards World History* (1967) argued that secondary schools needed to teach British history so as to avoid weakening a "sense of national consciousness" (MoE, 1967:4). It did, however, also advocate that more world history needed to be taught to acknowledge the reality that "twentieth century history *is* world history" (MoE, 1967:16.) The concern of this new approach becoming unwieldy in the breadth of its content was mitigated by recommendations to study only a selected range of topics. The major contrast between these two publications and those of the 1950s was a recognition that the history syllabus needed to appeal to a wide range of learner ability rather than being differentiated between higher and lower ability learners.

A significant turning point was Mary Price's 1968 article, "History in Danger" (Price, 1968:342-347). It highlighted the possibility that history would become diluted out of the comprehensive schooling curriculum in favour of broader humanities approaches. Price argued that, as much history teaching was still "excruciatingly, dangerously, dull, and what is more, of little apparent relevance to learners", its place in the curriculum would need to be increasingly defended (Price, 1968:344). In terms of curriculum content, she also argued the relevance of history for learners would only be achieved through allowing a correct balance of world and British history. If not, history education would not actually help to "explain the world which the child is to enter" (Price, 1968:345). As Britain is "part of one world... the centre of gravity must shift and the drama be shown as played on a bigger stage" (Price, 1968:345). Price's recommendations therefore echo those made by earlier educationalists that the focus on British history needed to be tempered with a real understanding of world history.

The Curriculum Study Group was set up in 1962 and later became the Schools Council for the Curriculum and Examinations (Cannadine, 2011:138). The Schools Council History Project (SCHP) had been set up in 1972 to create a history syllabus for comprehensive schools for learners aged 13 – 16 (Shemilt, 1980:1). After four years of experimenting with new approaches to history teaching, "experimental" O Levels and CSEs were written in 1976 (Shemilt, 1980:83). In *A New Look at History* published in 1976, the SCHP gave an outline of its approaches to history teaching and curriculum development. As the programme was focussed on learners aged 13 – 16, much of the initial work done by the SCHP is not entirely relevant to my discussion of content for learners aged 11 – 14. However, the general approach taken by the project

was so influential that it had a major long-term impact on the teaching of lower secondary learners.

A New Look at History picked up on the concerns for the relevance of history in the curriculum as expressed in Mary Price's article (Price, 1968). Five "needs of learners" which can be met through history education were outlined. According to SCHP, learners have:

1. The need to understand the world in which they live.
2. The need to find their personal identity by widening their experience through the study of people of a different time and place.
3. The need to understand the process of change and continuity in human affairs.
4. The need to begin to acquire leisure interests.
5. The need to develop the ability to think critically, and to make judgements about human situations (SCHP, 1976:12).

The possible syllabuses used these needs as a framework for what kind of history should be covered. History would help to expand learners' views of "what it meant to be human because it forges connections and explores differences at one and the same time" (Shemilt, 1980:3). This was possible because through history education learners have "access to a vast pool of real human experience" (SCHP, 1976:13). These goals were fundamentally different to the goals of previous educationalists and government reformers. Whereas in the past, the teaching of history had been seen as a means to impart knowledge about what had happened in the past, SCHP history was more interested in learners understanding the "nature of the subject" (Shemilt, 1980:4).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Piaget provided a challenge to history teaching as it was argued by some that rigorous historical thought was not possible in learners under 15 (Cannadine, 2011:159). Any work which was "over-abstract in form" (Hallam, 1970:170) or required learners to hypothesise or generalise was beyond younger learners (SCHP, 1976:9). The SCHP syllabuses therefore suggested concretised versions of history in particular through using "studies in development" on a particular topic, such as medicine (SCHP, 1976:43-44). Learners would be able to understand chronology in terms of one concrete area rather than in the traditional overloaded chronological overview. The syllabus also included a "study in depth" of a past period (SCHP, 1976:46). This component allowed learners to understand change from the more distant past to the present. However, it would also allow learners to develop ideas of "empathy" and focus on strengthening skills in using evidence and "the

exercise of enquiry skills" through working with primary sources (SCHP, 1976:46). Although these ideas were not new to history teaching, as could be seen in syllabus B outlined above, the SCHP was the first to formalise this approach for the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) examination. This meant that the "lines of development" approach would replace the frantic cramming of content which was generally the experience of learners at CSE level.

In terms of the recommended content for 11 – 14 year olds, the SCHP provided possible schemes of work for 13 year olds, as this age group fell within their area of research. Here is one example of the suggested syllabuses:

Table 4: Schools History Project: Syllabus A

Year 13 -14	*Uses for Pupils*	*Framework*	*Example of Content*
Term 1	It helps pupils to develop analytical skills and to see what history is.	Introductory course	"What is history?"
Term 2	It helps pupils to understand people of a different time and place.	Enquiry in Depth	Either Ancient Egypt Or Edwardian Britain Or Russia 1905 – 1924
Term 3	It helps pupils to understand their present world.	Either Studies in Modern World History Or Studies in local history	Two of the following: 1. The United Nations Organisation and the sample studies of some of its problems and activities 2. World War II and a divided Europe 3. New States in Africa Industries, Communications, Recreational Facilities (football, theatre etc.)

Source: SCHP, 1976:29-30.

These sample syllabuses were devised with the goal of being somewhat self-contained; this 13 – 14 age group was the last before learners could choose

to drop history for their CSE or Ordinary (O)-Level examinations, but for many it would also be the first year of secondary schooling (SCHP, 1976:28). The SCHP was clear that each history department would need to tackle the problems of developing an appropriate syllabus according to their own particular circumstances (SCHP, 1976:28). The looseness of the content recommendations for the SCHP syllabus is in part attributable to their understanding of history as a "heap of materials which survives from the past" (SCHP, 1976:36). The notion of history as a "body of knowledge structured on chronology" which could be passed on to learners was criticised (SCHP, 1976:36). The SCHP recommendations did, however, include a balance of British history, such as "The Making of the British landscape" and true world (as opposed to just European) history, such as in the studies of the Aztecs or "new states in Africa" (SCHP, 1976:29, 31).

A comparison of the syllabus recommendations of the Assistant Masters Association in 1975 with the 1950 edition is instructive. Whereas the 1950 publication provided nine detailed sample syllabuses for schools to emulate, the 1975 edition simply laid out principles for how to approach the creation of a syllabus (Assistant Masters Association, 1975:12-13). The traditional chronological scheme outlined in the 1950 publication, which "ranges from early civilisation to the second world war" was still seen in 1975 as being "well-tried" and effective when well-taught (Assistant Masters Association, 1975:16). However, this view was tempered by a concern that the chronological approach generally left out important events in global history and focussed too heavily on British history (Assistant Masters Association, 1975:16). The recurrent problem of giving learners a solid grounding in their own country's history versus exposing them to vastly different cultures was raised as "teachers no longer have the confidence that it is British history that matters" (Assistant Masters Association, 1975:17).

> *It has been well argued that people that were highly civilised when all our fathers worshipped sticks and stones are usually mentioned in European books only when they happen to have a quarrel with emissaries of some European country* (Assistant Masters Association, 1975:18).

There was therefore an increasing recognition that learners needed to be exposed to world history for its own sake rather than simply for its bearing on British history (Assistant Masters Association, 1975:18). The shift in these concerns reveals the general shift in thinking about world history which had taken place in the years from 1950 to 1975.

Although many learners were being exposed to history in new and exciting ways, concerns about perceived lowered standards in education produced early calls for stricter government control and standards of accountability for teachers (Cannadine, 2011:178). The Prime Minister, James Callaghan, announced in a speech in 1976 at Ruskin College in Oxford that there would be a "great debate" around the question of a core curriculum and for assessing the competence of teachers (Keaton & Sheldon, 2011:12). The debate took place in the form of a series of regional conferences with employers, parents, trade unions, teachers and other interested parties. The stage was set for Margaret Thatcher's Tory government (1979-1991) to try that which had never been attempted before and introduce a national curriculum.

History in the National Curriculum: Origins

During Margaret Thatcher's period as Prime Minister, history came under new pressures as the government began setting the standards rather than allowing the curriculum to be at the discretion of individual teachers and schools. Thatcher's aims of stopping "the rot of national decline" and hoping to make Britain once again into a great nation meant that she would target history. She viewed history as a straightforward, uplifting, important "account of what happened in the past" as a story of imperial greatness and progress which should therefore be understood in terms of monarchs, politicians and important events (Cannadine, 2011:182).

In 1988, the external General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) was written for the first time. It also saw the establishment of the National Curriculum for three core subjects (English, Mathematics and Science) and seven foundation subjects, including history. The first three Key Stages would be assessed in Benchmark Tests at ages seven, eleven and fourteen. Key Stage 4 would be assessed in the GCSE (ages 14 – 16) (Phillips, 1998:4). Baker, the Education Minister who oversaw the changes, was interested in history as a means of providing a "timeline from whenever you started whether it was pre-Roman Britain or Roman Britain up to today" so as to give children "an idea of the continuum of history" (Baker, 1993:167-168). He was sceptical of the value of the so-called skills approach, the focus on source work, brief periods in depth and child-centered learning and therefore called a History Working Group (January 1989-April 1990) to develop a curriculum for his vision of history, which should be at least half British history (Cannadine, 2011:194).

Although the History Working Group appointed amended their recommendations in the Final Draft to include a greater chronological focus and increased the ratio of British to world history, it steadfastly refused to make knowing particular content the chief goal of history assessment (Phillips, 1998:69). The National Curriculum would contain a programme of study which would carry "statutory force" in which the attainment targets would test "historical understanding and skills," not content (DES, 1990:8). The attainment targets were laid out in vast detail, but at the most simplified level they are summarised as:

> Attainment Target 1: Understanding history in its setting;
>
> Attainment Target 2: Understanding points of view and interpretations of history;
>
> Attainment Target 3: Acquiring and evaluating historical information;
>
> Attainment Target 4: Organising and communicating the results of historical study (DES, 1990:5).

Balance was provided in the optional history study units through the choice of another British area, one European, one American and one non-Western area of study. However, the Working Group was definite in their assertion that, while British history has been placed "at the centre" of the content recommendations, this does not mean that it should be seen as "pivotal" (DES, 1990:17). The curriculum therefore continued in the long tradition begun in the early 20th century that, while school history should focus on British history, it should leave learners with a notion of Britain in the context of the world. The recommendations followed fairly closely on the kind of syllabus envisioned by Headlam and other early reformers. There were early concerns that the curriculum was overloaded with content, but the general feeling was that the recommendations would provide an "acceptable framework" if teachers were allowed room to interpret and adapt the curriculum to their particular school context (Slater, 1991:22; 25).

The first National Curriculum for History (1991)

The National Curriculum for History was ratified in the Statutory Orders of March 1991. However, the next Education Minister, Kenneth Clarke, made a fundamental change in that history was not compulsory until age 16, but that either history "or" geography needed to be taken for GSCE (Guyver, 2012:160). This change went against the carefully ordered curriculum of the

National Working Group and resulted in a far more superficial covering of many topics. It also resulted in many topics in the 20th century being repeated for Key stage 3, GCSE and Advanced (A)-Levels (examinations written at age 18) (Cannadine, 2011:197). The decision resulted in many issues for history teaching in England down the line.

The core study units remained mostly unchanged, with the exception of the tacked on 20th century study into the Second World War. The overloaded Working Group recommendations had been dramatically slimmed down, particularly with regard to the Optional History Study Units, which were now known as Supplementary Study Units. Whereas the original recommendations would have seen all learners covering one topic on non-Western civilisations, one European, one British, one American and one local area of study, the new requirements meant that the balance of world and British history had shifted even more towards a British-focussed curriculum.

Revisions to the National Curriculum for History (1995-2007)

The revised National Curriculum for History, which was published in 1995, saw The Roman Empire and the depth study in British history being dropped as units for Key Stage 3 (11 – 14 years) (DFE, 1995:10). The idea of Supplementary Study Units was dropped and all topics became compulsory. The unit on the Second World War was broadened to be "The Twentieth century world" (DFE, 1995:10). The unit on a "turning point in history before 1914" remained as did the unit on "A past non-European society" (DFE, 1995:10). On balance, the ratio of British to world history had remained much the same.

The next revision to the National Curriculum for History came in 1999. Here, more space was given to world history. An additional unit on "a world study after 1900" replaced the unit on "The twentieth-century world" (DfEE, 1999:22). This unit could cover an individual, event or development (DfEE, 1999:22). These areas could be British, but the balance of the examples was of non-British figures or events. The examples outlined for the unit on "A world study before 1900" included a wider range of example topics including "the West African empires, Japan under the Shoguns, Tokugawa Japan, the Phoenicians, the Maoris, Muhammad and Makkah, the empires of Islam in Africa, the Sikhs and the Mahrattas, the Zulu kingdoms" (DfEE, 1999:23). These topics generally reflected the histories of the increasingly diverse British

immigrant population and Tony Blair's New Labour (1997-2007) focus on the "ethnic minorities and the disadvantaged" (Cannadine, 2010:190). The Labour concern with social justice was also expressed in the inclusion of "the changing role and status of women, the extension of the franchise in Britain, the origins and role of the United Nations, including the UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights" in the "world study after 1900" unit (DfEE, 1999:23). Although none of the examples listed here were compulsory, and there was always a more conservative and euro-centric option, the increase in the range of examples listed showed a shift in British thinking towards a more inclusive version of being British.

The 2007 curriculum revision took into account the Ajegbo Report on citizenship. It required "cultural, ethnic and religious diversity" to be built into the curriculum development (Ajegbo, 2007:38). More attention was paid to the historical impact of migration both to and from the British Isles and the conflict-solving role of European and international institutions. In particular, the slave trade and the Holocaust were expected to be dealt with in some detail (Cannadine, 2011:201).

Most recent curriculum revisions of the National Curriculum and the History Curriculum (2011-2014)

In 2011, the Department for Education appointed an expert panel to review the National Curriculum. A reworking of the curriculum in its entirety was begun. The goal was to "slim down the statutory requirements for schools" so that schools can be "given freedom over the curriculum" (DfE, 2011:6). The language of the curriculum revision is very much that of devolving the responsibility of the content of the curriculum back to schools. However, the central concern is still "to raise standards" (DfE, 2013b: n.p.) The panel outlined its aims to limit the National Curriculum to simply, "the essential knowledge (facts, concepts, principles and fundamental operations)" (DfE, 2011:6). These ideas of giving greater freedom to schools whilst heightening expectations of raised standards seem to be somewhat contradictory. The idea of "essential knowledge" is a problematic one for history and, as has been discussed, had always proved very difficult to pin down. It would remain a controversial issue in the formation of the new curriculum for history.

The revisions of the history curriculum have been contentious in the public sphere. Michael Gove, The Education Secretary, argued that too many children

were finishing compulsory education "lacking the most basic knowledge of the past because existing syllabuses had been stripped of core content" (Patton, 2011: online). Gove said that the need was for history to be reformed to ensure that "GCSE and the national curriculum are better aligned... so that our learners have a better understanding of the linear narrative of British history and Britain's impact on the world and the world's impact on Britain" (Gove in Vasagar, 2011:online). These concerns were raised in light of studies on the GCSE examination.

> *For AQA [The Examinations board], 92% of pupils studied either the American west or Germany 1919-1945 while just 8% chose British history for in-depth study. In the Edexcel exam board's version, only 4% chose Britain for their in-depth study while 96% did either Germany or the Wild West* (Vasagar, 2011:online).

Although these concerns were centred on the GCSE examination, Gove also expressed concern that "for those who leave the subject behind earlier, the picture must surely be bleaker still" (Gove in Patton, 2011: online). The history syllabus was therefore to be radically reformed. The recurring concerns about a lack of historical content being taught had been revived. The responses of learners in the study Gove references showed that "Almost twice as many learners thought Nelson was in charge at the Battle of Waterloo as named Wellington, while nine learners thought it was Napoleon" and "almost 90 per cent of the learners could not name a single British Prime Minister from the 19th century" (Patton, 2011: online). The underlying assumption was therefore still that learners who have mastered history have mastered a particular set of content. These questions were multiple-choice and in no way would have tested the learners' ability to reason and "do" history in the way that the curriculum had taught them. While it may be considered regrettable that learners' general knowledge of history was not sound, the comments Gove makes reveal a fundamentally different view of what constitutes a history education, one that revives the so-called "knowledge" side of "the knowledge versus skills" debate.

The first draft of the new history National Curriculum (2013) created a furore in the media and amongst historians and educationalists. In pursuing his goal of "rigour", Gove's new history curriculum had become dense and almost entirely British-focussed. One of the key aims of history as it was to "know and understand the story of these islands: how the British people shaped this nation and how Britain influenced the world" (DfE, 2013a:165). I have quoted the broad outline of the content to be studied at Key Stage 3 Level:

The development of the modern nation

- Britain and her Empire;
- the Enlightenment in England;
- The struggle for power in Europe from the French Revolution to the Congress of Vienna;
- The struggle for power in Britain;
- The High Victorian era;
- The development of a modern economy;
- Britain's global impact in the 19th century;
- Britain's social and cultural development during the Victorian era;
- The twentieth century;
- Britain transformed;
- The First World War;
- The 1920s and 1930s;
- The Second World War;
- Britain's retreat from Empire;
- The Cold War and the impact of Communism on Europe;
- The Attlee Government and the growth of the welfare state;
- The Windrush generation, wider new Commonwealth immigration, and the arrival of East African Asians;
- Society and social reform, including the abolition of capital punishment, the legalisation of abortion and homosexuality, and the Race Relations Act;
- Economic change and crisis, the end of the post-war consensus, and governments up to and including the election of Margaret Thatcher;
- Britain's relations with Europe, the Commonwealth, and the wider world, the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall (DfE, 2013a:169-171).

What is particularly significant is that the attainment targets had been reworked to require that "By the end of each key stage, pupils are expected to know, apply and understand the matters, skills and processes specified in the relevant programme of study" (DfE, 2013a:165). Although skills are included here, the primary outline in the various programme of study is of a list of content points to be studied. As such, this curriculum demonstrated a return to the idea of history as a "narrative" of what had happened and the way for it to be assessed as factual recall.

The responses from the public were vehemently against the curriculum. In particular, there was a concern about the "Anglo-centric" nature of the content, its almost entirely political focus, as well as the overloaded content outline (Mansell, 2013:online). It was classed as being "old-fashioned" and more akin to the curriculum of the grammar schools of the 1950s (Boffey, 2013:online).

The Historical Association (HA) went about gathering responses through holding forums across England with over 500 teachers, an online forum with over 100 written responses and an online poll with over 1600 responses. They also made national curriculum the focus of the HA annual in-depth survey of history teaching in secondary schools as well as carrying out a short survey of primary teacher's responses to the draft curriculum (HA, 2013:online). The responses were overwhelmingly critical of the draft curriculum with "only 4% responding that the proposed curriculum was a positive change" (HA, 2013:online). The detailed response entered by the Historical Association argued forcefully that the outlined content would not achieve the aims of the curriculum (HA, 2013:online). Rather than providing the "freedom" which the curriculum reform had promised, the history curriculum "constrains teachers more than ever" (HA, 2013:online). Through alluding to the history of the national curriculum itself and the pitfalls that had been overcome in the past, the Historical Association response made it very clear that the draft curriculum did not learn from the strengths of the previous national curriculum and was a massive step backwards (HA, 2013:online).

The concerns raised by the Historical Association were echoed by, among others, Sir David Cannadine, the primary author of *The right kind of History* (2011). This work is a detailed history of history education in England. He argued that revising the national curriculum would not necessarily solve the problems facing history education in England. Cannadine believed that the national curriculum in its 2007 form had as good a balance of content as could be expected, as it covered a "long, sequential span of the nation's history from the early times to the present" while leaving "ample provision for European history across a similarly broad span and of the history of the world beyond" (Cannadine, 2011:233). He urged instead for a review of the time allowed in the curriculum for history teaching and a decision to extend history as a compulsory subject until age 16 (Cannadine, 2011:236). Cannadine's overarching recommendation to reformers of the curriculum was that they need to pay attention to the history of history education before setting out to change things (2011:229-230). This seems to have gone largely unheard by Gove and those who drew up the draft curriculum. It is not surprising then that Cannadine's voice joined the chorus of criticism against the draft curriculum (Mansell, 2013:online).

Given the dissatisfaction with the draft history curriculum, Gove had no choice but to order the redraft of the curriculum (Mansell, 2013:online). The

revised curriculum was much more closely based on the previous national curriculum. The long lists of specific content were now included as examples rather than requirements (Mansell, 2013:online). The core topics for study for Key Stage 3 are:

- The development of the church, state and society in Medieval Britain (1066-1509);
- The development of the church, state and society in Britain (1509-1745);
- Ideas, political power, industry and empire: Britain (1745-1901);
- Challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider world (1901 to the present day);
- A local history study;
- The study of an aspect or theme in British history that consolidates and extends pupil's chronological knowledge from before 1066;
- A study of at least one significant society or issue in world history and its interconnections with other world developments (DfE, 2014:2-5).

The only specified content for these is that the Holocaust needs to be taught in the section on "Challenges for Britain" (DfE, 2014:4). The new curriculum was therefore essentially an about turn on the part of the government and was met with approval. It again allows for a balance of local, national and world history and provides more freedom for teachers.

Conclusion: Lessons for South Africa

In his 2012 paper critiquing the new Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) document for Further Education and Training History, Peter Kallaway argues, much as David Cannadine has done, that effective revision of the history curriculum in South Africa requires a careful study of the history of history education in the country (Kallaway, 2012:31). One should also question any underlying purpose put forward in curriculum documents or any echo in SADTU's call for history to be compulsory that the history classroom's purpose is to "politically inculcate contemporary values" (Kallaway, 2012:28). If under apartheid, history was used to bolster the underlying ideologies of the policy, it is dangerous to use the history classroom unquestioningly in a similar way to provide support for vested interests in South Africa today (Kallaway, 2012:28, 30). Although history is perhaps the most inescapably ideological school subject, the major problem of using it so blatantly to serve the current political ideology is that it will produce narrow history teaching, which cannot do justice to either its substantive or procedural nature.

The ideas of the British Schools Council History Project revolutionised the purpose of history education as not simply the learning of a chronological narrative, but rather "the active and engaged exploration of the structure and forms of historical knowledge, using concepts and attendant processes" (Counsell, 2011:207-217). Writers such as Michael Young argue for a return to a view of subjects as drawing on disciplinary concepts which need to be sequenced, selected and organised according to "pedagogic criteria" (Young, 2013:109). History is not merely the selection of a narrative sequence of facts which will bolster either the "celebratory version of British past" (Counsell, 2011:201) which Gove tried to engender through his British only curriculum, or the "celebration" of South Africa's past called for by SADTU (2014:2). Gove's concern about a lack of knowledge of certain facts of British history is echoed in SADTU's concern that young South Africans cannot explain about the "brutal murder of Dingaan and the history of Shaka" (2014:6). However, good history teaching allows learners to understand how histories are created through an understanding of different interpretations rather than the imparting of a particular national story (Counsell, 2014:12 July). Although many history teachers in South Africa would hope that the learners in their classes would be less judgemental, less racist and sexist and better able to understand the world around them, this is not the "primary purpose" of history education.

The initial denial of history as a subject in place of the learning area of the Social Sciences in *Curriculum 2005* was defended by the ANC because "the Nationalists had always needed history to shore up at times a precarious position. The ANC's never been in such a precarious position since 1994, so it's got less of a need" (Grundlingh (2010) in Siebörger, 2012:147). The "liberationist" aims of *Curriculum 2005* (Siebörger, 2012:147) reflected the belief that radical politics should be expressed through radical education (Young, 2012:online). Perhaps the urgency of the current discussion about making history a compulsory FET subject (i.e. beyond the current compulsory age in South Africa and England) reflects a shift in the ANC's unassailable position and an increasing need for a story to enhance the goal of nation building. Although history does possess the power to do this, it seems doubtful whether SADTU's conception of history as being "taught in unbiased way that presents all the facts as they happened" (SADTU, 2014:3) (the caveat to this being that the unbiased version is the one which SADTU ANC approves) could be achieved. Instead, history is at risk as being a political football in a game where those best qualified to regulate it: history educationalists, historians and history teachers, are excluded.

The discussion of history as a compulsory subject as taught in England reveals that many of the debates that rage in South Africa around content versus skills, the role of history as forming national consciousness and the question of balancing world and national history are not unique. At the *Schools History Project Annual Conference*[2] in July 2014, there was a spirit of exultation amongst both teachers and educationalists at the overturning of what was perceived as government meddling (and ignorance) in the first draft of the 2013 National Curriculum. In particular, there was a strong sense that history should not be allowed to serve a purely instrumental purpose in engendering national pride. In terms of the method of teaching, the importance of maintaining the link to history as a discipline which allows for interpretation was stressed; in terms of content, there was a clear sense that there needed to be a balance between British and world history in order to give learners an even-handed sense of their own position in the world. The presence of a strong community of educationalists, teachers and historians in the discussions around history curriculum in Britain has ensured that the government's curriculum revisions do not take place without considerable public debate.

The calls for history to be a compulsory subject in South Africa provide opportunities for the history community of South Africa to engage with a similar discussion around the role of history in this country, but also to consider afresh what the principles are by which curriculum content is chosen, given the circular patterns so evident in this survey and the many lessons to be learned about political interference.

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The integration of cell phone technology and poll everywhere as teaching and learning tools into the school History classroom

Pieter Warnich
School of Human and Social Sciences for Education
NWU (Potchefstroom Campus)
pieter.warnich@nwu.ac.za

Clare Gordon
Final year B.Ed History student
NWU (Potchefstroom Campus)
pieter.warnich@nwu.ac.za

To prepare kids for their future, we need to start speaking the language of kids. They're using this stuff anyway - let's teach them how to use it productively.

(Matt Cook, a teacher near Texas)

Abstract

In recent years there has been a growing amount of research concerned with integrating mobile technologies for teaching and learning purposes. In spite of the rapid proliferation of the cell phone as an indispensable mobile tool in the lives of 21st century teachers and learners, it remains a banned item in many schools and (History) classrooms. As a result cell phone technology, such as its Short Message Service (SMS) texting function in combination with the Audience Response System (ARS), Poll Everywhere, has not been extensively explored as teaching and learning tools in the school classroom.

The purpose of this article is to, through a small scale pilot study, explore and assess how the ARS, Poll Everywhere (www.polleverywhere.com), which is based on the cell phone's SMS function, can be integrated into History lessons to support and enhance the teaching and learning experience of secondary school learners. The article furthermore aims to establish the perceptions and attitudes of History learners (n=52), as well as the experience of the teacher after having had a first-time opportunity to integrate SMS technology and Poll Everywhere into their lessons.

The results indicate among others that although most of the participants singled out data charges as the biggest possible hindrance to its utilisation, the overwhelming majority had positive perception levels about the integration of cell phone technology and the Poll Everywhere application into their History class. The experiences of the teacher who presented the lessons were positive as well as negative in nature.

Keywords: Cell phones; SMS; Poll Everywhere; History teaching and learning; Mobile technologies; M-learning.

Introduction

Although recent years have seen a growth in the amount of research concerned with integrating mobile technologies for teaching and learning purposes (Blanche, O'Bannon & Thomas, 2014; Keengwe & Bhargava, 2013; Nuray, Hanci-Karademirci, Kursun & Cagiltay, 2012; Rau, Gao & Wu, 2008), the utilisation of basic cell phone technology to assist teachers in teaching, assessing and direct learning is still regarded as a relatively new phenomenon (cf. UNESCO, 2012:29; Nielsen & Webb, 2011:xiii, 6). This is notwithstanding the fact that cell phones are becoming increasingly more affordable and accessible to everyone in developed as well as developing countries. Recent data by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) indicate that of the estimated seven billion people on earth, over six billion now have access to mobile phones (compared to the 4.5 billion who have access to working toilets)(UNESCO, 2014:16).

Most of the low-tech cell phones (the so-called dumb phones) come with basic features such as a camera, clock, calendar, calculator and to-do list that can in one way or another be utilised to support classroom instruction. Additionally, cell phones offer a value texting (SMS) option that can serve as an important feature in the History class, especially in combination with the free online Audience Response System (ARS), Poll Everywhere. When utilised as combined teaching and learning technology resources, they support learner to content, learner to learner and learner to teacher interaction. Furthermore, it can support a more active, learner-centred and differentiated learning environment that contributes to increased student motivation (Markett, Sánchez, Weber & Tangney, 2006:281).

Despite the advantages these two technologies offer, Ertmer and Ottenbreit-Leftwich (2010:255) believe that the appropriate leverage of technology as an instructional tool has not yet come into its own in facilitating the teaching and learning process. They propose that a mind-shift for teachers is necessary so as to adjust their traditional pedagogic practices. Various reasons can be found in literature for teachers' perceived reticence and hesitance about integrating technology into their classroom instruction. The main obstacle for History teachers in the United Kingdom, for example, integrating technology is finding enough time to plan and explore its use (Haydn, 2001:7), while the majority of teachers in the rural communities of South Africa are concerned about an increased workload (Makoe, 2013:598). Other concerns which are often associated with the integration of new technologies are: the fear

of change, lack of training and expertise, motivation, teaching beliefs, self-efficacy, and the school culture (Makoe, 2013:589,599-560; Ertmer & Ottenbreit-Leftwich, 2010:255; Haydn & Barton, 2008:446; Bitner & Bitner, 2002:95100).

Cell phones in schools: An overview

A short overview follows to determine the degree to which History teachers abroad and in South Africa have had the opportunity to integrate the technology that cell phones offer in their classroom instruction. The utilisation of Poll Everywhere as a teaching and learning resource, for example, is dependent on the availability of cell phones and their SMS option.

Despite their greater accessibility and affordability as well as their increased capabilities to support and enhance the teaching and learning experience, cell phones are outlawed in many schools. They are generally seen as a disruptive force which distracts learners' attention from the teaching and learning process when they ring during class or when text messages are sent. It furthermore creates concerns about learners become involved with activities such as cheating, visiting inappropriate websites, "sexting", and engaging in cyber-bulling (Blanche *et al.*, 2014:16; Clark, 2012; UNESCO, 2012:18; Thomas & Orthobert, 2011:58-59). These concerns support Wei and Leung's (1999:20) research, which confirms that classrooms are understood to be among the least acceptable places for using mobile phone technology. All these sentiments are largely the reason why school policies internationally and locally have in many instances adopted a zero-tolerance attitude towards it.

In the United States, where 87% of high school learners possess cell phones (Pew Research Internet Project, 2014), a 1997 regulation still applies today. It rules that "the possession or use of cellular telephones by students within school buildings is prohibited" (Pounds, 2010). While 69% of the schools have adhered to the ban (Johnson, 2010), others have relaxed it to a degree by allowing their high school learners to carry cell phones during the day on condition that they are not used or seen during class hours (Pounds, 2010). Some schools are prepared to allow the use of cell phone technology in classes provided that the teacher has asked permission in advance with an explanation of what will be done and why it is necessary (Watters, 2011; Johnson, 2010). In some cases where schools started to realise the value of cell phones as a teaching and learning tool they have lifted the ban by allowing teachers to

incorporate the use of the cell phone into their lessons (Higgins, 2013; Katz, 2013; Earl 2012; Nielsen & Webb, 2011:4, 6).

In the case of the United Kingdom, where over 90% of the teenagers are in possession of a mobile phone, there is still a "policy vacuum" regarding their use in schools (Beland & Murphy, 2015:3; Barkham & Moss, 2012), which has left the onus on individual schools to decide which practice is best for them. The debate on whether or not learners should take their phones to school gained new momentum as current research done by the Centre for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics and Political Science indicated an improvement of 6,4% in the test results of 16-year old learners at those schools that had banned mobile phones (Beland & Murphy, 2015:3). By 2012 some 98% of the schools were disallowing phones on their school premises or required them to be handed in at the start of each school day (Doward, 2015). A few other schools tolerate them on the school grounds provided they are switched off and put away (Clark, 2012). In some schools cell phones are permitted in classes at the teacher's discretion, with punitive measures being taken when misused (Barkham & Moss, 2012).

Where policy in Canada once unilaterally dictated that cell phones should be switched off and put away during school hours, teachers at some schools are now permitted to use them in class at their discretion (Anon, 2013; Pennell, 2013; O'Toole, 2011). As far as Asia is concerned, clear national-level policies, plans and actions to promote cell phone use in classes are for the greater part still lacking. Consequently teachers are slow to embrace its technology as a teaching and learning tool (UNESCO, 2012:18, 21-22, 25-26).

Regardless of the diversity in their socio-economic status, a large number of secondary school learners in South Africa own cell phones (Brown & Czerniewicz, 2010:366; Kreutzer, 2009:54). In the Western Cape and Gauteng alone, approximately 84.8% and 88.4% of learners in secondary schools respectively own cell phones (Unisa, 2012a:6; Unisa 2012b:6). Presently no formal national policy on the use of cell phones in schools exists, but pressure is being applied by some school organisations such as the National Association of School Governing Bodies (NASGB) for a no-tolerance policy. Supported by the Department of Basic Education, the NASGB believes that banning cell phones will allow learners to focus on their work and will "protect them against irregularities on social networks" (Jones, 2012).

From the evidence it is clear that a great deal of controversy exists regarding the integration of cell phone technology into the teaching and learning environment of the school classroom. In spite of the conventional arguments offered and policies introduced to exclude cell phones from classrooms, some schools are of the opinion that the cell phone should and can be embraced as a pedagogical tool. This approach could be one of the reasons why teacher and learner support for the use of cell phone technology in the classroom is becoming more evident (Blanche *et al.*, 2014:18; Ozdamli & Uzunboylu, 2014; Ahrenfelt, 2013:146-147; Averianova, 2012; Nielsen & Webb, 2011:6).

In the case of South Africa, where a national cell phone regulation for schools is still lacking and in instances where schools have not yet formulated their own policies, it leaves the door open for History teachers to embrace this device as a technological teaching and learning tool. Although more recently questioned by some scholars (for example Crook, 2012:63-80 and Selwyn, 209:364-379), being called "digital natives" (Prensky, 2001), the "net generation" (Tapscott, 2009) or the "millennials" (Howe & Strauss, 2000) suggests that the (History) teachers of today (born after the 1980s) have grown up surrounded by digital technologies and are more comfortable, interested and willing to experiment with cell phone technology in class than their older counterparts. It is claimed that "digital natives" are learning differently in the sense that they respond much better to interactive and experiential learning opportunities than the traditional passive lecture style of content delivery (Tapscott, 2009:7-8; Oblinger & Oblinger, 2005:1.3-1.4; Prensky, 2001:1-6). This might serve as a reason why History teachers in some South African schools are ready to embrace cell phone technology as an extended teaching and learning tool.[1] However, Makoe (2013:593,599-600) is of the opinion that teachers in the rural communities are not convinced of the potential of cell phones for teaching and learning purposes as they have never seen them being used to that effect.

On the other hand cell phones have become an indispensable part of the lives of 21st century (History) learners with regard to the manner in which they experience their world (Pennell, 2013). They share in the digital age by skilfully applying the technology their cell phones offer to construct their own informal learning outside the walls of the classroom by accessing and

1 In informal discussions some History teachers from different types of secondary schools admitted to the authors that they have started to integrate cell phone technology as an extended teaching and learning tool in their classes on a small scale by using the internet function on their learners' smart phones, mainly to *google* for additional information on a specific topic. However, as far as the authors could establish, the Poll Everywhere application has not been applied in combination with SMS technology.

assembling information from a variety of sources (Oblinger & Oblinger, 2005:1.3). However, on returning to the formal learning environment, their favourite device is in most instances disregarded as a tool that can support their learning (Sharples, 2002:506). According to Ahrenfelt (2013:143), this situation has created a breach between the learners' "expectation about learning in their everyday lives and the reality of the classroom". The challenge for the History teacher therefore is to "develop designs" (Hasemi *et al.*, 2011:2479) in which connections between these two settings can be made. Tapscott (1998:131) believes the establishment of these connections are important for 21st century learners who "are forcing a change in the model of pedagogy, from a teacher-focused approach based on instruction to a student-focused model based on collaboration". He is supported by Prensky (2009:11), who claims that: "Our students have changed radically. Today's students are no longer the people our educational system was designed to teach". They "crave interactivity" (Prensky, 2009:4)where preference is given to a team and peer approach constructing their own knowledge rather than being told what to do (Oblinger & Oblinger, 2005:2.7, 2.11).

Problem statement and research aim

From the aforementioned it is clear that the negative perceptions about the integration of cell phone technology into school classrooms are dwindling. Most History teachers are of the opinion that the teaching and learning of the subject requires "going beyond the simple transmission of consensual narratives" (Britt *et al.,* 2000:437). History teachers abroad and in South Africa are to a great extent willing to embrace and integrate cell phone technology within their classes, while their learners are waiting patiently for an opportunity to link their informal and formal learning environment by using cell phone technology. Makoe (2013:601) stresses the importance of the integration of cell phone technology in the teaching and learning process when he postulates that it "is no longer a luxury, but a necessity in most under-resourced rural communities" in South Africa.

Except for studies abroad such as those of Nielsen and Webb (2011), Kolb (2011) and Haydn (2013), the potential of specifically integrating cell phone technology and ARS to support and enhance teaching and learning in the History classroom has not been extensively researched. In fact, the authors are not aware of the existence of any published studies in South Africa on

how cell phone technology in combination with ARS such as Poll Everywhere can be utilised to support the instruction of History in secondary schools. As a result of cell phones' rapid proliferation and popularity, it is imperative to explore ways in which their features and functionalities in combination with the Poll Everywhere application can be tailored for use in the History class.

The purpose of this article therefore is to explore and assess how the ARS Poll Everywhere (www.polleverywhere.com), which is based on the cell phone's SMS function, can be implemented in the design of a Grade 9 History lesson. An additional aim of this small scale pilot study is to assess learners' perceptions and attitudes as well the teacher's experiences after they have had a first-time opportunity to integrate cell phone technology and Poll Everywhere into their classroom lessons.

Literature review

Theoretical Framework

The Mobile learning (m-learning) paradigm

The term mobile learning (m-learning) characterises the use of mobile technologies in education (Gedik, Hanci-Karademirci, Kursun & Cagiltay, 2012:1149). M-learning can be broadly defined as learning facilitated by mobile devices and wireless technology at all times and at all places to facilitate, support, enhance and stretch the reach of the teaching, learning and assessment process (Hashemi, Azizinezhad, Najafi & Nesari, 2011:2478; Ozdamli, 2011:927).Suitable devices associated with m-learning include digital media players, Personal Digital Assistants (PDAs), mobile (cell) phones, laptops, smart phones and iPODs (Taxler, 2005).For this study m-learning represents alternative learning processes and instructional strategies that can serve as an enrichment and extension of the teaching and learning undertaken within the traditional environment of the History classroom.

M-learning does not replace traditional learning (Hashemi *et al.*, 2011:2477), but has different pedagogical benefits when integrated as a teaching, learning and assessment tool. In the first place it allows learners to actively engage with the functions of mobile technology that allow for varying levels of interactivity and learner-centeredness (Ozdamli & Cavus, 2011:940-941).The learners learn by actively constructing and assimilating new ideas and concepts based on both their previous and current knowledge, rather than being passively

fed information by the teacher. By being involved in the learning process, the learners take greater responsibility for their own learning (Valk, Rashid & Elder, 2010:120).

Another benefit of mobile technology is that it supports interpersonal communication and interaction as well as collaboration between teacher and learner and among the learners themselves (Rau *et al.*, 2008:4). Given that social interaction is considered an essential ingredient for effective learning, mobile technologies enable collaborative learning environments "in which particular forms of interaction among people are expected to occur which would trigger learning mechanisms..." (Dillenbourg, 1999:5). For Panitz (1999), collaborative learning seeks to create an emotional environment that will support and encourage dialogue and increased interaction between participants (learners-learners and learners-teachers) in an effort to construct a shared learning experience.

M-learning likewise supports the blended learning model, as it combines traditional face-to-face classroom teaching and learning with mobile technology (Ozdamli & Cavus, 2011:941). Moskal, Dziuban and Hartman (2013:23) argue that learners who study in a blended learning environment are more successful than others as it increases the opportunity for teachers to design more effective teaching and learning environments. Blended learning offers the potential to improve the manner in which the teacher deals with content, social interaction, reflection, collaborative learning, higher order thinking and problem-solving skills, and more authentic assessment.

Assessment is a critical component of m-learning (Ozdamli & Cavus, 2011:940). In particular, it supports assessment techniques such as self-assessment and peer assessment (Ozdamli, 2011:929-930). In both cases, m-learning provides prompt continual feedback during the formative and summative assessment process when learners are given the opportunity to judge themselves on their weaknesses and shortcomings in the attainment of certain set goals or criteria (Ozdamli & Cavus, 2011:940; Noonan & Duncan, 2005:1,5). Constructive feedback allows learners to revisit their errors by not only reflecting on their own learning attempts but also monitoring and correcting them in the execution of future tasks. In the process they become self-regulating learners (Valk *et al.*, 2010:121,125; Ross, 2006:2,7; Tan, 2006:2-3; Brooks, 2002:15).

Learning theories

M-learning, if leveraged properly, has the capability to complement and add value to the social constructive, conversational and connectivism learning theories (Luvai, 2007:583; Motiwalla, 2007:583, 585; Siemens, 2005:3-10).

The social constructivism epistemology views learning as a social process where the truth "is not to be found inside the head of an individual person; it is born *between people* collectively searching for truth, in the process of their dialogic interaction" (Baktin, 1984:110). Social constructivism therefore places the emphasis on social interaction, collaboration and negotiation among learners within their learning community (Vygotsky & Cole 1978:57). It shares the view that the construction and appropriation of new knowledge is a joint enterprise where learners should be helped to construct knowledge that is meaningful to their own lives (Taylor, 2002:175).

In a social constructivist classroom all cognitive functions are believed to originate through a process of peer interaction that is mediated and structured by the teacher through discussions and effectively directed questions on specific concepts, problems or scenarios. With the aid of the teacher and peers who are more advanced, learners will be able to master concepts and ideas that would they otherwise find difficult to comprehend on their own (Ozer, 2004).

The conversation theory fits into the social constructivist's framework as it proposes that learning and knowledge are gained in terms of conversations and interactions between different systems of knowledge. The conversation theory suggests that for learning to be successful, continual two-way conversations and interactions are required. This takes place between teachers and learners, among the learners themselves, between actions and reflections, as well as between learners and a mobile learning device (Pask, 1976). In this manner learners will come to a shared understanding of the world (Sharples, 2002:508).

For the purpose of this article, the cell phone's SMS technology and the ARS Poll Everywhere application provide a shared conversational learning space for History learners in which knowledge can be created and shared for learning to become a process of "to know". This implies that History learners in co-participation with their peers and teachers will establish new knowledge, understandings and internalised new concepts that they have built on their prior knowledge. In this manner conversation is not simply the exchange

of knowledge, but rather a process where the learners become informed about each other's "informings" (Sharples, Taylor &Vavoula, 2007:224). As a result the learner becomes an active maker of meanings from the experience gathered.

Developed by Siemens, connectivism is described as "a learning theory for the digital age" (2005:3). It takes the view that technology has changed the world and consequently the way in which 21st century learners are learning. Connectivism is often described as "network learning" (Ravenscroft, 2011:139), as it asserts that learning occurs through connections within networks to which learners are connecting and feeding information. For learning networks to be established, a connectivism instructional tool (such as the cell phone) can be used, which will enable users to make connections with each other in an effort to exchange knowledge and learn from one another. For a traditional classroom setting a learning network can, for example, be established by using an application such as Poll Everywhere as an interactive classroom system to which everyone can connect by SMS. This technology offers an opportunity for History teachers and learners to become exposed to multiple perspectives and opinions that will enhance additional enriching learning opportunities. They will be able to dialogue and think together across the network to share and find new information which will modify their beliefs for new learning to ensue (Kop & Hill, 2008:10).

The SMS and the ARS Poll Everywhere

The cell phone's Short Message Service (SMS) is a text feature that allows for brief messages to be sent and received (Broinowski, 2006:33). It is labelled the "killer application" of mobile phones for reason of its user-readiness, convenience and cost-effectiveness. At a global average price of 11 cents per message (Bradner, 2012) the SMS is one of the fastest growing types of information communication technologies (Geng, 2012:78). The SMS feature can also be utilised to add value to the teaching and learning process that occurs in the conventional History classroom. The teacher may find that it provides just the right kind of interaction and communication between teachers, learners and content to enhance the teaching and learning experience (Thomas & Orthobert, 2011:64-65).

Despite the potential advantages that SMS technology can offer when integrated with classroom instruction, there are also certain constraints. For example, learners may find it difficult to concentrate on the content presented by the teacher during class while at the same time they are expected to text a message (Markett *et al.*, 2006:290-291). Another concern is that learners may have no credit left on their pre-paid phones, which will leave them unable to send an SMS. The fact that cell phones have a small screen size and a restricted text input of 160 characters (which can impact negatively on the information richness of messages) is a further limitation to take recognisance of when considering it as a teaching and learning tool in the History class (Rau *et al.*, 2008:4; Broinowski, 2006:34; Markett *et al.*, 2006:283). However, Librero, Ramos, Ranga, Trinona and Lambert (2007:236) believe that the restricted volume of content that can be sent via SMS should not necessarily be perceived as a disadvantage. Learners will be forced to prioritise the information that they want to include in their messages, which may stimulate high-order thinking.

Poll Everywhere (http://polleverywhere.com) on the other hand is a free online web-based ARS based on the cell phone's texting technology for the purpose of collecting learner responses (Shon & Smith, 2011:238-239). This system will enable the History teacher to receive immediate feedback after learners have had a chance to text their comments or votes to interactive, live polls. Learner responses are transmitted to a predetermined phone number that the polleverywhere.com website provides. On receiving the responses, they are automatically summarised and instantaneously displayed on the teacher's polleverywhere.com website. These response results are represented by means of graphs and tables which continually update as more learners text in their replies. History teachers should display the information on projector screens so that learners can view the results as they come in. When the poll is finally closed the results can, for example, serve as an interactive platform to stimulate class discussion and debate (Maguth, 2013:89). For more information on how to create a poll, see the user guide at: http://www.polleverywhere.com/guide.

The Poll Everywhere application offers many advantages when applied as an educational tool. It is simple to use, and except for the standard text messaging rates to submit a vote or a comment, it is still very affordable. Also, learners are not expected to have smart phones, tablets or laptops with internet access. The low-tech cell phone with its texting application will serve as an appropriate

mobile device. This makes Poll Everywhere especially suitable for the South African context where significant disparities still exist between rich and poor.

Poll Everywhere's polls provide for the option of two types of poll questions that can be deployed in the classroom: multiple choice questions or open-ended questions, the latter allowing the learners to respond in their own words. A further advantage is that the votes/comments can also be embedded in the teacher's own PowerPoint. As learners submit their responses, these will automatically feed onto the PowerPoint slide (Maguth, 2013:90; Shon & Smith, 2011:238-239).

All submissions made through text messaging to Poll Everywhere are anonymous. This is useful for learners who are introverts or shy and may not feel comfortable to make any contributions in the History class for fear of pressure or scrutiny from their peers. Anonymity of learners will promote active participation that will in turn enhance interaction and collaboration (Keengwe & Bhargava, 2013:740-741). This assumption was confirmed where Poll Everywhere was integrated into the teaching and learning of students at a university. Results of this study showed that more responses were received through text messaging than was the case when the students were asked to raise their hands (Radnofsky, 2007). Research further shows that ARS not only enhanced increased classroom engagement, but could also improve academic results (Dufresne, Gerace, Leonard, Mestre & Wenk, 2003:3). In this regard Walsh (2006) makes the point that much depends on the skill with which voting technology is used, in other words, on the quality and nature of the questions posed. For example, in instances where only simplistic yes/no answers or multiple choice tasks are expected, it will not necessarily lead to improved learning results.

A final huge advantage of Poll Everywhere is that it offers a quick, free plan sign-up package that asks for the usual information (name, e-mail address and password), that will allow the teacher to utilise the free functions as explained in these sections (See: http://polleverywhere.com). The free subscription plan is limited in so far as that it allows for a maximum of 40 responses to be recorded per poll (Fischer, 2014:413). This feature together with the standard texting cost when sending an SMS can be considered to be possible limitations of Poll Everywhere when utilised as a teaching and learning tool in the History class.

A History lesson integrating cell phone technology and Poll Everywhere

The aim of this article is in the first place to explore how SMS technology and the ARS Poll Everywhere application can be integrated into the design of a Grade 9 History lesson.

The topic that will serve for this lesson is the Second World War. In previous periods, the Grade 9 learners were already given a broad overview on this topic. The content therefore was not completely new when the cell phone and Poll Everywhere were incorporated as resources in the subsequent lesson. The lesson was planned and designed in accordance with the requirements of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for Social Sciences, Grades 7-9 (DBE, 2011)and will comprise two periods of 45 minutes each.

Initially, when endeavouring to integrate technology into the History classroom, the formulation of clear lesson objectives is essential. After the lesson, learners should be able to:

- Identify the major countries and leaders that took part in World War II.
- Explain the causes of World War II.
- Define the concept "propaganda" and describe how it was used by the Nazis.

As an introduction to the lesson the teacher beforehand sets up a multiple choice question via Poll Everywhere, which is then shown on the projector screen. Learners walk into the class and while settling down, read the question and then respond via text messaging to the given numbers on the screen. In instances where learners are not in possession of a cell phone, it can be shared with their peers.

The multiple choice question posed by the teacher could be to identify the country that was not part of the Allied Powers during World War II. The following answer options can be given: A. Britain, B. Italy, C. France, D. Soviet Union. After everyone has had a chance to respond, the teacher closes the poll and then displays the chart generated by the system, showing the responses to the question. The results should preferably not be shown while voting is still in progress as learners may assume that the popular answer is the correct one. This might persuade them to follow the majority vote.

The poll results will not only indicate how many learners selected each answer choice, but also how many correctly chose B as the answer. The teacher can use these responses as a stimulus for follow-up questions, for example to identify the leaders of the countries at the time of the war, as mentioned in

A-D. Another option would be to ask learners to name the other Great Power that formed part of the Allied Forces (and when and why this country joined at a later stage), or to name all the countries and their leaders who joined Italy to form the Axis Powers. All the answers to these questions are immediately imbedded in the PowerPoint presentation and learners can see the feedback of their peers. It is important for the teacher to spend at least some time on each of the answer choices given, whether right or wrong. Learners would on the whole like to hear their teacher's viewpoint on their answer choices even if they know those choices were incorrect (Bruff, 2009).

All the questions asked at the start of the lesson will activate prior knowledge and enable each individual learner to by means of self-assessment determine how much he/she knows. For the teacher this baseline assessment holds great value as it provides a good indication of the amount of knowledge the learners already have. This is imperative as the teacher will then know whether or not to slow down the pace, repeat work or leave out information because the learners have already grasped it.

As the teacher moves on to the next phase of the lesson, a short video clip, for example on the causes of World War II, can be shown. Learners will now have some background to the countries that were responsible for the outbreak of the war and by watching the video their knowledge about what caused the war will increase. After the video the teacher can draw a mind map on the chalkboard illustrating the most important causes of the war. These are listed in a multiple choice question: A. The Treaty of Versailles, B. Hitler's foreign policy, C. The failure of the League of Nations, D. Policy of appeasement and E. The Nazi-Soviet Pact. Learners must text their opinions about which factor they consider to be a short-term/immediate cause of the war to Poll Everywhere. If option A for instance received the most votes, the teacher can now ask the learners to respond to the following open-ended question: "Why do most of you consider option A (The Treaty of Versailles) to be a short-term cause of World War II?" (Those learners who did not initially choose A as their answer are also obliged to motivate why they do not consider A to be the correct answer). Using the SMS function, the learners will be able to summarise their understanding of this open-ended question in a limited number of characters. In the end they will see each and everyone's reply on the screen (even those who were in disagreement) after the responses have been submitted.

Subsequently the learners can be divided into small groups according to their responses. This can serve as a platform from where the teacher can facilitate an interactive debate-based class discussion to create an opportunity for the learners to think intentionally about the content in support of their viewpoints. In this manner the cell phone's SMS application and the Poll Everywhere application provide an important interactive and interconnected classroom environment (as proposed by the learning theory of connectivism) for learners to engage in critical high-order thinking by reflecting, assessing and reacting to the different opinions of their peers. At the same time learning becomes more integrated and collaborative as suggested by the constructive and conversational learning theories. Furthermore, the open-ended question asked also creates a powerful mechanism for formative assessment. The interactive debate-based class discussion that follows the learners' responses not only provides the teacher with continual and useful feedback on the learners' learning, but also assists the learners to demonstrate and monitor their own understanding of the topic through self- and peer assessment. By responding via their cell phones to Poll Everywhere a classroom environment is thus created that fosters and supports learning and assessment. All the learners are actively engaged by sharing their opinions instead of a few raising their hands and then being requested to respond individually.

In addressing the lesson objective of defining the concept of propaganda, learners can be given the chance to participate in a class brainstorming poll by sending their responses and ideas on what they think propaganda entails to Poll Everywhere. With the aid of the learners the teacher can then use these responses to compile a definition of propaganda. Through this inductive discovery the learners are not simply the passive recipients of knowledge, but are actively and collaboratively involved in the construction of their own new knowledge. Now that the learners know what the concept of propaganda entails, Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* can be utilised as the primary source. The learners are asked to study the following excerpt from this source within their groups and then list the methods that Hitler considered important for the employment of propaganda:

> *The truth must always be adjusted to fit the need…Propaganda must not investigate the truth objectively and, in so far as it is favourable to the other side, present it according to the theoretical rules of justice; yet it must present only that aspect of the truth which is favourable to its own side… The receptive powers of the masses are very restricted, and their understanding is feeble…All effective propaganda must be confined to a few bare essentials and those must be expressed as far as possible in stereotyped formulas. These slogans should be persistently repeated until the very*

> *last individual has come to grasp the idea that has been put forward...* (cited in Combs & Nimmo, 1993:69).

The teacher can use the feedback from the groups to facilitate a class discussion, after which further sources (e.g. posters, speeches, photo's, poems, etc.) can be distributed among the groups in an effort to assess how Hitler's propaganda campaign (with the above considerations in mind) manifested in the fields of art, culture, leisure, education, etc.

In concluding the lesson, Poll Everywhere can again be utilised as a post-assessment quizzing tool. The teacher creates a poll that consists of a few questions with multiple choice answers about the work that was done in class. In this way the cell phone's SMS technology and Poll Everywhere serve as important tools for summative assessment as the teacher will through instant feedback be able to establish if the learners have reached the set lesson objectives.

Research methods

Procedure and sampling

An additional aim of this article is to assess by means of a small scale pilot study the learners' perceptions and attitudes as well the teacher's experiences after they have had a first time opportunity to integrate SMS technology with the Poll Everywhere application into their lessons.

A small scale survey was conducted using a questionnaire. The data were collected by means of a non-probability (purposive) sampling (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011:155) drawn from Grade 9 learners (n=52) in a private/ independent and a public (former Model C) school situated in Gauteng.

One of the authors of this article presented the same lesson (a shorter version of the one above so as to provide for a period of 45 minutes) to each of the Grade 9 classes in the two different schools. At the end of the lesson the learners were asked to voluntarily complete a short semi-structured questionnaire so as to empirically determine their perceptions of and attitudes toward the utilisation of cell phone technology and the Poll Everywhere application in their instruction.

By means of a descriptive analysis, data were organised and summarised to promote an understanding of the data characteristics (Pietersen & Maree, 2007:184).

For this research, permission was obtained from the principals and subject teachers. For reason of confidentiality, the names of schools, teachers and learners partaking in this pilot research were not mentioned.

Presenting the two lessons by integrating cell phone technology and the Poll Everywhere application enabled the History teacher (as one of the authors of this article) to personally reflect on the *in situ* events as they unfolded. This mode of research ensures more authentic data as it involves the researcher's personal experience (Cohen *et al.,* 2011:456).

Research findings and discussion

The results of the research initially showed that the overwhelming majority of participants (96%) had positive perception levels about the use of cell phone technology when used in combination with the ARS Poll Everywhere. They found it "quicker" (than writing), "interesting" and "fun", which "make(s) the class more enjoyable". These positive perceptions support the research findings of Ting (2013:6,12) and Prensky (2001:3) that learners will become more excited about the teaching and learning process when their teachers incorporate new technologies, and are also in accordance with the results of Seilhamer, Chen and Suger (2013:390) that showed that university students found the implementation of mobile tools to be "beneficial and fun" and overall very satisfying.

The findings of this pilot study furthermore showed that the participants believed that the SMS application and Poll Everywhere expanded their knowledge of the Second World War, and provided a good alternative to textbooks. With the exception of one participant, the participants (98.0%) also indicated an eagerness to use cell phone technology in other subjects, especially in Maths (for the calculator), and where internet access is available, for English and Afrikaans to utilise the *google translate* function *a*nd to check spelling. These beliefs and opinions correspond with the research findings of Moura and Carvalho (2013), in that the learners in their study believed the integration of mobile phones as a complementary learning tool added value to their classroom instruction, and should therefore not be banned.

The participants in this study were also of the opinion that the cell phone's added technologies such as the camera, dictionary, calculator, *google*, voice recorder, video and notepad should be considered as further applications for classroom instruction. These positive attitudes correspond with the

contemporary and extensive research by Ozdamli and Uzunboylu (2014) in Northern Cyprus schools. The participants in their study, aged between 12 and 18 years, clearly indicated their willingness to use mobile learning technology applications in their classes.

When the participants in this study were asked about possible disadvantages when using the cell phone as a teaching and learning tool in class, the majority (67.3%) singled out the financial aspect of "data charges" (air time) as the biggest hindrance. The second biggest disadvantage singled out by more than half of the participants (53.8%) was that of the cell phone being a "distraction", for example "when their peers are taking 'selfies' (a photo of oneself) or "pictures or videos of the teacher". They were furthermore concerned that their classmates might "visit other sites", "playing games" or would be involved in "social networking" or use their phone to "cheat". Other considerations were "the battery life" (38.4%) which could result in the loss of data, and the risk that their phones could "get stolen" (11.5%).

The teacher presenting these two lessons at the two different schools had positive as well as negative experiences when integrating cell phone technology and Poll Everywhere into the classes.

On the negative side the teacher experienced technical problems when presenting the lesson in the public school, where 35 Grade 9 History learners participated in the lesson. This large number of learners sometimes caused a lack of signal coverage or an overcrowded network, which impacted negatively on the natural flow of the lesson as a number of learners were initially not able to send their SMSs to the predetermined phone number that the polleverywhere.com website provided. The teacher then had to wait for a longer period of time for these learners to transmit their answers to show on the screen before continuing with the lesson.

On the positive side, this problem did not occur in the private school where only 17 learners participated in the History lesson. The network was easily accessible at all times and no problem was experienced with signal coverage. This not only made the application Poll Everywhere simpler, but also contributed to more flow in the lesson which transitioned well from phase to phase.

Although there were glitches in the presentation of the lesson in the public school, the learners' responses to the Poll Everywhere application and the use of their cell phones' texting option was similar to those of the private

school learners. In both History classes the teacher experienced a positive and eager disposition on the side of the learners about the integration of these technologies into their History lesson. Their positive attitude and response to the potential of these technologies have inspired the teacher to gladly integrate cell phone technology and Poll Everywhere in her future History lessons.

Conclusion

This article explored how the cell phone's SMS technology and the ARS Poll Everywhere application can be integrated as teaching and learning tools in a History classroom. Although it is not possible to draw any generalised conclusions from a small scale pilot study of this nature, the authors hope that this contribution will encourage research on a bigger scale that could involve larger sample sizes of History learners from all types of schools, including those that are historically disadvantaged and underprivileged. Future research will also need to be undertaken to learn more about how the integration of cell phone technology and Audience Response Systems impacts on History learners' learning as well as their History teacher's classroom instruction.

However, it is important to acknowledge that the integration of cell phone and Poll Everywhere technology should not be seen as the be-all and end-all. By itself technology cannot enhance pedagogy (Ozdamli & Uzunboylu, 2104). It is not meant to replace face-to-face debate and interaction in the classroom. The integration of cell phone and Poll Everywhere technology as teaching and learning tools has in the first place to be educationally meaningful in the sense that it endorses the attainment and expansion of the set learning goals. It should be considered and applied as additional tools to the traditional teaching and learning that occur in the classroom, and not just as an entertainment add-on. The point is not to "teach with technology" but to integrate technology to convey and assess content more powerfully and efficiently in an effort to reach the set outcomes (Rosen, 2011:10-15).

For this reason education stakeholders should consider reviewing their policies banning the use of the cell phone in classrooms. With well-defined school policies in place (e.g. having the cell phone on silent mode at all times, and only allowed to be handled once the teacher instructs the learners to do so), History teachers can be encouraged to utilise it as an instructional tool. Regardless of learners' socio-economic status, mobile phones have become an indispensable part of the lives of all History learners, and for this reason they

should be allowed to use it as a tool in support of their learning. By prohibiting cell phones and Poll Everywhere technology from the History classroom, its ability to serve as a 21st century teaching and learning tool is marginalised. History learners will consequently be deprived of the opportunity to develop the skills they will need to succeed in a world driven by new technologies.

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History education at the crossroads: Challenges and prospects in a Lesotho context

Raymond Nkwenti Fru
Roma Campus, National University of Lesotho
fru_nkwenti@yahoo.com / rn.fru@nul.ls

Abstract

The status of History education within a Social Science education framework of the Lesotho educational system is a cause for concern. In an attempt to foster the development goals of the Kingdom of Lesotho, education and especially Social Science education were identified as a major role player. In spite of this realisation, History education, and to a lesser extent Geography education was identified as liabilities that could be substituted with other disciplines such as Development Studies. Geography had, however, gradually regained a position as a major Social Science discipline while History education is still considered unimportant in relation to national needs. The evidence is that many schools in Lesotho do not offer History as a subject and both students and teachers of history are not taken seriously as academics. Against this backdrop, this article explores the situation from historical and pedagogic perspectives. I draw considerable examples from contexts such as Cameroon and South Africa, where I have had the opportunity to experience the fragile nature and status of History education both as student and teacher/lecturer. I then suggest why any consideration of Social Sciences with the exclusion of History education will not lead to the desired national goals, thereby justifying the need for a turnaround strategy that favours the teaching and learning of History in Lesotho. The article concludes with recommendations and the prospects for the future, based on the issues raised and discussed.

Keywords: History; Teaching and learning; History education; Lesotho; Heritage.

Introduction

Any academic discipline needs justification. Its advocates have a responsibility to explain why it is worthy of attention and to clarify the merits of its place in any syllabus or curriculum. History education is no exception to this expectation. One would even think that prevailing international and local trends as well as increasing discourses questioning the relevance of History education puts the task of justification more on the doorsteps of its stakeholders

than those of other academic disciplines. If the words of Peter Stearns (1998) are anything to go by, then the need for such justification even becomes a matter of extreme pedagogic and/or social necessity. His submission is that: "historians do not perform heart transplants, improve highway design, or arrest criminals. In a society that quite correctly expects education to serve useful purposes, the functions of history can seem more difficult to define than those of engineering and medicine…" (Stearns, 1998:1). Even though Stearns was writing for an American audience and society, there is no denying the fact that his observations are justifiably generalisable as they highlight a major educational concern across many nations around the world on the place of history in the curriculum and its role thereof. Apart from Stearns, other historians of repute such as Edward Hallett Carr (2008) have engaged debates on perspectives relating to history's role and importance in society. Therefore, these observations on the practical value of History, beget such questions as: why bother with what has been, given that people live in the present, thereby making them to worry more about the now as well as the anticipations of what is yet to come?

It is against this backdrop that I acknowledge in this article that the products of historical study are less tangible and sometimes less immediate than those that stem from other disciplines. However, in spite of this acknowledgement, my stance in this article is in favour of a view that History is in fact very valuable, useful and really indispensable. As I unpack the arguments supporting this position in the course of this article, it becomes evident that societies in general, but most importantly Lesotho, as the context of this article, will benefit substantially from giving more attention and support to the teaching and learning of History in schools. I start off this article by explaining my personal observations on the challenges facing discipline History in different contexts and reviewing international and local literature on the same theme. Through this review and the establishment of trends and patterns in several contexts, I am able to position the discipline as being at the 'crossroads' as I have suggested in my title. The article proceeds with an explanation of the uses and values of History and the reasons why the discipline should be taken more seriously in Lesotho. I then conclude the article with suggestions on measures that could be adopted by the government of the Kingdom of Lesotho through the Ministry of Education and other relevant stakeholders concerned with education in Lesotho to turn around the present History education predicament.

As a starting point, it is important to clarify the inferences made in this article on History education and not simply on History throughout. The relevance of this distinction stems from the fact that as much as both concepts are highly related and are most often used interchangeably, they are but two sides of the same coin. Once quizzed on the subject, Jonathan Even-Zohar, who is the Director of EUROCLIO – the European Association of History Educators noted that History is a very wide discipline which seeks from today's vantage point to amass a comprehensive recollection of events, processes and mechanisms of societies, on many different levels (Banu, 2014). Consequently, History embodies the efforts undertaken to gain deeper understanding of how the world around us came to be. But the teaching and learning of History – History education – is an even more complicated affair than explained above. This complication arises from the complexity of concerns linked with History education, such as: Which History should be taught? How should it be taught? Do we need more, or rather less of it in schools? Do children learn History as a story of the nation or as a variety of inquiry-based interpretations? Does the state include the History of minorities? Does the national story fill the young hearts with pride and collective pain, or does it problematize complex layers of dealing with past crimes? (Banu, 2014). Therefore, unlike most other school subjects with most probable exceptions of language and religion, History education is a hotly debated public good. Nevertheless, this very fine line of divide is not a serious element in the discussions of this article. Rather, the focus of this article is on the state of History as an academic discipline in selected contexts and a justification of its place in the Lesotho education framework through an examination of its uses and values.

The state of History education in different contexts – from personal experiences and observations to research literature

From my experience teaching History in secondary and high schools[1] in Cameroon and then as a university lecturer in South Africa and presently Lesotho over a period spanning ten years, I have realised that History education is given far less attention in the perking order of academic subjects in these different countries. I have observed a very significant level of stigma towards students who major in History and even more towards their teachers because they are considered to be not good enough for other more "challenging" or

1 In Cameroon, secondary education is different from the high school. They are both distinguished by the GCE Ordinary and Advanced level exams respectively and while the former qualifies the candidate for the High school, the latter qualifies them for further studies at university.

"meaningful" subjects.

A glaring testament to this situation is the unfavourable position of History in the timetables of most schools. It is common knowledge from a teacher's perspective that afternoon classrooms are more challenging to manage than classes that are delivered before the lunch break. It is more of a herculean task trying to get the full attention of students during the afternoon hours as they are visibly exhausted with the only thing on their minds being the jingling of the final school bell for them to go home. Empirical evidence supporting this claim can be sought from a study conducted to this effect in the Government Medical College in India. The study in question evaluated the retention of anatomy lectures conducted in the morning hours against those conducted in the afternoon hours and founded that 7% of the participants were totally inattentive for morning lectures in contrast to the 20% during the afternoon lecture; and that all aspects of memory tested including retention was better for morning lectures than afternoon lectures (Rokade & Bahette, 2013). Even though the above study was conducted in the context of an anatomy lesson and not History in particular, it is still apparent that most aspects of student's memory are adversely affected in afternoon lectures resulting to the kind of lessons where students "… sit mute and glassy eyed, a few scribbling notes but most yawning in boredom" (Wineburg, 2001:217). Such sessions are obviously less productive in an educational sense and all the pedagogic skills, efforts and experience of the teacher can at best reduce the level of the implications of the situation without solving it completely. Unfortunately, it is such periods that are most often than not allocated to History lessons by school management. For all my History teaching years in Cameroon (and I taught in three different schools), I do not remember having a timetable that allocated my History lessons in the early hours of a school day. This is also a major observation I have made in the process of observing and assessing student teachers on teaching practice in South African and Lesotho schools. As a result of unfavourable allocation of time slots for History, the subject has gained a reputation of being dull and boring.

Another important observation is the fact that schools that have constraints on staff capacity most times find it easier to allocate History teaching to non-specialist History teachers. This is usually done under the incorrect assumption that History is merely the accumulation of facts or stories about the past and therefore can be taught by every other teacher. This is a very unfortunate assumption considering that facts about the past constitute only one form of

historical knowledge which is the substantive knowledge with the other part being the procedural knowledge of History. It is a mastery of this latter level of historical knowledge that gives History, its specialised discipline credential and distinguishes charlatan History teachers from specialists because as Slater (1989) cited in Kitson, Pendry, & Husbands (2003) puts it, content can never be objective and value-free but the procedures of History can. This procedural knowledge of History, also known as second order concepts refers to such skills as historical significance, causation, empathy, historical interpretation, change and continuity, historical time, historical conceptual understanding, similarities/differences, and historical interpretations (Kitson *et al.,* 2003). According to Brooks, Aris & Perry (1993), a focus on substantive knowledge of history (a preoccupation of non-specialist history teachers) leads to the kind of history that is restricted to dictating notes, reading and copying from textbooks and rote learning. This makes most students to be afraid of history as the discipline becomes reduced to assimilation and retention of facts through memorisation – facts which the students don't see the purpose of knowing. Celebrated historian RG Collingwood sums this succinctly in the following statement:

> *A man who taught history badly, when he was at school, and has never worked at it since, may think there is nothing in it except events and dates and places: so that wherever he can find events and dates and places, he will fancy himself in the presence of history. But anyone who has ever worked intelligently at history knows that it is never about mere events, but about actions that express the thoughts of their agents; and that the framework of dates and places is of value to the historian only because, helping to place each action in its context, it helps him to realize what the thoughts of an agent operating in that context must have been like* (cited in Pattiz, 2004:239).

Therefore, the contribution of capable History teachers to the collective feeling of students towards History education is very imperative and cannot be over emphasised. The idea here is that it is the teacher rather than the subject itself that is the cause for concern in most cases. Consequently, as Brooks *et al*. (1993) put it, the more capable the teacher of History, the better the chances of learners choosing to do History and enjoying it. Engaging non-specialist History teachers to dispense History courses is tantamount to undermining the procedural component of historical knowledge and accordingly promoting a very simplistic view of History education that focuses on historical content knowledge only.

In South Africa like in Lesotho, most secondary schools have phased out History completely. This fact is substantiated in greater detail by Van Eeden

(2012) whose work explores the status of History teaching in 20th century South African schools with a particular focus on the Further Education and Training (FET) band. My experience is, however, first hand as I have had the opportunity to visit many schools in these two countries, while observing and mentoring student teachers on their teaching practices.[2] Moreover, while still working with a University in South Africa, I had my History education students walk up to me at the beginning of the academic year of 2013 to complain that they had been denied a renewal of funding and were not allowed to register for the reason that they were majoring in History. They were presented with the options of replacing history as their major or self-fund their studies. Needless to say, most of these students that came from very disadvantaged backgrounds and were unable to feed themselves, not to talk of paying for their tuition and accommodation, were forced to swop history in order to continue benefiting from the university's financial aid program or the Department of Education's *Funza Lushaka* bursary. Ironically, the History courses at that university were amongst the most crowded with a steady approximate enrollment of 250 students in the first year's courses that I taught between the academic years 2010 and 2013. Similar in Lesotho, in spite of my observations on the dwindling nature of History education in the secondary schools as explained earlier, my History courses with the Faculty of Education of the National University of Lesotho are amonst the most crowded of all the courses in the Department of Languages and Social Education – LASED (statistics for the 2014/15 academic year). The question here is why do more students continue to take history education at a tertiary institution such as the National University of Lesotho even as the society continues to show contempt for the discipline? As much as this paradox is of great concern, it is certainly a gap that can only be explored in a different research endeavor as it does not fall within the scope and focus of this particular article.

This article has up to this point focused almost exclusively on my experiences and observations on the state of History education in the different geographical contexts I have had the privilege of exploring over my 10 years career of History teaching/lecturing and mentoring. At this juncture, it is important to find out what other scholars have to say on the same theme. This is done through a review of some research and empirical literature.

The work of Ntabeni (2010) is the closest attempt to unpack the nature of History education in the Lesotho school system. Her area of concern though

2 Though a history lecturer, my job description requires that I also observe non-history student teachers on Teaching Practice in schools, hence my realisation that most schools don't offer history as a discipline.

is on the primary schools sector where she observes that since 1967, History education has been dispensed as an integral part of a social studies programme and not as an independent and alone standing subject. This had however not always been the case because prior to being subsumed in 1967, History was more relevant to the extent that it was taught as a full-fledged subject. This relevance was also demonstrated by the fact that the denominational Teacher Training Colleges engaged in primary training programms, taught History in accordance with the requirement of the primary syllabi between 1907 and 1974 (Ntabeni, 2010). However, with the 1967 shift from History education to broader social studies, the National Teacher Training College (NTTC) created in 1975 (now known as the Lesotho College of Education – LCE) (Lefoka, 2000), took a decision to teach Social and Development Studies at the expense of History. Along the same trend, Ntabeni (2010) notes that the B.Ed primary programme at the National University of Lesotho's Faculty of Education, accommodate student teachers in Social Studies who only do Geography and Development Studies but no History education. Even though this study focused on primary education, there is every reason to think that its findings should rightly be generalised to include the situation in secondary and high schools especially when one considers my observations as narrated earlier. The implication is therefore that it is the future of History education in Lesotho in general, not only at the primary level, that is bleak and except drastic measures are taken, the situation can only get worse. As mentioned in the introduction, the last phase of this article will address the issue of why it is imperative that the boat of History education should not be allowed to sink into Lesotho waters.

In the context of South Africa, the nature of History education in contemporary times cannot be comprehensively understood without a corresponding understanding of the links to the apartheid ideology. Education in the apartheid era was used as a weapon to divide society through a construction of different identities amongst learners (Fru, 2012). History education in particular was largely used as a propaganda machinery to suppress the aspirations of especially the black majority population (Polokow-Suransky, 2002). Both whites and people of colour[3] were required to study the History of white pioneers and heroes. Other race groups of South Africa did not appear to have any History, but were rather portrayed as hindrances in the efforts of the white heroes to survive. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that History education was not very popular during the apartheid

3 Term used to refer to Black, Indian, and Coloured race groups of South Africa.

era as the non-whites population resisted an adulterated kind of History whose aim was to propagate Afrikaner nationalism, white racial superiority and the subjugation and alienation of the History of people of colour. As a result, many black South Africans came to see History as a type of knowledge with which they could not identify.

With the demise of apartheid in 1994, the hope was that the status of the discipline was going to change favourably. This has unfortunately not been the case. Under a democratic dispensation, Nuttal and Wright (2000) observe that many South Africans across races have developed negative attitudes towards History as they feel that it is potentially a source of discomfort and embarrassment because it points directly to apartheid bullying, oppression, degradation and humiliation of blacks. History education has therefore become irrelevant to the needs of many of the post-apartheid generation of students who would rather forget the "bloody past" and focus on other specialisations that they claim are more likely to give them opportunities in a tight labour market (Nuttal & Wright, 2000). Not surprising therefore that most South Africans turned their backs on history during deliberations on a new curriculum (Schoeman, 2006).

In an effort to redress the educational imbalances of the past, the newly elected ANC government introduced a new curriculum, known as Curriculum 2005 in all schools from 1 January 1998 (DoE, 2002). For various reasons this curriculum was revised in 2000 (Chisholm, *et al*., 2000). Rooted in the Revised National Curriculum, History formed part of the Learning Area Social Sciences in the General Education and Training (GET) Band where its standing in relationship to Geography was described as "separate but link" (DoE, 2002:4). In the present Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) that was introduced in 2012, History keeps its independendent status as subject in the GET and Further Education and Training (FET) Band (DoBE, 2011a; 2011b). An indication of further hope for History to play an important role as an independent disicpline, is the Department of Basic Education's intension to consider the notion of making History a compulsory subject grades 10-12 (Phakathi, 2015).

Despite the fact that History is enjoying status in own right, the research of Mhlongo (2013) yet shows various reasons why learners in rural schools of KwaZulu-Natal[4] still choose not to take History as a subject. The following factors were listed by the participants: unhappiness about the nature of

4 KwaZulu-Natal popularly known as KZN is one of nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa.

historical content where they do not want to study the past, particularly apartheid; the way History is taught and learnt. Being influenced by other people has also influenced some learners, especially if people they trust told them negative things about History. Finally, the feeling that after passing History they might not be able to secure decent jobs to which they aspire (Mhlongo, 2013).

Rationale for a turnaround strategy towards History education in Lesotho

The picture presented above is regrettable when one considers the expected contribution history education is supposed to play in any society. There is therefore need for a turnaround attitude towards the teaching and learning of History in Lesotho schools. This turn around can take the forms of government policy initiatives through the Ministry of Education and Training, individual schools reconsidering their lackluster positions vis-à-vis History education, parents and students oriented to understand the hitherto misconstrued values of discipline History in relation to national development goals and personal empowerment. However, for any desired turnaround of the status quo to be achieved and convincingly so, History education will have to justify its merits. Hence, this section will provide such rationale through and examination of the uses and values of History in Lesotho schools.

As a starting point, History education will introduce Basotho students to their heritage by teaching them about their society – what it is, how it grows, the way it works, and what it has achieved. The Collins English Dictionary (2006:737) defines heritage simply as "… the evidence of the past such as historical sites, buildings and the unspoiled natural environment, considered collectively as the inheritance of present day society". This implies that heritage can appear in both tangible (such as monuments, artifacts, statues) and intangible forms (such as songs, indigenous knowledge, oral History and memory, performing arts or rituals). Promoting pride in heritage through History education will create a sense of identity (Fru, 2010) and culture that is prerequisite for nation building (Wasserman, 2010). This need is more imperative in a politically and religiously diverse society like Lesotho where the need for a common thread that can create harmony and cohesion is paramount. For example, *Taba Busui* is a very significant historical space that speaks to the collective memory of all Basotho. The very foundation and roots of the Basotho Nation rests on an understanding of this historic/heritage site. By emphasising the significance of this site together with others

of similar significance, history education ensures that such sites are conserved and preserved so that they can be bequeathed to future generations. Through a narrative of the national story and an emphasis on distinctive features of the national experience, History education drives home and understanding of national values that brings with it a commitment to national loyalty (Stearns, 1998). According to Deacon (2004), learners who are aware of their heritage, can understand their role in its conservation.

Furthermore, History education develops in students the ability to think critically through the weighing of evidence, discerning facts from fancy, and by being less susceptible to propaganda (Carr, 2008; Giliomee, 2010; Van Eeden, 2012). In the process, students will become responsible, reflective, and active citizens who can make informed and reasoned decisions about issues confronting their societies from local to global levels. Through engaging in historical scenarios, students are able and expected to act upon societal problems of different sorts for individual and common good. Students' attainment of those expectations depends, to a large extent, on the historical skill of critically evaluating not only information but also the logical and evidential basis of an argument. This historical wisdom also includes the ability to make right use of knowledge through introduction to past controversies and the realization that truth is seldom on one side alone (Adejunmobi,1975). Therefore, a study of History acquaints students with the historical methodology to help facilitate the effective decision making skills needed in life outside the classroom walls. Once students' historical thinking skills which are applicable and transferable to everyday affairs and problems are developed and enhanced, students are likely to recognize when they are exploited and manipulated by certain interest groups of society. It is factual knowledge that in 1986, Lesotho witnessed a military coup d'état. Close to three decades later, precisely in 2014, the country was on the verge of another coup. The point here is that a lack of analysis and understanding of the circumstances surrounding the 1986 coup and its national repercussions, created conditions favourable for that historical event to repeat itself. Consequently, a continuous ignoring of the formal study of History in Lesotho is not only preventing students from acquiring critical historical awareness of themselves and their society (Schoeman, 2006) but is also tantamount to robbing the future generations of Lesotho of the knowledge and skills that are essential to contribute to sustaining an open, equitable and tolerant society.

Moreover, History education will promote moral values so that students can develop good character when they hear or read about the great personalities of the past. Studying the stories of individuals and situations in the past allows a student of History to test his or her own moral sense and to horn it against some of the real complexities individuals have faced in difficult settings. Such examples of historical figures that have weathered adversity in real life can be an immense source of inspiration to students. Carr (2008), Giliomee (2010) and Stearns (1998) submit that these inspirational figures go beyond 'certifiable' heroes who successfully worked through moral dilemmas, to include ordinary men and women of the past who provide lessons in courage, diligence or constructive protest. If the identification of historical role models is accepted as an indispensable recipe for nation building, then History education provides that possibility through the mitigation of the activities and character traits of historical figures.

Again, in the process of promoting heritage and identity as indicated earlier, the study of History becomes essential for encouraging the advancement of responsible citizenship. This is made possible through teaching of local History and by developing a sense of active participation in the progressive activities of the society. For instance, historical developments such as the efforts of King Moshoeshoe I to protect the integrity of the Basotho Nation from the persistent invasion of the Boers and the British evoke a sense of pride and love for the nation. Such patriotic sentiments leads to students being ready to defend the interest of the nation as well as promote habits of mind that are vital for responsible public behaviour, whether as a national, a community leader, an informed voter, a petitioner, or a simple observer. Along a similar line, the nature of discipline History makes it the only significant storehouse of data on aspects concerning the nation such as national institutions, problems, and values (Giliomee, 2010). Such storehouse therefore becomes a springboard for evidence on how the nation has interacted with other societies and facilitate the understanding of how changes that today affect the lives of citizens have emerged. Therefore, History as a school subject will promote social understanding and civic efficacy on the part of students who are going to take the office of citizenship.

The promotion of teaching and learning of History in Lesotho will also go a long way to promote international understanding by emphasizing the essential oneness of the human race in spite of our differences, and through the growing realization of the interdependence of nations and peoples. No

nation can exist in isolation. Moreover, the History of migration reveals how push and pull factors contributed to the movement of people in time and space. These migrations had the effect of separating clans and tribes while creating others in the process. A case in point is the waves of Bantu migration from central Africa towards the eastern and southern parts of Africa. An understanding of these dynamics will enhance the notion that accidents of History are responsible for the settlement of populations in any given place. Such understanding will promote international cooperation amongst nations and tolerance towards people from other nations based on concept that humanity is in effect a family and contemporary national borders are human creations. This will also mean tendencies such as xenophobia, racism and tribalism will be strongly curbed. At the national level, tolerance will also be developed through being sympathetic to other individuals or groups who may belong to different ethnic groups or whose opinions may differ from theirs.

Finally, the promotion of History education in Lesotho will open up possibilities in the world of work to students. This is in contrast to concerns advanced by critics of History education. However, such concerns depict clear ignorance of the boundless opportunities that exist in relation to History. From a professional perspective, professional historians can become teachers at various levels, can work in museums and media centres, do historical research for businesses or public agencies, or be active members in historical consultancies (Giliomee, 2010). In spite of this considerable number of professional jobs available for historians, the skills and capacities that History education promotes are also very instrumental in many other work situations. For instance the ability to find and evaluate sources of information and the means to find and evaluate diverse interpretations are very enticing skills for most employers. As I have explained in the first section of this article, many people who are drawn into History education in Lesotho and in other places worry about its relevance. In a society that has a low employment rate, the concern of job futures is valid for most areas of study not just History education. However, as I have demonstrated, history education or historical training in general is not an indulgence; it leads directly to many professional careers and can clearly help its recipients in their working lives.

Recommendations and prospects

After examining the rationale for the promotion of History education in Lesotho through an exploration of the uses and values or importance of

history, this section will reveal certain measures that should be considered to make the turnaround more feasible.

Firstly, History should be offered in all schools in the territory of the Kingdom of Lesotho. This will imply that students will be orientated at a very early stage on the nature of the subject and given the opportunity to pursue it because it is offered at their school. A very practical way of enforcing this measure will be to start with the state run schools. After which mission and other lay private schools can be forced to comply through a bargain on government subsidy to these schools. This move has to be followed by a clear articulation of the goals of history teaching in Lesotho because as Adejunmobi (1975) notes, without properly defined goals, teaching becomes confused and results are usually disappointing.

Secondly, schools must be discouraged from employing non-specialist history staff to dispense history lessons in schools. The shortcomings of this practice have been sufficiently highlighted in the first part of this article. My view is that the National University of Lesotho has trained and is still training enough skilled personnel to occupy any history teaching vacancy in Lesotho. Shortage of qualified manpower is as a result, no excuse for filling History positions with charlatan or non-specialist History teachers.

Thirdly, History teaching should change students' conceptions of History by encouraging them to identify and act upon the most important historical questions about the past. In other words, History instruction should not treat historical knowledge as an end in itself, but as a means to increase students' ability to understand complex human experiences across time and space. The ultimate goal of teaching History should be to help students enlarge their understanding of the increasingly interdependent social world and their place in it. History should not be used as a means to socialise students of different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds into the mainstream, or the dominant group's world view and culture by transmitting that privileged group's cultural norms and values to students (i.e., History as a tool for cultural transmission). Rather, History should be used to help students not only recognize their own cultural roots, identity, and heritage, but also gain insight into other people's cultures and world views. School History should instill in learners' recognition of cultural pluralism and tolerant attitudes toward different ethnic groups (Yilmaz, 2008/09). In this light, school History should be aimed at developing students' historical thinking and reasoning skills by providing them with historical knowledge, procedures, and skills, by means of

which they as young citizens can distinguish facts from opinions; detect bias, prejudices, and unwarranted claims; weigh contrasting evidence; recognize the core of one's argument and its logic along with the strength of evidence; and critically evaluate other's positions and perspectives. It is these suggestions that will take away the 'boredom' from history and make it the kind of social scientific discipline that it should be. The implications of these suggestions are that refresher courses will have to be organized with in-service history teachers in order to familiarise them with these ambitions.

Fourthly, research into the teaching aims, content and methods of teaching History should be encouraged. One way of doing this can be through the provision of incentives and other research grants to History and History education researchers from Lesotho. This will ensure that there is continued availability of empirical information, latest trends, challenges, and possibilities for the discipline.

Conclusion

This article has explored the challenges facing History education in Lesotho. In exploring these challenges, I have argued that the situation is not unique to Lesotho but rather a global trend whereby History as an academic discipline is not viewed as important in meeting the needs of this era. To substantiate this claim, this article has incorporated the contexts in Cameroon and South Africa through a discussion of my personal experiences as a History student and then a teacher and lecturer but also through a review of research literature. Based on the issues raised, this article has then provided reasons why History should be given more attention in Lesotho and I have concluded the article with some recommendations to the different stakeholders on how to achieve this turnaround.

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Teaching and learning History through Thinking Maps

Marj Brown
Roedean School (SA)
MABrown@roedeanschool.co.za

Charles Dugmore
Roedean School (SA)
CDugmore@roedeanschool.co.za

Abstract

The use of thinking skills is gaining ground in many South African schools and the challenge is how to use these tools so that they really assist learners without becoming prescriptive or forced. Over six months, Marj Brown and Charles Dugmore have been using thinking maps with various classes, and have found their worth is palpable. Many of the maps used come from the Habits of Mind (HoM) (Costa &Kallick, 2008) and Thinking Maps (Hyerle &Yeager, 2007), and are used in conjunction with HoM approaches to a task, while others have been devised by the authors , or adapted from the original maps to suit the task. The maps have been used by pupils to prepare for essays, short tasks in class, as well as to summarise or understand concepts, political stands, cause and effect, the flow of events, with examples at each stage, and to compare and contrast people, and groups, or events. The presentation is offered as a way of inspiring possibilities in learners to learn by mind mapping History so that it does not become a series of facts to be rote learnt.

Keywords: Thinking maps; History teaching and learning; Circle Map; Double Bubble Map; Tree Map; Brace Map; Flow Map; Multi- Flow Map; Bridge Map.

Introduction

The use of thinking skills is gaining ground in many South African schools and the challenge is how to use these tools so that they really assist pupils without becoming prescriptive or forced.

Over the past eight months, History teachers Marj Brown and Charles Dugmore have been using a range of graphic organisers including David Hyerle and Chris Yeager's Thinking Maps (Hyerle & Yeager, 2007) with various classes, and have found their worth is palpable. These Thinking Maps are used in conjunction with Habits of Mind (HoM) approaches to a task (Costa & Kallick, 2008), while others have been devised by the authors, or adapted from the original maps to suit the task. The thinking maps each

represent a different cognitive skill and, thus, are not multi-dimensional in approach. They are useful building blocks to a final approach which may use a combination of skills, for example, cause and effect and relationships at the same time. Although the Thinking Maps approach is prescriptive and requires constant use of their eight key maps, allowing for little if any modification of the maps, we have taken a more eclectic approach. We have used the maps in a more creative way, at times using them as intended and, at other times, modifying them or developing entirely new thinking maps, which do combine different factors involved in an event, which has produced interesting results.

Why use Thinking Maps?

The maps have been used by learners to prepare for essays, short tasks in class, as well as to summarise or understand concepts, political stands, cause and effect, the flow of events with examples at each stage, and to compare and contrast people and groups, or events. This article is offered as a way of inspiring possibilities in learners to learn by mind-mapping History so that it does not become a series of facts to be learned by rote and to access a deeper level of learning that makes use of non-textual information to make sense of historical information.

In the sections to follow, reference will be made to the Circle Map, Double Bubble Map, Triple Bubble Map, Multi-Bubble Map, Tree Map, Brace Map, Flow Map, Multi-Flow Map and Bridge Map and the manner in which they can be utilised in the teaching and learning of History. Roedean, an Independent School for girls in Johannesburg, uses all of these eight Thinking Maps prescribed by Hyerle and Yeager (2007).

The Circle Map, or defining in context

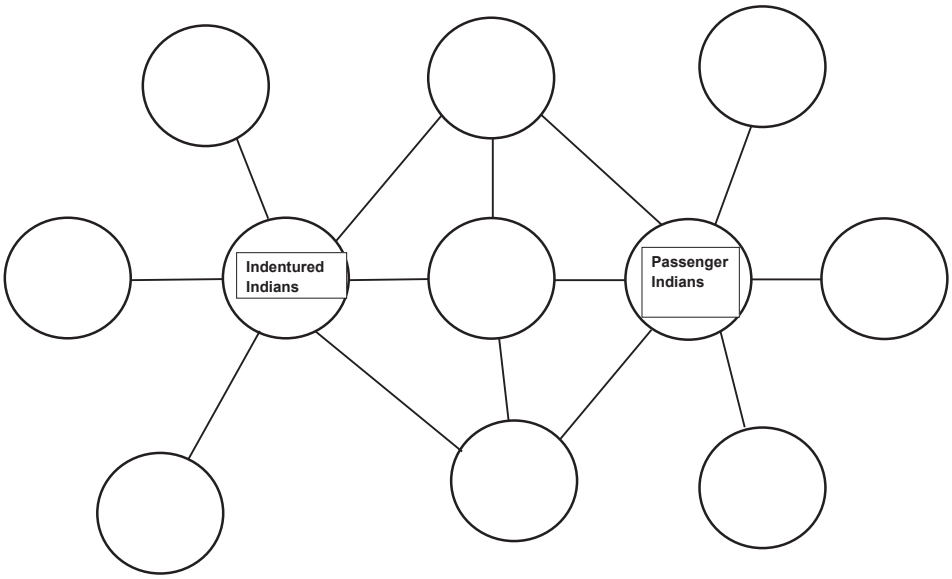
When teaching at a grade 8 level, this map is useful to help pupils synthesise information and contextualise it. Earlier this year, the learners learned about the arrival of indentured and passage Indians, and studied the life of Gandhi in SA. As part of this study, we looked at the influences in his early life and his experience in SA that shaped him and his policy of *Satyagraha*. We asked the learners as a summary of this section, to do the Circle Map. They placed Gandhi and his policies/beliefs in the centre of the circle, and the influences on the outside, with the latter representing his context.

The Double Bubble Map, or compare and contrast

In a later, separate exercise, we used the double bubble map to compare and contrast the passage and indentured Indians. The circles in the middle show the similarities and the circles on the outside the differences.

Image 1: Using the Circle Map and Double Bubble Map: Indians in South Africa (Grade 8)

Complete a Double Bubble Map showing the similarities and differences between the Indentured Indians and Passenger Indians

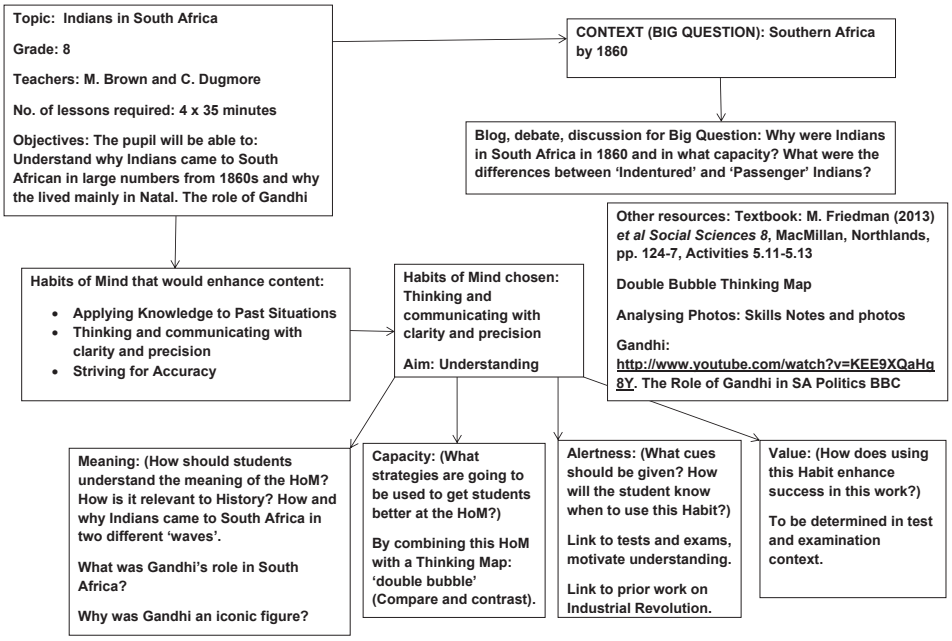


Source: Brown & Dugmore (2014:2).

When using the Circle Map and Double Bubble Map, the results showed that the learners who learn better from visualisation definitely benefitted from this graphic representation of the information.

The Habits of Mind lesson preparation for this section appears in Image 2 below.

Image 2: Using the Circle Map and Double Bubble Map: Indians in South Africa (Grade 8) Lesson Plan

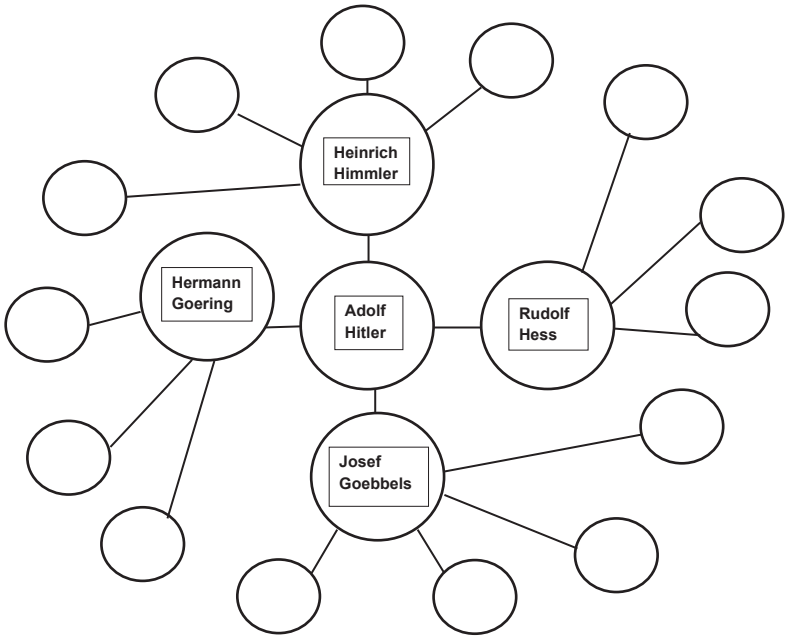


Source: Brown & Dugmore (2014:3).

The Double Bubble Map is very useful for *preparation* for compare and contrast essays – and the latter are used widely in the Grade 12 syllabus – especially in the "Civil Society Protests" section. The learners have been asked to compare and contrast different Civil Society Movements such as the Women's Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. This is helpful, but we found that the pupils needed extra bubbles as well, in certain instances, and developed a Triple Bubble Map, or more, to show the overlaps of the different movements. We also asked the Grade 9 learners to indicate similarities between key Nazi leaders and Hitler while also showing their unique attributes, creating a Multi-Bubble Map. The result is seen below in Image 3.

Image 3: Using the Multi-Bubble Map to teach Nazi Germany to Grade 9s

Complete a Double Bubble (Multi-Bubble Map showing the similarities of key Nazi leaders had with Adolf Hitler and their differences with Hitler. Similarities are in the inner circle marked by the Nazi leader, differences



Source: Brown & Dugmore (2014:4).

Flow maps or sequencing: The flow map and the multi-flow map

In order to teach the Ante Matric (Grade 11) theme, "The cause and effects of the Russian Revolution", we began by using a flow map to show sequencing of the link between the 1905 revolution, the February Revolution and the October Revolution. The learners could also add aspects of each stage to the blocks below the main block, and, thus, create as many sub-headings as needed. This is a useful map for preparing for an essay where a clear understanding of cause and effect is required. Alternatively, we could have used the multi- flow map, where the context, the main event, and the implications of the event can be arranged. This map is ideal for studying for an extended writing essay, as these are the three aspects learners have to cover around an event: context, nature and effects.

We also developed a graphic visualisation of the different Russian Revolution political parties, to help Grade 11 learners understand the different political and economic views of these parties. For this we used an X and Y axis, and plotted the parties onto it. The X axis represented economic beliefs and the Y axis represented political beliefs. We then encouraged the learners to plot the various political parties across the ideological spectrum from the "Kadets" (Constitutional Democrats) on the right to the Bolsheviks on the far left. This was not linear however, and the learners had to think about political and economic ideology.

The Brace Map

Another useful map is the Brace Map. It is similar to a concept hierarchy where a single concept then "embraces" (using an embracement bracket) several "sub-concepts" or subsidiary concepts which are, in turn, also further sub-divided into supporting concepts, from left to right, across the page. The concepts have to be complete, including all possible concepts and excluding none. For example, the concept "North America" would embrace "Canada, USA and Mexico". Each of these concepts could then be further sub-divided into provinces or states so that all 50 states in the USA would appear after an embracement bracket and all the corresponding provinces would appear after Canada and Mexico.

The Tree Map

This is a useful map for classification purposes but, unlike the Brace Map, a concept is "branched off", from the top to the bottom of the page, into subsidiary concepts below it. It is similar to the Brace Map and a concept hierarchy but it only provides some examples and does not offer a complete range of all the subsidiary concepts (and could feasibly exclude many such subsidiary concepts). For example, the concept "Nouns" when "branched off' could include "ball, cat, grass, sky" below it and each of these nouns could, in turn, be "branched of" below ("ball" could be sub-divided into "round", "football", "billiards" and so on).

The Bridge Map

The Bridge Map takes a concept and bridges or links this to another apparently

unrelated concept by finding common ground between these concepts using a link referred to as a "relating factor". For example, "Man" and "dog" can be linked using the term "pet" as a "relating factor". The Industrial Revolution can be explained with a series of such bridge maps so that "cotton gin" is linked to "demand for slave labour' while "Spinning Jenny" is linked to "demand for female labour" and so on.

Applying the maps

In all these cases, graphic organisers and the more formal Thinking Maps were used eclectically to aid understanding in the teaching and learning process. We found that the learners enjoyed using these and understood the lessons better than using text alone. Our assessments suggest that learners remembered non-textual representations better and performed well in those sections where these were used. In the process, we have enabled the learners to become familiar with the use of non-textual representations of ideas and historical events so that should we introduce a more rigorous approach to Thinking Maps approach in the future, they will have already "bought into" their use and seen their value in improving their performance.

Finally, we decided to assess both the graphic organisers and the Thinking Maps used by the Grade 10 leaners to represent visually their essays on the causes of political instability or "upheaval" in Southern African in the late 1700s and early 1800s (in what used to be called the *Mfecane*). These leaners were given the task of synthesising a range of causes in a critical way. They had to respond to a topic that stated: "The Zulu Kingdom was just one of several important African states that had an impact on the instability in Southern Africa in the period 1750 to 1835". Most began by considering the argument that the Zulus were the only or the main cause of the instability (the so-called Shaka as Mfecane Motor argument) and then subjected this to a critique. They then systematically considered the role that other "African states" played.

In the process, the Grade 10 learners noticed that the Ndwandwe under Zwide and the Mthethwa under Dingiswayo were engaged in conflict with one another *before* the rise of Shaka and the Zulu Kingdom and that it was precisely these wars that Shaka emerged as a military commander. Many of the innovations that are associated with Shaka since as fighting barefoot, the use of the short stabbing spear and the bull-and-horns formation were actually earlier inventions that Shaka refined or adapted. Far from being the "cause" of

the *Mfecane*, Shaka and his Zulu warriors were themselves, the "effects" of earlier causes.

Secondly, the more astute learners also brought in broader factors such as the role played by the environment, for example droughts and trade (ivory, cattle and, later, slaves) with the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay. This introduced a separate vector or cause of instability in the interior. Thirdly, there were many other tribes that also engaged in violence in the interior independently of the Zulus or their neighbouring "tribes". Fourthly, the Boers, Griquas and Kora raiders along the Orange River brought in a separate cause that originated far from the Zulu Kingdom and eventually intersected with it after Shaka's death (under Dingane who engaged with the Voortrekkers at the Battle of Blood River). Finally, Shaka's attacks also set off a "chain reaction" of violence in the interior, notably in the form of Mzilikazi's Ndebele (although more capable learners noted that the Ndwandwe may have caused this separately from Shaka). The resulting essays were highly complex as each had to capture at least five different vectors of causality at different times. The learners were given eight 35-minute lessons to research and write up their essays in which they had to also insert references and a full bibliography. They submitted the final product using software that checks for plagiarism.

The learners' responses

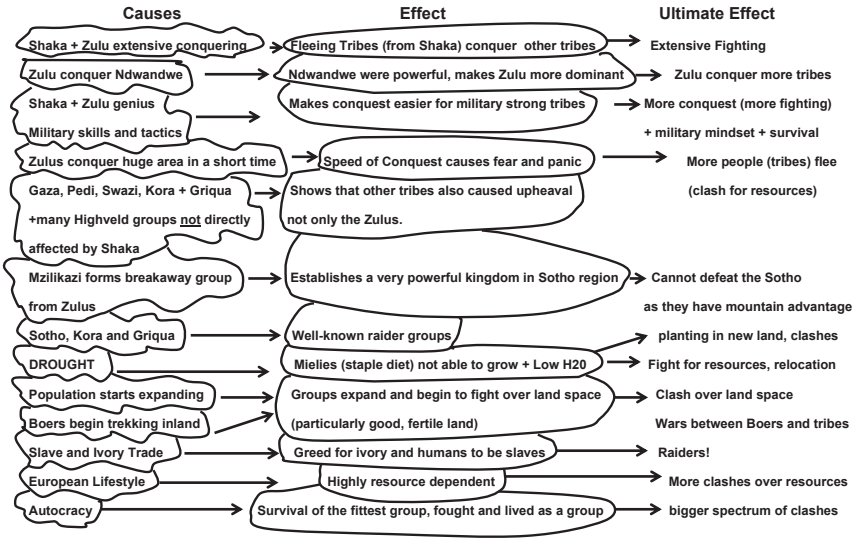
We then asked the Grade 10 learners to take their completed essays and represent them graphically on a sheet of paper, by hand. They were asked to show cause and effect in these mind maps as well as relationships between tribes. Besides this request, they were not given any guidance and left to their own devices although many checked and compared their results with their peers. The result was a fascinating array of different approaches. Many, it should be noted, did not opt for the Thinking Maps approaches but chose graphic organisers such as a simplistic Mind Map with "Instability" in the centre with lines linking to a range of causes. Interestingly, the arrows often projected outwards *towards* the causes rather than from them and with no links between the causes themselves. This suggests that they had not taken on board the Thinking Maps with which they were familiar and opted instead for a simple diagram (also known as a Spider Map). However, the more able learners produced marvellously complex and thoughtful Thinking Maps that mostly followed the Flow Map that represented sequencing and a few opted for variations on the Multi-Flow Map for cause and effect and several even

preferred the Tree Map for classification. The variety suggests that they were thinking carefully about their work and customising it rather than following a prescriptive approach. Furthermore, they *adapted* the Thinking Map with all kinds of arrows and other graphic representations to create unique, highly dynamic and thoughtful non-textual representations of their essays. (See the examples below in Images 4 to 6).

Image 4: Example one: The complex relationships between tribes and the impact of the actions of different groups is shown simultaneously

Source: Brown & Dugmore (2014:5).

Image 5: Example two: The cause and effect of different groups and factors is displayed, but lacks the inter-relationship of these factors



Source: Brown & Dugmore (2014:5).

Image 6: Example three: The nature of the groups as aggressors or victims is explored, but little cause-and-effect in terms of sequencing. It is interesting that the centre of the map is the "upheaval", or what historians use to refer to as the *Mfecane,* which is the central issue, but the directions of the arrows go outward, rather than inward.

Source: Brown & Dugmore (2014:5).

Conclusion

Our eclectic approach had given learners the confidence to experiment with their own forms of Thinking Maps that produced a better, more accurate version than Hyerle and Yeager's (2007) versions would have produced. The lesson we take from this experience is while prescription has its place, learners are too diverse in their thinking to force them into one of eight "channels" as the Thinking Maps are presented and that our subject, History, is too complex to be accommodated in the straitjacket of a single Thinking Map. Furthermore, if we want learners to think critically and creatively about their own writing and thinking processes to promote adaption, modification, creativity and complexity, it necessarily *requires* a more flexible, eclectic approach in the teaching of Thinking Maps than the authors prescribe.

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Race, power and me: My position as a History educator in relation to the position of learners

Denise Gray
School of Education
University of Cape Town
denise.mary.gray@gmail.com

Abstract

History, as outlined in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements for GET and FET (CAPS) is both a journey of enquiry and an evidence-based construction of the past. It enables learners and teachers alike to understand better our human condition. The role of the history teacher is to create an environment in which such an historical gaze can be fostered in the classroom. A precondition of this is, however, a relationship between teacher and learners that allows its development. In this article I explore my position as a History teacher in relation to the position of my learners, taking cognisance of the power relationship between educators and the learners they teach. I consider how this relationship may be complicated by structural inequalities in the South African context and may stand in the way of the learners accepting that they can develop an historical gaze of their own. To do this, I construct a narrative of the significant turning points in my personal journey of understanding human rights as a teacher. Themes that emerge are 'voice' and/silence, and the moral dilemma of responsibility (and sharing of resources) versus voluntary abdication of power in the way of redress for injustices of the past. Through the form of a personal, first-person narrative, I endeavour to make explicit the ethical dilemmas of my own conscience and to promote the language of the personal and of feeling. I begin with an assumption that teaching and learning of the CAPS curriculum is a given, and, accepting its values and aims, I reflect on how to embody them. This includes reflections on positionality and subjectivity, trying to answer, "who is the gazer, and from where is she gazing?" This is an exercise in multi-perspectivity that accounts for my own perspective, recognising that I, too, am embedded in history. Ultimately, I suggest that it is only as a reflexive history teacher that I can assist learners towards understanding history with their own gaze.

Keywords: History; Education; Race; Gender; Power; Ethics; Ontology, Transformation; Redress; Whiteness; Voice; Silence; South Africa; Dialogue.

I have recently completed my PGCE qualification. My postgraduate studies, lecturing and tutoring experience prior to this have given me opportunities to think hard about what being a well-educated white woman might mean for the students who find themselves sitting under my instruction – that is, positioned in a relationship to me where I am the authority. As South Africa's history of inequality is encoded into our insitutions as well as our identities, teaching History in school has ethical challenges which need to be acknowledged and negotiated.

I shall share personal experiences that have shaped my awareness and helped me to engage with human rights inside and outside of the classroom. Rather than considering inequality in the abstract, I want to make the interactions between teacher and learners personal and to articulate what group rights or the lack thereof have looked like in my own life. Through the mode rather than the content of this article, I aim to show that we as educators and knowledge producers should also make space for personal openness and reflection if we are to assist our learners to develop their own understanding and appreciation of History.

While race is an obvious human rights issue in South Africa, it is also a screen or proxy for other human rights issues: such as huge income disparities, unequal access to opportunities and resources, and sometimes cultural and religious conflicts. Race complicates the already existing power relationship between my students and me. My narrative is of significant turning points in my life that have forced me to think differently about human rights.

When I started school in 1993 I made friends with a small girl who I believed to be called Assembly, but who was in fact, Kessendri. I was a bit unsure about being friends with what was designated then as an "Indian" girl. Gradually an idea formed in my young head that "other than different food and religion, they are basically the same as us". Somewhere between the things I heard my parents say, and my own experience, an allowance was made in my own mind for the group designated as Indian, that although Indians were different to "us" in some minor respects, I felt that I was allowed to relate to them as equals. I remember going to the homes of one or two Indian friends for their birthday parties, which reinforced my feeling that my parents implicitly supported these friendships. As an adult, it is interesting for me to reflect on what was implied by, but unarticulated in my mental arithmetic: that "black" people are "not" equal, and friendship with black people is neither desirable nor permitted.

By the time I arrived at university in 2004, I had made only one black friend – at the private girls' school which I attended, she had been the only black South African girl in my grade. But university opened up new possibilities. I joined a church which assigned me to a bible study group comprised of young women from my residence, most of whom identified as black or brown. Through my friendships with these women, I became privy, for the first time, to discontent with white power in the church. Rather unwillingly, I was made aware of the white-centredness of a church where more than half of the members were black – the style of music for example, was rock rather than R&B or African traditional/s. My new friends pointed out that although the leadership, to their credit, addressed race relations from the pulpit, the broader leadership of the church was almost all white. Importantly, I was also privy to the anger of these women, and sometimes the recipient thereof. Without realising it, at this time I learnt to be silent about race rather than making a mistake and causing offence.

The church was ideologically very conservative, such that I found myself to be silenced in another way, one that was "not" by choice. Like many women, I had grown up with tacit acceptance of male centrality in the household, but these rules about gender roles only became explicit in the context of this conservative, hierarchical church structure. I found that I was repeatedly judged "as a woman", rather than by my personal qualities or what I could offer. I felt my voice to be unheard, and my options to be significantly diminished on the basis of my biological sex. I completely supported these ideas until my final year when I became very close to a lesbian couple, who also were actively involved in HIV/AIDS activism on campus. Gradually, my own doubts and confusion began to surface, creating a tension between two sets of beliefs which I was not able to reconcile at that time. It only became clear to me during the following 18 months I spent working in the United Kingdom, how much I had been a victim of discrimination and sexism, which had been disguised as indisputable religious doctrine.

The psychological wounding and the sheer frustration that I experienced had important consequences for me. For the first time, I was able to identify strongly with people who had experienced other kinds of discrimination. I could empathise with their position in a way I had not been previously. What followed was a greater willingness to recognise and engage with racial prejudice. I came to identify strongly with academic feminism, finding ideological support from that corner, and decided to further my studies with

a focus on "gender and writing".

There, I formally encountered postcolonial and African feminisms, engaging with writers such as Audre Lorde,[1] Chandre Tapade Mohanty[2] and Desiree Lewis.[3] I came to understand the importance of not assuming that all women suffer discrimination equally. Mohanty writes about how Western feminists, in their well-meaning attempts to support their "sisters," have constructed the idea of an homogenous "third world woman" who in no way represents the real experiences of all the many, different women who live in the global South. Mohanty shows that it is better for black women to speak for themselves.

Like Mohanty, Desiree Lewis has also voiced strong opposition to white or Western feminists who try to speak for black women, under a guise of solidarity. Lewis argues in no uncertain terms that knowledge is power, that the written word has a history of white power, and that by speaking for black women, white feminists overwrite the actual experience of black or brown women. It started becoming very clear to me that white women trying to "help" often have the counterproductive effect of further silencing and disempowering black women.

It was with these ideas in mind that I felt myself faced with something of an ethical dilemma when I was offered a temporary lecturing contract at a tertiary institution a few months later. An educator stands in a position of power in relation to students. At this institution, the educator-student power relationship was complicated by other power dynamics, by virtue of differences in income, background, language, race and even dress. By taking the job, I risked perpetuating an historically entrenched power-relationship between black and white South Africans, particularly pertinent in the history of education. All but one of my 150 students were black, many came from single-parent households or were raised by their grandmothers, and I gathered that they had not had access to a good quality of high/secondary school education. Article 15 in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights states that every individual has the right to work under equitable and satisfactory conditions.[4] I wondered how it would look and feel to the students

1 A Lorde, "Age, race, class, and sex: Women redefining difference", *Zami, Sister Outsider, Undersong* (New York, Quality, 1995), pp. 114-123.

2 CT Mohanty, "Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses", A McClintock, A Mufti & E Shohate, *Dangerous liaisons: Gender, nation and postcolonial perspectives* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997) , pp. 255-276.

3 D Lewis, "The politics of feminism in South Africa", *Staffrider* , 10(3), 1992, pp. 15-21.

4 Organization of African Unity (OAU), African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, 1982, p. 5 (available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3630.html, as accessed on 8 October 2014).

if the only white person in the room was the one in a position of power. Is it possible that it could be viewed as equitable?

But the other side of the dilemma was this: since I had come to be privileged, and chiefly through the formal education I have received, what was the ethical thing to do with that privilege, and in particular, with the knowledge-power I possessed? Article 29 in the African Charter requires that each person has a duty to serve his or her national community by placing her physical and intellectual abilities at its service.[5] And in the spirit of human rights, white South Africans have a duty towards racial reconciliation, and redress for the injustices of the past. As I consider this dilemma now, from the perspective of school-level teaching, it becomes even more acute, when "encouraging the values of the South African Constitution … [and]… promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices"[6] is not only a matter of civic responsibility but also a requirement of the curriculum. How then, did I justify a teacher-learner relationship that reinforced many aspects of the apartheid past? At the time I fixed upon a "lesser of two evils" philosophy and did what was practical and possible given my circumstances. I hoped, still, that I could make a positive difference, even though I do believe that I participated in a structure of racial inequality.

I moved from the institution and continued to pursue a postgraduate interest in gender studies, specifically in the field of masculinities in an even more pronounced way than before. As I tried to understand gender, I was forced to engage with "race", and the history of race relations in South Africa. Kopano Ratele, for instance showed me how not only history, but narratives *about* history, shaped Steve Biko's articulation of "the black man" – an ideal masculinity believed to be lost together with political autonomy at the hands of white rule.[7] Steyn exposes white superiority and racism as a pathology, and shows how blackness came to be seen negatively by Western empires, largely due to economic expediency.[8] Steyn borrows from a number of sources including psychoanalytic thinkers such as Frantz Fanon, to the effect of exposing white superiority and racism as a pathology. At this time I recalled a source I had seen years before while studying Cape settler history: it was

5 Organization of African Unity (OAU), "African Charter…", 1982, p. 8 (available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3630.html, as accessed on 8 October 2014).

6 Department of Basic Education (DoBE), *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Grades 7-9 Social Sciences,* 2011, p. 11.

7 K Ratele, "The end of the black man", *Agenda*, 14(37), 1988, pp. 60-64.

8 M Steyn, *Whiteness just isn't what it used to be: White identity in a changing South Africa,* pp. 3-22 (Albany, SUNY Press, 2001).

a document produced by a woman's philanthropic organisation about how to "help" indigenous people. Only when I read Steyn's powerful piece on whiteness did I come to the conclusion that philanthropy, do-gooding and "outreach" are part of what have enabled white people, particularly colonists, to be convinced of their own moral superiority. I understand missionaries as having mostly occupied this ambiguous position of doing a lot of good while in the long run, their very presence contributed to the decimation of African culture, dignity and family structures. I think something similar happens today, where wealthy, predominantly white churches continue to expend enormous resources on charitable activity, having the unfortunate side-effect of standing in the place of real engagement with issues of race and segregation. As I have already suggested, this 'helping' relationship may even be *dis*empowering for those at the receiving end.

During the soccer world cup in 2010, I was involved in a holiday club for children that exemplifies this kind of ambiguous "helping" relationship. The church I belonged to at that time had an informal partnership with a school that served a low-income community in the city centre. The school lent us their premises for our four-week children's holiday club. The programme was comprised of educational, recreational, and religious elements, and was also devised as a way of protecting children during the world cup. The intention was, in principle, to make the world a kinder, fairer place, and this is often attempted through education-type projects. Steyn's "Master narrative of whiteness"[9] has subsequently forced me to think more critically about this kind of activity. Article 28 of the African Charter declares that "the state shall ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women, and also ensure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child".[10] This is essentially a principle of redress; of actively remedying unequal power relationships; of setting them right.

The question I am left with though, is how best this can be carried out; and for the purposes of this conversation, what does redress look like in the context of relationships between educators and students? For readers in other contexts, perhaps the question might be a different one; you might want to ask: how can we, as privileged citizens of our countries, address inequality without inadvertently participating in it? Some intellectuals in the global South may identify with the victims rather than the perpetrators of historical injustice,

9 M Steyn, *Whiteness just isn't what it used to be...,* pp. 3-22 (Albany, SUNY Press, 2001).

10 Organization of African Unity (OAU), "African Charter…", 1982, p. 5 (available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3630.html , as accessed on 8 October 2014).

especially in educational systems where indigenous languages have been sidelined or decimated. For educators in this position, perhaps the question is not one of redress, but of repair; how best can the damage of global imperialism be repaired in your classrooms as the acquisition of a historical gaze provides the opportunity for social justice?

Samantha Vice, a philosopher, thinks about the question of redress in the South African context in a way that responds to the kind of challenge to white power issued by Desiree Lewis. Vice has written a contentious article about how white people might try to live ethically in post-apartheid South Africa,[11] and she suggests that white people should be very cautious about speaking or writing in the public domain. She advocates voluntary silence as an act of restitution, since she views silence as a way of stepping down from that power which white people have illegitimately gained.

There is a kind of silence that can be very destructive. Judith Butler borrows Freud's idea of "melancholia":[12] Freud famously argues that what is not acknowledged (and repressed to the unconscious) repeatedly manifests in other ways. Freud originally used the concept to describe denial of loss, which forecloses the grief process and results in depression, but Butler uses this idea to a political end. She thinks about which people, and which bodies are not allowed to be acknowledged; in her earlier work she shows how public discourse does not allow for the mourning of gays, and in *Precarious life* she gives the example of a newspaper's refusal to publish the obituaries of two Palestinian families, submitted by a citizen.[13] Drawing parallels between her examples and my own environment, I started asking myself these important questions: who, and what, is not being acknowledged in my context? And what am I personally not acknowledging (denying) because it's too uncomfortable or too difficult?

I was able to start finding the answers in a mixed race reading and discussion group of which I became a member in 2012. Under the auspices of discussing a book about how evangelical theology perpetuates racial segregation in America[14] our group functioned as something of a private truth and reconciliation commission. The group worked because of an agreement to be forgiving, and accepting, which made honesty possible, and because of

11 S Vice, "How do I live in this strange place?", *Journal of Social Philosophy,* 41(3), 2010, pp. 323-342.

12 V Bell, "On speech, race and melancholia: An interview with Judith Butler", *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16(2), 1999, pp. 163-174.

13 J Butler, *Precarious life: The powers of mourning and violence* (New York, Verso, 2006), p. 35.

14 MO Emerson & C Smith, *Divided by faith: Evangelical religion and the problem of race in America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000).

a common desire to see the local church racially integrated. The group was important for me in many ways, but two in particular I will mention; firstly I came to see the importance of white South Africans getting behind black leadership and playing supportive roles, especially in the context of charity or development programmes. Secondly, I was challenged by members of the group that while selective silence might be wise, it is important to use my voice as a white person, to speak to white power, and to challenge, where I can, assumptions of white privilege and superiority.

What better occasion to do this than to teach second year students at an historically white university where I had registered for a postgraduate degree? I had the opportunity of teaching my own research to a group of 11 students of English who signed up for my seminar course. Eight of these students were white, and from varying degrees of privileged backgrounds, two self-identified as "coloured", and one as black. We studied two novels, spending one term on white masculinity and a novel called *The children's day*,[15] and one term on black masculinity and the novel *After tears*.[16] Although the class situation was awkward and tense at times, it was easily the most positive teaching experience of my relatively short career. While we worked through *After tears* and accompanying readings from sociology, psychology and literary studies, I had the privilege of watching the lights turn on in the heads of the young white students as they moved from a position of judgement and frustration, to empathy for, and even indignation on behalf of the fictional character, Bafana, a disaffected young black man who treads a path of dissolution and despair. Most importantly, my single black student expressed having felt invisible at the largely white university until taking the course, which gave her a space to feel seen, heard and recognised.

I now face a career in high school teaching, in what is a very economically, and often racially divided education system. The ethical questions which I have discussed return to me in a slightly different form. The history curriculum allows me to address race directly, and to incorporate the problems of race and inequality into the content of the lessons themselves, particularly when teaching The Transatlantic Slave Trade, Colonisation of the Cape, the Mineral Revolution, the Scramble for Africa, The Rise of NAZI Germany and the Holocaust, Turning Points in South African History, Transformation in SA and Colonial Expansion, the South African War, Ideas of Race, Nationalism, Apartheid, Independent Africa, The Civil Rights Movement, and Democracy

15 M Heyns, *The children's day* (Johannesberg & Cape Town, Jonathan Ball, 2002).
16 N Mhlongo, *After tears* (Cape Town, Kwela Books, 2007).

in South Africa. But there is a limit in a school context, especially as a new entrant into the school system, to how much I am able (or willing) to expose the plumbing of inequality within the very walls of the school itself. During one of my periods of teaching practice, I was placed in a school which (although it has much to recommend it) I experienced as bureaucratic, punitive, and unnecessarily hierarchical. While teaching the Grade 9s about the rise of Nazi Germany, I found myself describing the relationship between dehumanisation and state institutions – bureaucracy – in Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa: that where the system rather than individuals is held responsible, terrible atrocities become possible. It occurred to me that the most relevant, poignant and truthful example I could use to explain this aspect of history – that is, how institutions wield power beyond that of individuals – was the school itself, and the petty rules to which the learners were daily subjected. Yet, I censored myself. At the time, this choice was largely to do with my position as a student teacher, and a guest in the school, but if I were a permanent staff member, should I have done otherwise? Similarly, in a lesson explicitly devoted to eugenics, the history of white supremacy, and the idea of a "master race", I found that I could not bring myself to draw on the most salient and obvious example of how white superiority can become entrenched as normal, invisible even: whilst the learners themselves were mostly black, the teaching and managerial staff of the school were almost exclusively white – including me.

In the South African History classroom, the complexities of history and inequality are almost always immediately present in the structure of the class itself, of the school, and often in the relationship between the learner and the educator. In my case, the traces of history are most obvious where I am white and middle class, and where my learners are black and often less privileged. This historical residue might also be felt in working class and in rural schools, where by virtue of their level of education, the educator may be marked as privileged relative to their learners. To what extent is it necessary to expose to learners the foundations of injustice upon which almost all of our educational institutions are built? While it might illuminate their circumstances and invigorate their historical understanding, the risk is that learners may cease to have faith in the idea of the school, in the structures of power that, however flawed, are necessary for the functioning of the school, and perhaps even faith in the teacher herself.

Much may be said for caution, restraint and maintaining the status quo within the school environment. But something pulls me in the opposite direction.

It is a sense of responsibility and integrity to the discipline of History itself. As the CAPS document neatly articulates, "History is a process of enquiry and involves asking questions about the past: What happened? When did it happen? 'Why' did it happen then? It is about how to think analytically about the stories people tell us about the past 'and how we internalise' that information".[17] Both in explaining why events happened, and in considering how I internalise narratives that in turn constitute my identity, I am seeking to "explain human behaviour".[18] For me, part of the explanations for history's greatest large-scale atrocities is the blind conformity of ordinary people – just like me – who make injustice possible merely by not noticing, not knowing, or being silent. If I know that it's possible for "good" people to be complicit in larger systems which amount to evil, I must ask myself how I, personally, might be complicit in systemic injustice. Conversely, I must ask myself how history – the place, time, events and narratives over my life – has come to form my personality and identity, layer by layer, over time, so that the "I/eye"[19] that I recognise as my self is constituted, in part, by the very history which I teach. In teaching learners a "multi-perspective approach",[20] when considering "the many ways of looking at the same thing in the past" and "the different points of view of people in the past according to their position in society", I do believe that History educators should include themselves and their learners as textual objects for analysis.

I have shown how the position of (especially white) educators is inscribed with real and symbolic power, yet the two examples I have given from within the classroom point towards a lived experience in which educators may feel quite power*less*. It is important to recognise this, and to differentiate between an "experience" of powerlessness, and symbolic, cultural and economic power, which are often invisible to the individual who bears these privileges. An educator's feelings of powerlessness may be on account of authoritarian school management, nationally issued curriculum and assessment demands. This is to say nothing of the powerlessness (especially new) educators feel at the hands of the learners themselves, whose behaviour in the classroom may be difficult or impossible to manage. To answer this question of individual experience, I turned to Maxine Greene, who understands that educators

17 DoBE, *CAPS…* (2011), p. 9. Italics my own.
18 DoBE, CAPS… (2011), p. 11.
19 This construction deliberately refers to L Mulvey, "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema", *Screen* 16(3), 1975, pp. 6-18.
20 DoBE, CAPS… (2011), p. 11.

face a number of situations where they "simply see no alternatives".[21] Greene considers power, not in economic or political terms as I have, but within the realm of the moral and ethical. She shows that every educator may, in good conscience, exercise the power of agency, and exhorts teachers to be "wide awake" – alert to, interested in, and concerned about the world around them. She paints a picture of teachers as ethical decision-makers who invest energy into imagining alternatives to difficult situations, and to transmit to students through their actions the principles of ethical being.

Rob Phillips (2002) concludes his book[22] on the reflective teaching of history, which is based on the relationship between research and history teaching, with a chapter he entitled "Towards becoming a reflexive history teacher". "Reflexive," he defines as the capacity for critical and self-critical reflection.[23] For Phillips that means, "that in order to be effective, history teachers have to think reflectively about what they are doing and why they are doing it".[24] It concerns citizenship and identity, values, concepts, structural considerations, culture, "race", combating racism and prejudice, and gender issues, all of which the reflexive history teacher needs to grapple with. He continues that a constant question that he asks himself is "What kinds of people do we want to help produce via the history curriculum?"[25]

History as expressed in the CAPS is a journey of enquiry to be embarked upon, an evidence-based construction of the past, which leads to debates that enable learners and their teachers alike to understand better our human condition[26]. If we want our learners to develop an historical gaze, we need to create relationships and an environment in which such an historical gaze can be fostered in the classroom. I hope, in the future, to continue to learn to understand how my own and my learners' views are shaped by our positions, views held at a critical distance. In addition to balancing the demands of professionalism and of the institutions where I shall be working, I look forward to finding ways of allowing the learners' own experiences to broaden and deepen the dialogue about race, power and fairness, and for their everyday experiences of race and to strengthen our collective historical understanding.

21 M Greene, "Wide-awakeness and the moral life", *Landscapes of learning,* Chapter 3 (New York, Teachers College Press, 1978).

22 R Phillips, *Reflective Teaching of History 11-18* (London, Continuum, 2002).

23 R Phillips, *Reflective Teaching of History 11-18* (London, Continuum, 2002), p. 157, quoting R Griffith, National Curriculum: National Disaster? Education and Citizenship (London, Routledge/Falmer), p. 19.

24 R Phillips, *Reflective Teaching of History 11-18* (London, Continuum, 2002), p. 155.

25 R Phillips, *Reflective Teaching of History 11-18* (London, Continuum, 2002), p. 157.

26 Refer to J Dean, "Doing history: Theory, practice and pedagogy", S Jeppie, (ed.) *Toward New Histories for South Africa*, (Cape Town, Juta Gariep, 2004), p. 101.

South Africa needs its educators to acknowledge the ways in which they are implicated in South Africa's story of inequality and injustice, whether as beneficiaries, victims, or both. Like many others who pursue reconciliation, my own journey of healing began in dialogue. As far as I know, the History classroom is the only designated space for continuing dialogue about race and power on a national scale. I do not know yet how honest reflection about race and power between educators and learners should be facilitated, but I hope that going forward, part of the job description of History educators in South Africa will be to acknowledge the elephant in the classroom.[27]

27 An early version of this article was presented at the University of Namibia at a Finnish North-South-South programme intensive seminar, Windhoek, June 2014.

Book Reviews

Askari… Defined by their choices

(Jacana Media, Johannesburg, 2014, 307 pp. ISBN 978-1-4314-0975-4)

Jacob Dlamini

Simphiwe Ngwane
MA WITS
Middle Market Researcher for one of South Africa's top insurance companies
ngwane23@gmail.com

> *When faced with the real choice between life and death, Sedibe chose life…He would have remained a hero if he had chosen death* (p. 225).

In *'Askari: A story of Collaboration and Betrayal in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle'* Jacob Dlamini offers us a fresh insightful perspective on an otherwise murky past which disrupts the neat and narrow teleological national narrative of our history. In the introduction Dlamini states that the book is about Mr X1 (Glory Sedibe *noms de guerre* Comrade September) and his conversion from freedom fighter to apartheid agent (p. 1). Moreover, the book attempts to understand; what is an *askari*? What makes one an askari and further, attempts to understand comrade September's choices and the conditions under which he made his choices (p. 2). Quintessentially the book is about agency and context, as comrade September "morphed" from insurgent to counterinsurgent.

In laying out the introduction and setting up the scaffolding for the readers, Dlamini issues out a number of disclaimers in his introductory pages, "As an author, I cannot be considered a reliable narrator because I was not 'there', nor have I achieved the balance between explaining and understanding that these events require. I have known about Mr X1 for more than half my life, and researched the topic extensively, but I am not sure that I understand it all. Furthermore, I cannot say I have not judged him. Nor can the primary source materials on which the book relies be trusted" (p. 2). After reading these scores of disclaimers, the reader is left perplexed as to the authors expected intimacy towards the book, and his confidence in crafting a solid account and

his own agency in wading through the material.

I first read Askari five months ago and when I re-read it for this review, it reminded me of Yann Martel's 2010 novel, "Beatrice and Virgil" as it too touches on a lot of topics and many of which are hard to describe. It is centred on a former Nazi official who then becomes a taxidermist and this non-fictional character enunciates that; "Taxidermists do not create a demand. They merely preserve a result. We are no different from historians, who parse through the material evidence of the past in an attempt to reconstruct it and then understand it… I am a historian, dealing with an animal's past; the zookeeper is a Politician, dealing with an animal's present; and everyone else is a citizen who must decide on the animals future" (Martel, 2010, pp. 96-97).

Dlamini just like Yann Martel (although allegorical) is trying to describe the indescribable and in Dlamini's book it is – collaboration and betrayal. Unfortunately he applies far too much critical distance between himself and the subject matter, dare I say - taking on the above mentioned Taxidermists "distance"; with scores of disclaimers in the introduction. One then initially (although this quickly dissipates) questions the authors agency; the overarching topic of this significant book. Fortunately his critical distance and self-conscious balancing act doesn't take away from what we've expected from Dlamini, which is; thought provoking simplicity, how he tactfully inserts himself in history and, his literary panache.

Dlamini posits that, "…to see Mr X1 as only a 'victim' is to hide from historical view his agency and to diminish his capacity to act, regardless of his circumstances. Being a victim of torture might help explain Mr X1's choices. It does not absolve him of moral responsibility for his subsequent actions" (p. 15). Context cannot be used as an excuse, nor can counterinsurgents say, "Blame me of history". Perhaps a lengthy introduction but it sediments the complexity of the topic and evokes thought as Dlamini argues that, "Collaborators upset our belief about who we are, as they do not display the 'political understanding' of apartheid we assumed all black people shared" (p. 12). Dlamini places Sedibe's story in the context of other askari stories, and other truths so as to try understand his choices.

Dlamini provides us with skeletal biographical detail of Sedibe, but of course the book is not a biography of Sedibe but an examination of his choices and circumstances which led to those choices. At 24, Sedibe joined the outlawed ANC and illegally crossed the border into Swaziland in 1977, and was soon sent for specialised intelligence training in East Germany. By age 30 (1983)

he was sent to the Soviet Union for additional intelligence training, and by age 31 the ANC appointed him head of Military Intelligence in the Transvaal. He then defected in August 1986 (p. 20). He was abducted whilst in a Swazi police station in 1986 "The Security Branch wanted Sedibe alive, but his value to them was only in the information he could provide about his comrades and the ANC. His life was something to the SAP only if he talked. They let him know. And he talked. By talking under torture, Sedibe underwent changes that marked him profoundly for the rest of his life: from resister to collaborator, revolutionary to counter-revolutionary and, in the eyes of the ANC, hero to traitor" (p. 71).

Under torture at Vlakplaas, Sedibe eventually provided information and crossed the Rubicon, choosing to become a collaborator. One needed to have been a trained insurgent before one could become a counterinsurgent (p. 41). But, once the choice (under torture) was made, the askaris found themselves in a precarious situation as they felt that the ANC would kill them for treachery (if they returned), and De Kock and his men would kill them for desertion (if they left), they felt they were stuck in a catch-22 situation.

Dlamini elaborates and further complicates the act of collaboration lading it with significant consequence, adding that, "… from the very beginning askaris always did more than track their comrades. They served as agents provocateurs, assassins, bounty hunters, double agents, informers, intelligence analysts, spies and, of course, state witnesses" (p. 39). The act of collaboration weighted more than a single act of cooperation, as being a collaborator elongated the choices made to betray one's own.

The next chapters grapple with court transcripts during the 1980's court cases where Sedibe as Mr. X1 took the stand as a state witness to testify against his former comrades. The chapters further challenge the TRC Amnesty Committee for failing to interrogate and complicate the 'problem of agency' (p. 188). Dlamini argues that, "each of the collaborators examined in this chapter tried to put his choices down to circumstance. That is not enough. Human beings never stop being moral agents" (p. 221).

Chapter 12 provides an interesting juxtaposition between Phila Ndwandwe and implicitly Glory Sedibe. Ndwandwe had joined the ANC and abducted by police, interrogated and tortured, and she eventually cooperated with her abductors but refused to be an informer. Dlamini writes that, "We could say that, by refusing to become an informer, Ndwandwe chose death. We could say that in contrast to Sedibe, she took the honourable option. But

that would be a dubious assertion" (p. 227). Dlamini then argues that Phila Ndwandwe did make the honourable choice. "She responded to her torture the best way she could, telling her captors some of what they needed to know. But she would not, and did not, take that final step and become a traitor. She collaborated but refused to become a collaborator. Therein lies the difference between her and Sedibe" (p. 228). Dlamini then firmly states that, "We cannot accept Sedibe's claim that he had no choice" (p. 236).

In the conclusion Dlamini paraphrases two scholars in postulating that, "Knowledge does not equal power, but power cannot be exercised without it… How, then, can South Africans exercise power as citizens if they have little knowledge of this part of their past?... Life is messy. But does the messiness of life mean that we should let apartheid's secrets go to the grave?" (p. 250).

Dlamini's book performs a painful vivisection on our still fresh history, upsetting the almost accepted teleological national narrative purported by the ruling party. Dlamini as a gifted historian does more than what the taxidermist claims historians do – "preserving a result… only dealing with an animal's past." Dlamini takes into account Sedibe's past, his then present, and the future implications of his choice to become a counterinsurgent. These events and choices are grappled with and conveyed in a considered manner in this significant book.

A school of struggle: Durban's Medical School and the education of black doctors in South Africa

(University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013, 385 pp. ISBN 978-1-86914-252-0)

Vanessa Noble

Johannes Seroto
University of KwaZulu-Natal
serotj@unisa.ac.za

A school of struggle: Durban's Medical School and the education of black doctors in South Africa is an excellent authorized history of the struggles of black students at the Medical School of the then University of Natal. The author aims to understand and describe the challenges medical students enrolled at the Durban Medical School experienced during the apartheid era, and reveal

how these students contested and resisted *apartheid*-state policies.

The book consists of nine chapters throughout which the author draws from earlier research, international literature and work done by renowned South African scholars. She references 30 qualitative, in-depth oral interviews conducted between 1990 and 2000 and also a substantial number of archival sources. The first chapter provides an overview of medical education for black students in South Africa during the pre-apartheid era (prior to 1948). It also discusses the unequal and inferior education provided to black medical students, as informed by different legislative acts of parliament.

Chapter two looks at the establishment of the University of Natal Medical School in Durban. In it, Noble engages with the influence of the National Party government's racial policies on the operations of the Medical School. It is of particular interest to note that Noble elucidates that, through its 'financial strings' with the government, the school was forced to accept 'the principles of apartheid'. She also, however, reflects on how students in the Medical School undermined apartheid policies.

In her third chapter, Noble provides an insightful and comprehensive narration of the personal path of a student into a medical career. This path was characterised by racial, gender, financial and personal educational background challenges.

Chapters four and five offer an extensive and opulent account of the prevalent problems experienced by the students who gained admission to the Medical School. These challenges ranged from issues around skewed admission quotas, culture, and the differentiation of student residential facilities on the basis of race and staff-student relationships. The author exposes the substandard conditions of the hospitals in which student doctors and interns did their practicals. Chapter five further illuminates how white doctors humiliated and intimidated black students and doctors in the teaching wards. In addition, the author touches on women graduation and dropout rates, and the particular frustrations they experienced on a daily basis.

In Chapter six, Noble gives an account of and why students at the Durban Medical School were involved in anti-apartheid organisations. She also highlights what it was that mobilised students to get involved in anti-apartheid politics.

Chapter seven further explores the medical students' political activism and the consequences thereof between 1970 and 1980. The author focuses on the involvement of medical students in the politics of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the African National Congress (ANC). The chapter shows the ways in which students protested against apartheid policies.

The penultimate chapter focuses on the legacies of medical-education struggles in the post-apartheid education arena. Additional challenges, such as the HIV and AIDS pandemic facing the health sector, and their impact on the province of KwaZulu-Natal, are discussed.

The author concludes with a short, reflective chapter. In it, Noble (2013:336) summarises many of her thoughts as follows:

> *Over nearly half a century, segregated medical education in Durban developed as a site of great struggle against apartheid and a setting of deep contradictions. The provision of medical education in South Africa was always political in nature.*

The book is a well-researched, well-argued, clear discussion of the topic and is presented in an engaging manner. As such, it contributes new knowledge to the history of education in the medical sector. The author has succeeded in offering a holistic, detailed historical exposition of problems prevalent in South Africa's medical education system. *A school of struggle: Durban's Medical School and the education of black doctors in South Africa* enhances our understanding of the deeply rooted historical challenges a medical student faced in South Africa, as well as the painful consequences and impact of apartheid on medical education.

Op die spoor van die Groot Trek

(Voortrekkerleiers en trekroetes, Die Erfenisstigting, Pretoria, 2014, 132 pp. ISBN 978-0-9870202-5-3)

Jan C Visagie

Johan de Villiers
Navorsingsgenoot UZ, Stellenbosch
johanceciledev@gmail.com

Die Groot Trek as landsverhuising in die dekade 1835 tot 1845 is een van die epiese gebeurtenisse in die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis. Die oorsake, verloop

en impak van hierdie uittog uit die destydse Kaapkolonie is al voorheen deeglik nagevors deur historici, maar die detail oor spesifieke trekroetes van die verskillende geselskappe het agterweë gebly of is nooit volledig geboekstaaf nie.

Die historikus Jan Visagie het nou vir die Erfenisstigting 'n produk gelewer wat die verskillende trekroetes noukeurig identifiseer. Sy werk is meer as 'n blote padkaart met roete-aanduidings. Dit verskaf noodsaaklike inligting oor 30 bekende en minder bekende trekleiers (tabel pp 18 en 19). Hulle herkoms, vertrekdatums en onderskeie getal volgelinge word duidelik aangedui.

Die groot aanwins van hierdie publikasie is vyf volkleur oopvou-kaarte met eietydse plekname en huidige benamings wat die Oos-Kaapse, Wes-Kaapse, Noordoos-Kaapse, Transgariep en Natalse Voortrekkerroetes uitbeeld. Die skrywer het talle geografiese hindernisse en ander vereistes probeer vasstel deur argivale navorsing en veldwerk ter plaatse. Dit is duidelik dat die destydse trekgeselskappe slegs na vooraf verkenning van die terrein en beplanning van roetes die Kolonie in verskillende periodes verlaat het.

Visagie se werk sal belangstellendes in staat stel om op die voetspoor van die Voortrekkers hulle pionierstrekke na te volg. Sulke waarnemers sal nou 'n realistiese blik kan kry op die soms onherbergsame terrein (berge en riviere) wat die trekkers met hule swaargelaaide ossewaens en veetroppe moes oorsteek. Die spesifieke roetes is andersyds ook bepaal deur die ervaring van jagters en trekboere wat die beskikbaarheid van weiveld en oop ruimtes aan hulle kon meedeel.

Toepaslike foto's, verklarende voetnote, 'n stewige bronnelys en handige register is 'n aanwins in hierdie publikasie. Dit dien ook as belangrike aanvulling by Visagie se bekroonde werk oor Voortrekkerstamouers wat deur Protea-uitgewers bemark word. Voornemende toeriste en omgewingskundiges sal hierdie studie onontbeerlik vind in hulle soeke na 'n volledige en noukeurige uitbeelding van die Groot Trek.

29TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING (SASHT)

DATE: 9-10 October 2015

VENUE: The University of Limpopo (Polokwane)

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Prof Barney Pityana (University of Cape Town)

CONFERENCE THEME: *Modern Modes of Assessment – Debating and Sharing*

SUB-THEMES:

- Assessment techniques for learning in the classroom situation
- Revisiting taxonomies (skills) in the assessment of History
- Infusing (broad organising) concepts for the study of History into assessment
- Ways of applying technology in assessment efforts
- Debating the relevance of assessment
- Revisiting the value or flaws of traditional and/or modernised forms of assessment
- Creative ways in assessing historical time; timelines and/or maps

- Rubric development to assess assessments
- Utilising and assessing local and regional histories in the CAPS-context
- What should be assessed?
- Successful ways to study History for days of assessment
- Critically reviewing the assessment level of Grade 12 national exams in South Africa
- Any other History-related topic

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF ABSTRACTS: 31July 2015 (Abstract guidelines and an abstract submission form available on the SASHT website).

CONFERENCE FEES:

Full conference: R950 (before 31 August); R1200 (after 1 September); Daily rate (payable before 30 September): R650 (Friday only); R550 (Saturday only); Excursion to Makapan's Cave: R50 per person (Payment details, registration form and other relevant information available on the SASHT website).

INQUIRIES:

Mr Lucky Vuma (Lucky.Vuma@ul.ac) or Mr Jake Manenzhe (Manjake12@gmail.com)

"HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN AFRICA"

Call for Papers – Special Edition

Yesterday & Today, No. 14 (December 2015)

History textbooks, as with all other textbooks, play a vital role in education and their use to support teaching and learning is an almost universally accepted practice. They are widely used in classrooms to fulfil a range of purposes ranging from transmitting knowledge to legitimising dominant historical narratives. This elevates history textbooks to a powerful medium of mass communication which can be employed by dominant groups in society to, amongst other uses, establish cultural and political hegemony and to uplift society. Very few members of society experience school without being exposed to the power of history textbooks. As such history textbooks are the one form of the printed mass media which probably has the widest societal reach. Despite the afore-mentioned history textbooks in South Africa are an under-researched field (only 21 academic articles have appeared since the 1940s which have analysed history textbooks) and concerted academic scholarship into this genre only emerging in the past few years.

This is the first call for papers for a special edition of *Yesterday & Today*[1] on History textbooks in Africa. We welcome contributions that focus on the analysis of history textbooks, the ways in which textbooks are used by teachers and learners, the politics of publishing history textbooks, theories and methodologies related to History textbooks, the use of textbooks in classrooms, comparative studies or on any other History textbook related topic.

- Articles should be ± 8 000 words in length and should follow generally accepted academic conventions.
- All articles submitted will be subjected to a double-blind peer review process.
- Articles should adhere to the criteria of Yesterday & Today - see http://www.scielo.org.za/.
- The final due date for submissions is 31 Augustus 2015.

1 Yesterday & Today is an accredited open-access South African academic journal focusing on History Education. The journal appears twice a year, both electronically and in print. Back issues can be accessed at: http://www.scielo.org.za/

- Please send your contribution to any member of the editorial team:

  Professor Johan Wassermann (UKZN) - wassermannj@ukzn.ac.za
  Dr Carol Bertram (UKZN) - BertramC@ukzn.ac.za
  Dr Inga Niehaus (GEI) - niehaus@gei.de

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

SASHT Constitution

The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)

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

1. CONSTITUTION

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

1.2 the precise terms of any proposed alteration shall be set out in the notice convening the meeting;

1.3 the purpose and objects of the Society shall not be altered without the consent of 66% of all the members.

2. OBJECTIVES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. MEMBERSHIP

3.1 Membership shall consist of three types:

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

3.1.2 Group membership (private organisations & publishers) that will pay an annual membership fee determined by the Executive Committee on a yearly basis which will include a membership provision of more than one individual. These members will be eligible to vote but not eligible to serve on the committees and only receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected Journal *Yesterday&Today*.

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

The individual members will not be eligible to vote or serve on the Executive Committee (but could serve on other committees as occasionally identified, as well as on the *Yesterday&Today* editorial board) and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected Journal, *Yesterday&Today*.

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

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

3.2.2 is approved by the Executive Committee as a member.

3.3 Any member may resign by notice to the chairperson, the vice chairperson or the secretariat//treasurer. Such member remains liable for membership dues up to the date of receipt by the chairperson of the letter of resignation.

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

4. MANAGEMENT

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

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

4.2 An election of new Executive Committee members for the SASHT Executive during an Annual General SASHT meeting should be conducted by one of the SASHT members or an executive member who has been nominated to undertake the task (and not the current chairperson or vice chairperson). From the ten nominees fully accepted, the positions of chairperson and vice chairperson should be voted for by the elected SASHT Executive Committee that represents the vote of all the members.

4.3 A process of nomination and election becomes necessary if Executive Committee members have served a three-year term. Both new nominees and retiring committee members are eligible for re-election via e-mail one week prior to the annual SASHT conference. The secretariat manages the term of office of the SASHT Executive and sends out notifications to retiring/re-election status members (and invites new nominations, to be done formally and on the standard SASHT nomination form) a week prior to the SASHT conference.

The list of new nominations//re-electable Executive Committee members will be formally dealt with during an annual AGM meeting.

4.4 Only fully paid-up members of the SASHT (and preferably only one member per institution in the Society) are eligible for election as Executive Committee members.

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

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

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

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

5. MEETINGS

5.1 Committee Meetings

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

5.1.2 Meetings by the SASHT Executive Committee will take place BEFORE an annual SASHT conference and AFTER the conference has ended when new executive members have been elected.

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

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

5.2 General Meetings

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

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

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

5.4 The following procedures shall apply to all general meetings:

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

5.4.2 Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

5.5 Finances

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. Right to vote

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

7. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Any amendment to this Constitution shall only be effected by a two thirds majority decision at a general meeting

or special general meeting and further provided that seven days' prior notice was given of the proposed amendment.

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

8. DISSOLUTION

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

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

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

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

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

9. MISCELLANEOUS

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

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

Editorial policy

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

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

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

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

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

6. Contributions are subject to peer reviewing by two or more expert reviewers in the disciplines used in the research and writing of the research report – the article.

7. The language of the journal is English. However, abstracts may be in any of the 11 official languages of South Africa.

8. Contributions must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 250 words.

9. The titles of articles should preferably not exceed 20 words.

10. The names of authors and their institutional affiliations must accompany all

contributions. Authors also have to enclose their telephone and fax numbers and E-mail and postal addresses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yesterday & Today
Template guidelines for writing an article

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

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

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

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

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

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

   The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.

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

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

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

   Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;). Example: Meters; People; etc. (A minimum of six key words is required).

6. **Heading of article**: 14pt, bold.

7. **Main headings in article**: '**Introduction**' – 12pt, bold.

8. ***Sub-headings* in article**: '***History research***' – 12pt, bold, italics.

9. **Third level sub-headings: 'History research'** – 11pt, bold, underline.

10. **Footnotes**: 8pt, regular font; **BUT** note that the footnote numbers in the article text should be 12pt.

    The initials in a person's name (in footnote text) should be without any full stops. Example: LC du Plessis and **NOT** L.C. du Plessis.

11. **Body text**: Names without punctuation in the text. Example: "HL le Roux said" and **NOT** "H.L. le Roux said".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines

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

The footnote reference method

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

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

The titles of books, articles, chapters, theses, dissertations and papers/manuscripts should NOT be capitalised at random. Only the names of people and places (and in some instances specific historic events) are capitalised. For example: **P Erasmus, "The 'lost' South African tribe – rebirth of the Koranna in the Free State", *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77;**

NOT

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

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

Examples of an article in a journal

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

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

Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

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

To:

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

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

Examples of a reference from a book

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

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

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

Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book

From:

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

To:

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

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book

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

Shortened version:

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

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

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

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

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

or

Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references:

• Interview(s)

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

• Example of interview reference

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

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

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

• Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter

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

• National archives (or any other archive)

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

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

A source accessed on the Internet

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

A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:

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

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

Shortened version:

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

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

GENERAL:

Illustrations

The appropriate positioning of the image should be indicated in the text. Original copies should be clearly identified on the back. High quality scanned versions are always welcome.

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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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