

Yesterday & Today
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Two peer-reviewed issues are annually published.

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

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EDITORIAL

The first issue of 2016 contains a good variety of contributions: five research reports, two hands-on articles, three book reviews, news on the launching of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) first formal online quiz, and a conference invitation. The themes of the articles included in this issue are:

- The history of schooling during the Anglo Boer War and the attempts of the British to anglicise the Afrikaner youth (Cheryl le Roux)
- The responses of undergraduate history students to the use of auto/biographies to teach apartheid history (Helen Ludlow)
- Thoughts about the historiography of “truthfulness” in the understanding and teaching of History in South Africa (Elize van Eeden)
- The production and dissemination of inclusive histories in public dialogue and spaces to promote inclusive histories for inclusive futures (Jared McDonald)
- The political context and practical implications of making History compulsory until Grade 12 (Noor Davids)
- The ABC of a systematic method to deal with source-based questions (Simon Haw)
- Innovative ways to teach the South African youth lessons from its historical legacies (Jan Malan)

In the first article, entitled *Creating a British world: British colonial teachers and the anglicising of Afrikaner children*, Cheryl le Roux introduces us to the supporting role of the British teachers to promote the British culture amongst the Afrikaner children during and in the aftermath of the Anglo Boer War. Apart from the historical context, she also includes the experiences of some of the teachers who were recruited from three of the British colonies, namely New Zealand, Canada and Australia. These experiences will provide the readers with insight into how teaching occurred, what it comprised, and how it was received by the Afrikaner children who survived the concentration camps. This article makes a valuable contribution to the history of education in South Africa.

In her contribution, *Using life stories to teach about resistance to apartheid*, Helen Ludlow provides the outcomes of a study of third year undergraduate history students’ (who are also prospective history teachers) responses to the use of the auto/biography of an apartheid resister to teach apartheid history.

Her motivation for the use of the teaching strategy was among others to get away from the lifeless narrative of apartheid legislation, and the somewhat “anonymous” political movements. She reported the significant levels of critique, commitment, empathy, enthusiasm and interest of the students in completing the tasks.

In Elize van Eeden’s article on, *Thoughts about the historiography of veracity or “truthfulness” in understanding and teaching History in South Africa* she participated in one of the longstanding debates in historiography. She put forward the following question: To what lengths historians and educators of History in South Africa have contributed to the voices and views in research on features of fact or fiction regarding the country’s past? To answer this question, she conducted document analyses of eight South African journals, and provided some guidelines to efficiently address the issue in especially FET and HET classes of History.

Two most interesting articles are those of Jared McDonald and Noor Davids.

In his article, *Inclusive histories for inclusive futures: interactions and entanglements then and now*, Jared McDonald argues for the production and dissemination of inclusive histories in public dialogue and spaces of history consumption. He lists the following spaces: classrooms, lecture halls, monuments and textbooks. For him, the concept inclusive histories refers to plural and multi-perspectival histories, which means the emphasising of interactions, overlapping phenomena and entanglements between various collectives at both state and sub-state levels. The purpose of his article is to argue for a national historical narrative that encourages social accord rather than social fracturing without projecting a mythical reconciliatory motif onto the past. He provides suggestions and recommendations to achieve the latter. His final argument is related to the intent of the report: to challenge and motivate those engaged in narrative history to represent the past in ways that promote plurality and multi-perspectivity in the present and for the future.

Noor David starts her article, *“Making History compulsory”: Politically inspired or pedagogically justifiable?* with a statement about the contested nature of History as a school subject. She then explores the political context and practical implications of making History compulsory until Grade 12. The rationale for making History a compulsory subject in the FET phase was provided. She then outlines the particular process set out to achieve the goal. For her, it is important to maintain the academic and professional status of History teaching, and her research question was: What is the purpose of

History teaching? Her response to the question was based on Barton and Levstik's model, the purposes of History teaching, and she indicated that the latter should be employed as a framework to evaluate the proposal, and that the emphasis should be on the improvement of the pedagogical practice and historical knowledge of the teachers instead of policy reform.

Simon Haw's article, entitled *A systematic method for dealing with source-based questions* is intended for those learners and teachers who still want to know more about the what and how of using source material for assessment. He provides a systematic way of how to analyse them (examination and tests) for factors such as usefulness, reliability and validity. He summarised the various factors inherent in source analysis in table form, and called it a source matrix. Two practical examples of how to use the matrix for source material analysis were also put forward.

In Jan Malan's article, *Innovative ways to teach the South African youth lessons from its historical legacies*, he reports on a South African Defence Force Association (SADFA) project that aims to cultivate heritage awareness among the youth of South Africa. He provides information regarding purpose, origins and mechanics of the project. The name of the project is, The Heritage Connection: Enrich your future project (HCEYFP), and the subtheme is: "Turning Swords into Ploughshares". It combines technology and ingenuity to make South African history not only educational but also entertaining to the youth.

Apart from the above contributions, included in this issue are also three interesting and worthwhile book reviews written by André Wessels (*A far-away war: Angola, 1975-1989*), Simphiwe Ngwane (*The New Black Middle Class in South Africa*) and Thembanani Hlatswayo (*Tales of the Old East Coast from Zuluand to the Cape*). These three publications focus on three different periods in South African history.

Also included is more news about the SASHT's launch of its first formal online quiz. The focus for this year's questions was *Resistance in South Africa during 1948 – 1964*. The official invitation to the 30th Annual Conference of the SASHT can also be found in this issue. The 2016 conference will take place from Thursday 6 October to Friday 7 October at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in Port Elizabeth. The topic of the conference is: *Understandings of "decolonising" curricula and history teaching*.

CREATING A BRITISH WORLD: BRITISH COLONIAL TEACHERS AND THE ANGLICISING OF AFRIKANER CHILDREN

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Abstract

The contribution of the British Colonies in supporting Britain in its quest to promote English and British culture amongst Afrikaner children during and in the aftermath of the Anglo Boer War is examined in this article. A cursory background to the circumstances that shortly preceded the Anglo Boer War is provided to present the context of the study. Next, the role of the press in shaping opinions on and attitudes towards the key role players in the war is offered. This aspect is included since it points to how the opinions of British colony teachers who were recruited to teach Afrikaner children in South Africa had been shaped. This section is followed by an overview of concentration camp schools and an outline of the prevailing conditions of schooling at that time. Hereafter the experiences of teachers who had been recruited from each of three British Colonies - New Zealand, Canada and Australia – are presented. These experiences give the reader insight into how teaching occurred, what it comprised and how it was received by Afrikaner children who survived the concentration camps. This article aims to add to the body of knowledge on schooling during the time of the Anglo Boer War and the role that the British played in the provisioning of education. The article also outlines the attempts of the British to Anglicise Afrikaner youth. The research evidences that the explicit role of these teachers was to inculcate the English language and customs in Afrikaner children during and after the Anglo Boer War.

Keywords: Anglo Boer War; Anglicisation; British imperialism; Colonial teachers; Concentration camps; South African colonial schools; Colonial Australian teachers; Colonial New Zealand teachers; Colonial Canadian teachers.

Introduction

If one were to reflect on the social and political history of South Africa from its earliest days, two issues come to mind. Firstly, the inhabitants hailed from various parts of the world and depending on the prevailing circumstances, sought – to varying degrees – either social integration or segregation. Secondly, for roughly two and a half centuries (1652-1948) the country was subjected to European influence and rule either under the Dutch or the British with each sovereignty seeking to impress its particular social and political character on the nation – often through education.

The first of the social assimilation policies – that of Governor Simon van der Stel (1679-1691) – was effected soon after the French Huguenots arrived in the Cape in 1685. Although the first school that was established for Huguenot children (1688) employed a teacher who understood both French and Dutch and much of the teaching was in French, within two years, it had been decided that French children should be instructed in Dutch (Theal, 1882:291). Subsequently Dutch custom and language became entrenched (Le Roux, 1998:108). The second wave of assimilation can be attributed to the efforts of Sir John Cradock (1811-1814) who initiated an Anglicisation policy which was subsequently propagated in earnest by Lord Charles Somerset (1814-1826) in 1822 when he proclaimed that English would become the official language of the Colony (Eybers, 1918:23). In 1879 at the time of the De Villiers Commission of Enquiry into Schooling, the Judge of the Supreme Court advocated that the English should be required to learn Dutch to ensure a more equitable situation (De Villiers Commission, 1879:476). Clearly the issue of language and culture was contentious and vacillating.

In this article, the contribution of the British Colonies in supporting Britain in its quest to promote English and British culture amongst Afrikaner children during and in the aftermath of the Anglo Boer or South African War as it is currently referred to, is examined. A cursory background to the circumstances that shortly preceded the Anglo Boer War is provided to present the context of the study. Next, the role of the press in shaping opinions on and attitudes towards the key role players in the war is offered. The justification for the inclusion of this section is that it provides the reader with an idea of how the opinions on the circumstances in South Africa of British Colonial teachers who were recruited to teach South African children had been formed. This section is followed by an overview of concentration camp schools and an outline of the prevailing conditions of schooling at that time. Hereafter the experiences

of teachers who had been recruited from each of the British colonies - New Zealand, Canada and Australia – is presented. These experiences give the reader an insight into how teaching occurred, what it comprised and how it was received by these children who had survived the traumatic conditions of the concentration camps. This article thus aims to add to the body of knowledge on schooling during the time of the Anglo Boer War and the role that the British played in the provisioning of education and the attempt at the Anglicisation of Afrikaner youth. The research will evidence that the explicit role of these teachers was to inculcate the English language and customs in the Boer children.

Underpinning suppositions

A review of recent research and discourses in relation to the Anglo Boer War indicates that there is substantial interest in the subject from a variety of perspectives. Postmodern and idiographic studies of the history of this time have been undertaken, as well as a substantial number of studies that have pursued the topic from a gender and from a racial issue stance (cf. Denness, 2012b; Riedi, 2002 & 2005; Van Heyningen 1999; Vergolina, 2012). This particular study looks at the contribution of three specific women teachers (who were recruited from the British colonies) to educate Afrikaner children during the Anglo Boer War and thereafter. The study does not adopt a gender stance on the topic, but rather an idiographic historical perspective in that the approach to investigating the topic has been focused on attempting to achieve a unique understanding of the individual in a personal and in-depth manner (Tsoukas, 1989:551).

The issue of the Anglo Boer War itself can be viewed from different viewpoints – from a pro-Boer (anti-war activist) to a jingoist (imperialist) perspective. However, this article attempts to present the topic from a neutral position. McCullagh (2000:42) points out though that when historians describe something – a person, an event, a condition – only certain aspects are presented. The aspects that are chosen for examination and description are those that appeal to and are of interest to the researcher. For this reason, it is clear that such presentations will undoubtedly be fair game for criticism and perhaps even denigration by those who would have adopted a different stance towards the research. However, the freedom to criticise the views of others is a precondition for arriving at a fair description of the past and perhaps it is expedient to understand history as a cooperative enterprise with

historians working together to arrive at adequate accounts of the past (Haskell, 2000:134). The author has attempted to provide a factually correct and balanced perspective on the issues discussed in this article, but acknowledges that other researchers could approach the topic from a different position.

Background and the contextualisation of the study

At its peak, the British Empire that comprised dominions, colonies, protectorates, mandates and other territories ruled or administered by the United Kingdom, was the most extensive formal empire and foremost global power in world history (Ferguson, 2004:ix; Jackson, 2008). One of the colonies formally acquired by Britain in 1806 (after having occupied it in 1795 at the bequest of the Netherlands to prevent it from falling into French hands) was the Cape Colony with the Boer or Afrikaner population being in the majority of the European population. The British population in the Colony grew as a consequence of immigration efforts in the 1820s and this, among several other reasons including Britain's emancipation of the slaves (1833), thrust thousands of Boers, resentful of British rule, northwards (cf the Great Trek, 1836) to establish their own independent republics namely the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) (also known as the South African or Transvaal Republic)(1852-1877; 1881-1902) and the Orange Free State (1854-1902). Both republics were occupied by Britain subsequent to the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) (Pretorius, 2014).

The impetus for the Anglo Boer War was the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State (1870s) and gold (1886) on the Witwatersrand in the ZAR, which gave rise to an influx of foreigners (especially to the ZAR) to work the mines. Furthermore, the discovery of such wealth fueled British imperial ambitions. The mine owners were English speakers with little or no loyalty to the Afrikaner Republics and by the late 1890s the *Uitlanders* (as the immigrants were called by the Afrikaners) constituted a major part of the white male population. President Kruger of the ZAR was reluctant to expand the franchise to the *Uitlanders* for fear of them gaining political power. After Cecil Rhodes' abortive Jameson raid (1895) Kruger had further reason to distrust the mine owners and immigrants and he continued to deny the vote to *Uitlanders*. A sense of Afrikaner identity and individualism increasingly took shape. This identity started to spread across regional boundaries and soon included Dutch speakers in the Cape and the citizens of the Orange Free State. The British government (in the persons of Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary

of State for the Colonies, and Alfred Milner, High Commissioner in South Africa), continued to denounce Kruger and his government. Chamberlain was firm in his belief that the British needed to take direct action to contain Afrikaner power. At first, diplomatic channels were used to try to pressure Kruger into granting the vote to the *Uitlanders*, but these were unsuccessful. Milner's stance was that as long as these *Uitlander* British subjects in the ZAR found themselves without the vote, they were "kept permanently in the position of helots constantly chafing under undoubted grievances and calling vainly to Her Majesty's Government for redress". He was of the opinion that this situation "steadily undermine[d] the influence and reputation of Great Britain and the respect for the British Government within its own dominions" (Thompson, 2007:131). In 1899 Milner advised Chamberlain that he considered the case for British intervention "overwhelming". Ignoring attempts by Kruger to reach a compromise, in September 1899, Chamberlain issued an ultimatum requiring that Kruger enfranchise British residents of the ZAR. At the same time, Chamberlain sent troop reinforcements from Britain to the Cape. Kruger, certain that Britain was bent on war, took the initiative and, allied with the Orange Free State, declared war on the British in October 1899 (Pakenham, 1979:52-53; Pretorius, 2014; Scholtz, 2000:11-17).

The Anglo Boer War (1899-1902), fought by Britain and her Empire to establish her domination in South Africa and by the Afrikaners and their sympathizers to defend their autonomy, lasted three years and caused enormous suffering. At the beginning of the war, the Afrikaner forces had the superiority and won many battles. With reinforcements added to the British army, however, the Afrikaners soon found themselves in dire circumstances. Resistance continued after various British victories with the Afrikaners resorting to fighting a ferocious and intermittently successful guerrilla war. The British ultimately succeeded in breaking this resistance, but only after adopting a scorched-earth policy. In 1901 and 1902, the British torched more than 30,000 farms in the South African Republic and the Orange Free State and relocated Afrikaner women and children from these farms and surrounding villages to concentration camps that were somewhat hastily established to house these refugees. The concentration camps were notorious and because of overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, malnutrition and disease 27 927 Afrikaner women, children and men perished in these camps. Peace was finally concluded in May 1902 with the Afrikaners handing over their arms and conceding the incorporation of their territories into the British Empire as the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal (Pretorius 1998:35,

48, 66; Scholtz, 2000:114).

It was during the period of the establishment of the concentration camps and in the aftermath of the war that Britain made a concerted effort to bring British culture, values and the imperial language to Afrikaner children to prepare them to become citizens of the British Empire. Lord Roberts made it clear that concentration camp inmates were regarded as British subjects and, as such, they were expected to become part of a self-governing dominion of the Empire (Smith & Stucki, 2011:427).

The press as opinion former

The print media is to this day indisputably an effective instrument in the manufacturing of its readership's opinions on matters both local and international. The situation in the years and months leading up to the conflict in South Africa was no different and the attitudes and beliefs of the South African, British and Colonial public were shaped by the prevailing political discourses as well as what they read in print (Karageorgos, 2014:120). Most provincial newspapers in Britain received their information from London newspapers which obtained their information from correspondents who staffed newspapers in Cape Town and Johannesburg (Kent, 2013:3). The press in the British colonies, however, closely followed Britain's journalism (Karageorgos, 2014: 122)¹. The Johannesburg-based newspapers were fervently jingoistic, while the provincial or small-town English language newspapers were pro-Boer (ie anti-war activists) (Dugmore, 1999:248). Dugmore (1999:255-257) contends that the small town newspaper editors had a degree of independence – unlike the Johannesburg newspapers which were owned by those “who own[ed] or control[ed] the diamond mines in Kimberley” (Kent, 2013:3) – and initially took a strongly independent and essentially pro-Boer stand before the outbreak of the war. Another justification for this difference in stance is to be found in the existing social circumstances. In Johannesburg the sprawling working class suburbs ensured that English-speaking workers had little contact with the Boers and it was easy to construct patterns of identity that stressed “Englishness” in a way that “othered” the Boers, while in the smaller towns, British and Boers intermingled and the *Uitlander* Briton was respectful of the sober, God-fearing Boer. The pro-war newspapers claimed that the British would be fighting against tyranny – the British *Uitlanders*

1 Colonialists such as the people of Australia, Canada and New Zealand largely viewed themselves as British subjects and part of the mighty British Empire.

were being taxed but denied the vote by the Boer leader, Paul Kruger. The pro-Boer newspapers argued that imperialist criticism of the Kruger government and attempts to whip up a case for war were contrary to British “fair play” and amounted to a tyrannical imposition of the will of a mighty power on a smaller, independent power (Dugmore, 1999:246).

As such, a certain perception and understanding of both the Boer and the *Uitlander* were inculcated in the British and Colonial public. Even before the British and imperial soldiers arrived in South Africa, they already had established assumptions of the nature of the citizens of the country. The *Uitlanders* were portrayed as a group without social and political rights thereby emphasising the anti-democratic tendencies of the Boer who was unwilling to share the virtues and rewards of citizenship with them (Miller, 2013:1334). The *Daily Telegraph* (1899) called for the immediate liberation of these disenfranchised immigrants who had “suffered for years grave indignities and disabilities at the hands of a stupid and domineering oligarchy of Boers” and were appealing to Britain for assistance. Miller (2013:1335) contends that these cries against oligarchy and the disenfranchisement of British subjects resonated with the British and “pushed men into recruiting offices”.

Nevertheless, public opinion was divided between those who supported and those who opposed the Anglo Boer War. Most anti-war activists did not dispute the importance of the sovereignty of the British Empire but argued that Britain had subverted the imperial mission by fighting against another white, Protestant, and politically independent African nation. Their portrayal of the Afrikaner emphasised similarities with Britishness (Mader, 2012).

On the other hand, those who supported the war focused on the Boers’ lack of refinement and their lack of likeness with Britons (Mader, 2012). The perception that Afrikaners were in need of civilization can be attributed to comments such as those made by Kitchener who described the Boers as “uncivilized Afrikaner savages with only a thin white veneer” (Kitchener, 1901). It would seem that these kinds of British observations on South African society were that Afrikaners did not conform to the essential elements of civilized British society. For example, James Bryce (1896) in *The Times* argued that the Boer’s isolated lifestyle ensured the “children grew up ignorant; the women ... lost the neat and clean ways of their Dutch ancestors; the men were rude, bigoted, indifferent to the comforts and graces of life”. Denness (2012a: 56) argues that this was typical of pro-war British thought and that images of the Boers were constructed on their failure to conform to British norms of

domesticity and refined femininity, and industrious, chivalrous masculinity. The image of a backward and uncivilized Boer nation was perpetuated and expanded in the British press (Denness, 2012a:70). Karageorgos (2014:123) points out that since the Boers were also white Europeans, the “otherness” had to be established based on their behavior rather than skin colour. British observers consequently used these perceptions created in the press as yardsticks to measure levels of civilization. A sense of a misshapen culture that lacked proper order and mores was created which in turn pointed to a desperate need for civilization.

That the concentration camps offered a wonderful opportunity to reach the Afrikaner youth cannot be disputed since by the beginning of 1902, more Afrikaner children were attending the camp schools established by the British than had ever been the case in the pre-war republics (Zietsman, 2001:89). Since there was a dire need for teachers in these camps due to the high number of children in attendance, teachers were recruited in Britain and its colonies and dispatched to the camps to take up the cause of education (Smith & Stucki, 2011:428).

Establishment of the concentration camp schools

Edmund Beale Sargant, education secretary, was the driving force behind the establishment of the concentration camp schools. Through his travels across the dominions investigating the influence of educational systems on imperial unity, he was able to form opinions on the matter and the concentration camp schools gave him the opportunity to put these views into practice (Riedi, 2005:1320). His first opportunity arose when he established the first concentration camp school in late January 1901 in Norval’s Pont. The success of this school motivated him to extend the process over the whole British concentration camp system in South Africa. Milner (1902) credited him as a “genius as an educationalist and worth his weight in gold”. Emily Hobhouse approved of the schools which she described as “the only bright spot in the camp life” as did Fawcett’s Ladies’ Committee² who thought them “amongst the most cheerful features of the camps” (cited in Riedi, 2005:1230).

There can be little doubt that these camp schools had political overtones

² The Fawcett Ladies’ Committee, under the guidance of Millicent Fawcett, was sent over from Britain during the Anglo Boer War to inspect the conditions in the concentration camps and to advise the British government of the conditions and possible recourse. Emily Hobhouse played an important role in establishing the group but was not part of the committee that came to South Africa.

and that the schools represented the ideal opportunity to institute Milner's Anglicisation project. Education was perceived as having the ability to fundamentally change the national character of the Afrikaner thereby creating a harmonious and Anglicised South Africa. In Sargant's words, he wanted to win over "the young generation of Dutch Afrianders to English ways of thought and speech and to English ideas of truthfulness and loyalty" (Sargant, 1901b). This would go a long way in bringing modern civilization and progress to the nation. Central to this notion was the inculcation of English and a total immersion programme which Sargant justified by commenting that "the fact that some children know scarcely a word of English is not a reason for speaking to them in Dutch" (Sargant, 1901b). Riedi (2005) cites the British politician, Alfred Lyttleton, as being of the opinion that schools for the Afrikaner children "will go far ... in the future to cement the relations between the Dutch and English populations".

School enrollment increased exponentially reaching a peak in May 1902 when there were over 17 000 children in the Transvaal camp schools and over 12 000 in the Orange River Colony (Riedi, 2005:1321).³ These numbers were considerably higher than the Boer republics had achieved in peace time. A significant problem faced by the schools was adequate teaching staff. There was a limited supply of Afrikaner women from within or near the camps to staff the schools, and it became necessary to employ camp inmates with limited education whom Fawcett (1902) of the Ladies' Committee described as being "nearly impossible to understand when they think they are speaking English". She consequently urged the British government to urgently recruit trained English teachers to be deployed to the concentration camp schools. This sentiment was echoed by Sargant (1901a) who told Milner that he needed to appeal to Britain for "thoroughly good teachers ... of patriotic mind". He further believed this was a golden opportunity to get the Afrikaner children to speak English. Milner subsequently appealed to the Colonial Office that it was imperative to acquire extra teaching staff and recommended that identified school boards be approached to provide "lady volunteers" with four or five years of experience in infant work. He further outlined their salary and relocation arrangements but emphasised that the task would be to "bring them [the Afrikaner children] under influences that will promote future harmony of races". He assured these prospective teachers that their reception would be courteous and that the children were willing to learn and were amenable to discipline.

3 At this time a small number of town schools in the two republics remained functional with some 13 000 children in attendance.

Foreign teachers

The success of the schools established in the concentration camps can be deduced from the number of attendees – especially when one considers that attendance was voluntary. Given this situation, the need for teachers for these schools was critical. In November 1901 the British government therefore advertised for experienced female teachers across the United Kingdom to volunteer their services in the concentration camp schools in South Africa. Between January and March 1902 a similar advertisement was placed in newspapers in the British colonies of Australia, New Zealand and Canada. An initial quota of 100 teachers was set for the United Kingdom (this was later increased by another one hundred teachers) while Australia and Canada were each awarded a quota of 40 teachers and New Zealand was requested to provide 20. The response was significant. In Canada over 1000 women applied, in Australia there were over 350 applicants, and in New Zealand, the selection of 20 was made from 222 applications (Riedi, 2005:1327).

Unique to the situation of recruiting teachers for the concentration camp schools was the fact that the British government, while engaged in hostilities with the Boers, resolved to send teachers to educate and care for the children of the enemy (Ellis, 2003: 140; Schoeman, 2013:177). Furthermore, the fact that ultimately one third of the teachers was recruited from the self-governing dominions, gives one insight into the relationship between imperial loyalty and colonial nationalism at that time (Riedi, 2005:1319).

On 6 November 1901, an advertisement was placed in *The Times* (1901) in the United Kingdom on behalf of the Board of Education requesting trained women teachers with four to five years of experience in teaching little children to volunteer to work in the refugee camps in South Africa for the term of one year. At the end of the contract, volunteers had the option of returning home, or if they so wished and were found suitable, to be permanently employed in the country. The salary offered was £100 per annum as well as free accommodation and rations. Selected volunteers would be given a second class passage to their destination. In addition to being proficient in teaching younger children, prospective teachers were required to have the ability to teach singing, be of good physique and be able to endure stringent living conditions. Between January and March 1902, the call for teachers was extended to the British Colonies of Australia, New Zealand and Canada with equally strict selection criteria (Ellis, 2003: 141; Schoeman, 2013:178).

Canada was the first to respond to the call for teachers. On 12 April 1902, the first contingent of 20 Canadian teachers set sail for South Africa; the second group following a week later. The groups arrived in Cape Town at the beginning of June shortly after peace had been declared (Schoeman, 2013: 162). The teachers were deployed to camps in the Cape Colony and the Orange River Colony. The 20 New Zealand teachers who departed New Zealand on 4 May 1902, arrived in Durban on 5 June 1902 and the majority were sent to teach in concentration camp schools in Natal although two teachers were deployed to the Volksrust camp just across the Natal border in the Transvaal (Phillips, 2012). By the middle of July 1902, the Australian teachers had been selected and set sail for South Africa in August, arriving in Cape Town on the 25th of August 1902 (McInnes, 1902a). These teachers were deployed to camps in the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal and the Cape Colony (McInnes, 1902b).

Recruitment and possible motivation for applying

Although by the time the teachers arrived the war was ending, they were deployed to the camps which would take some time to close. As the concentration camp schools disbanded, the teachers were deployed to teach in town and farm schools. However, this took time and in certain instances, recruited teachers would wait several months before being deployed and taking up active teaching duties (McInnes, 1902d).

Suggested motives for applying to teach in South Africa include imperial loyalty and a desire to be part of the war-effort; financial need (the salary of £100 per annum was generally higher than that paid in the colonies - one teacher, Margaret McInnes (1903b) comments in a letter home after accepting an extension to her one-year contract, “How the Education Department are slaughtering the salaries at home [Australia]. I’d have not got my rise this year if I’d been there”); ties with South Africa (some had relatives who had been recruited into the army); career advancement; and a sense of adventure (Riedi, 2005:1331).

Profile of the prospective teachers

The New Zealanders were the first generation of girls to be educated under a free public school system enshrined in the New Zealand Education Act of 1877 and were among the first women professionally trained at the new

teachers' training colleges. Most of the successful applicants were born and raised in rural areas or in small towns. All the women were unmarried and were aged between 28 and 38 years of age (Ellis, 2003:141).

In the case of the Canadian recruits, Riedi (2005:1327) notes that Lady Cecil's comment that they were "very nice-looking, nice mannered and not a bit *gauche*" suggests that they had solid middle-class backgrounds. One quarter of the Canadian teachers had a university education.

That these young women were endowed with a sense of adventure is attested to in the comments made in their letters home. Agnes Don from New Zealand related that "... in reality we would not have missed the thrilling times for anything, and if our future camp life at all resembles the three days we have spent here, it will be far removed from commonplace" (*Otago Daily Times*, 1902).

Generally the women were enthralled by the country. Upon her arrival in Durban, Hilda Ladley wrote home "... we have fallen in love with Durban" (Schoeman, 2013: 181). Margaret McInnes, one of the Australian teachers, wrote "Cape Town's lovely, grand, magnificent. Words simply fail. I never thought such beauty could be" (McInnes, 1902a). She also commented in a later letter home (McInnes, 1902c) that "We are enjoying ourselves, occasionally we pinch each other to make sure it's not all a beautiful dream." Nan Parker, a New Zealander who was deployed to the Volksrust camp, wrote home "... you have no idea of the grandeur of a sunset when you are alone in the veldt ..." and, at the end of her sojourn in South Africa upon her immanent return home "... now that my time is drawing near, I shall be awfully sorry to say goodbye ..." (Parker cited in Ellis, 2003:147).

Schooling in the concentration camps

The Colonial teachers were deployed to the concentration camps where they generally taught alongside established Dutch and British teachers. Hilda Lindley and seven other New Zealand teachers at Merebank were supported by 12 English teachers, 28 Dutch teachers and a headmaster. Maud Graham was one of four Canadian teachers deployed to the camp in Norval's Pont and she mentions that there was already a group of six English teachers at the camp. She also mentions a Dutch assistant who assisted her in taking the roll call as she struggled to pronounce the Dutch names (Schoeman, 2013:165).

As already mentioned, school attendance was voluntary. The school day in the camp schools usually began at 8.30 am (although some started at 9.00 am and ended a half hour later) with half an hour of religious instruction that included Bible reading and singing taken by a Dutch teacher. This was followed by two sessions – the one until 11.00 am followed by recess of half an hour and the second session until 1.00 pm. (Ellis, 2003:145). Class sizes and the age range of the children in the class varied considerably. It was not uncommon to find that the infant class comprised children between the ages of 5 and 15 since these schools offered several older children their first opportunity to attend school. Initially the classes were very large, but as the concentration camps were disbanded, the numbers dwindled and class sizes were considerably reduced. Maud Graham reported that the class of 300 children was divided upon her arrival to Norval's Pont with her taking 130 children and the English teacher the remaining 170. In a letter dated 5 September 1902, Margaret McInnes (1902c), an Australian teacher deployed to Irene camp, commented that in June of that year there had been "1100 children in the school – now they number 16". Classes in town and farm schools were generally small (McInnes, 1902f).

The teachers taught basic subjects such as reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as singing and physical education. Writing comprised mostly of copying figures or letters from examples written on the blackboard. Reading comprised reading off a big reading sheet. Singing was found to be an excellent and quick way of teaching English and was popular with the teachers. Mental arithmetic, spelling, memorisation of verse, listening to stories and illustrated talks were a part of each school day. The only history permitted in the classes was British colonisation and exploration. Teachers were also responsible for inspecting the children's hygiene and cleanliness. Recess was generally spent with the boys playing marbles and the girls skipping rope (Schoeman, 2013:167; 185).

The teachers generally described their duties as light and the teaching elementary. Clearly duties at home were more taxing than in South Africa as McInnes (1902f) comments "It's a dreadfully lazy life here. I can't get used to teaching 20 children especially as they only learn reading, writing & arithmetic and that lot all over at one o'clock." A few months later she (McInnes, 1903c) comments that "I've got a new class at school now. Got tired of my few and asked for more work. I've fifty now all ages from five to fifteen. Most of them don't know a word of English. It's funny as can be to hear my Dutch and their English". Because they did not know the language,

the Colonial teachers generally had difficulty in pronouncing the names of the children in their classes, and when required to do roll call many mention that one of the Dutch teachers would call roll on their behalf (Ellis, 2003:145; McInnes, 1902c; Schoeman, 2013:165-167).

The teachers were pleasantly surprised at the children's abilities and demeanor which was in stark contrast to the derogatory anti-Boer propaganda to which they had been exposed. Lindley commented that "The children are very nice to teach and most intelligent ..." Maud Graham, a Canadian teacher comments on their visit to a small school in the Cape Colony which they visited en route to the Norval's Pont camp that they were corrected of their preconceived ideas of schools in South Africa by its up to date organisation and teaching methods (Schoeman, 2013:163). Comments about the children's good behavior ("pretty manners"), attentiveness, friendliness and keenness to learn are common amongst all groups of colonial teachers. Graham comments that "... Boer children were never so quarrelsome and boisterous as American children, but they were just as fond of fun as any children I ever met" (Schoeman 2013:168). Regarding their good manners, McInnes (1902g) comments "They're so full of manners ... it's 'Yes Missus & No Missus' all the time".

Redeployment after the closure of the concentration camp schools

Apart from the town schools that had continued to run during the war, several other schools were established in towns held by the British with the military authorities often taking the initiative in this regard. Six months after the cessation of hostilities there were 79 town schools in operation (Transvaal Education Department, 1902:3). Furthermore, once the Boers returned to their farms, many country and farm schools were established. In September 1902, ten farm schools were opened and by the end of January 1903, they numbered 101 (Transvaal Education Department, 1902:2; Transvaal and Orange River Colony, 1904:12-16). This meant that as the concentration camps slowly disbanded and the number of children dwindled, the teachers were needed for redeployment in the town and farm schools.

Irene camp was a recruiting and relieving depot where teachers came to await orders and get their teaching equipment before being posted to farm or town schools (McInnes, 1902d; Schoeman, 2013:188). It would appear that deployment to farm schools was a contentious issue and McInnes (1902h)

was particularly concerned about being posted to a farm school. This seems to have been a general feeling amongst some of the teachers. McInnes comments “We are still threatened with a farm school. There are several near here and not a teacher will volunteer. The authorities say now they’ll have to compel the teachers to go or else ask them to resign. They have promised, though, that a teacher will not be asked to go alone. They’ll send two together so that it won’t be so very bad perhaps”. In her next letter home (McInnes, 1902i), the matter is still foremost in her mind, “They are still worrying us to go to farm schools but I don’t move from this place as long as I can dodge it”. A while later, it would seem her worst fears had been realised and she writes (McInnes, 1903a): “This is probably the last letter you’ll get from me here. I’m being transplanted to a farm school away in the wild of the Transvaal beyond Ventersdorp. ... They all tell us we’ll have an awfully good time. The settlers are so anxious to have their children taught that they just bow down to the teachers. And promise anything if we’ll only come”. To make teaching in farm schools more attractive – it was an almost insurmountable task to obtain the necessary equipment and furniture from Cape Town for these schools – apart from their salary of £100 per annum, teachers were given £75 a year for rations and a bonus of 20%. Teachers to the farm schools were deployed to pairs and often returned to the camp for their weekends. Furthermore, they were taken to the nearest town once a month for entertainment and diversion (Schoeman, 2013: 189).

A large number of the colonial teachers extended their year contracts and continued teaching in town and farm schools after the concentration camps were closed. Some stayed on in South Africa, several were married and continued their teaching careers while others, after having completed their extended contracts, returned to their home countries. Ellis (2010) reports that only six of the 20 teachers returned to New Zealand and those that did found that their lives had been forever changed by their experiences in South Africa.

Conclusion

British subjects appeared to have viewed the world through imperialist eyes and their perspectives on education were intertwined with their views of the motherland and her subjects and what constituted civilization. It would seem that in their expansionist quest, the British developed a sense of their own destiny and moral responsibility in respect of the rest of the world. Britain

appears to have believed that many of her colonial subjects required guidance and that it was British rule that prevented anarchy and chaos (Phillips, 2014:71). It is probably owing to this assumed sense of responsibility and the perception that the establishment of British rule supported civilization that the desire and imperative to Anglicise the Afrikaner nation that occupied the southern tip of Africa is to be found.

The British and colonial women who were recruited to teach in the concentration camp schools were part of an imperial project to introduce Boer children to the British language and culture. Simultaneously, recruitment of teachers from the white British colonies could be described and an attempt to draw the Empire closer.

Impressing the British culture on the Afrikaner was also intended as “ending the retrogression of the Boers” and making them outward-looking and open to progress and modern civilization (Riedi, 2005:1320). Boer children were to be raised according to a characteristically British model of middle-class childhood. This model emphasised education and constructive play (Duff, 2014:368). The role of the colonial teachers in educating Boer children is insightfully articulated by Lindley who comments in a letter to the *Colonist* (1902) that “... we are really expected not so much to educate them as to make them English, and fond of the English ways.” The efforts described in this article noticeably point to concerted attempts by the British to transform Afrikaner children into true, British subjects thereby creating an emerging British world on the southern tip of Africa.

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USING LIFE STORIES TO TEACH ABOUT RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID

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Abstract

This study investigates the responses of undergraduate history students, who are also student teachers, to the use of the autobiography or biography of an apartheid resister in their third year academic history course. The motivation for using auto/biography in the history course has been to get away from a lifeless narrative of apartheid legislation and, for students, somewhat anonymous political movements. It has also become apparent that for some students, their school exposure to apartheid history was dulled by narrow focus and repetition. The study examines the reasons for student choices of their human subject, and how their understanding of apartheid resistance and their feelings about it are affected by engaging with life stories. It also investigates the extent to which the historical thinking and historical sense of these students both shapes and is influenced by their engagement with auto/biography as a form of history. It notes significant levels of interest and empathy generated by the study of apartheid resistance through the life stories, as well as notable levels of commitment and enthusiasm in doing the related tasks. There is some evidence of an ability to critique auto/biography as history - as representation; but largely there is an acceptance of the life story of the 'hero of the struggle' they studied as truthful.

Keywords: Autobiography; Biography; Apartheid; Apartheid resisters; Undergraduate History; Historical Thinking.

I think it was a great exercise because one thing that I've noticed with history, we focus on the big ideas, the ideology, the laws that were being passed, and we don't get to talk about how the normal day-to-day people actually reacted to these laws. (Mashudu)

For me apartheid was like black/white. That's how I understood it, but when I actually did this research project you see all different facets of it and what was going on everywhere. So it's not just black and white, white against black or black against white. It was something ... that goes much deeper. That's why people today still feel such pain and suffering. It's because of the ... deep roots ... that suffered basically. (Tertia)

Introduction

As apartheid faced its official demise, a number of “struggle” autobiographies and biographies began to be published, most notably Nelson Mandela’s *Long walk to freedom* in 1994. Reading Elinor Sisulu’s *Walter & Albertina Sisulu: a biography* (1997), I was struck by how this family story of lives under apartheid communicates contexts, identity, beliefs, disagreements and personal choices very powerfully. Wanting students to meet the human face of apartheid resistance, I designed the history assignment that is the subject of this study (Image 1). It is an assignment that has been repeated annually because it seems to me that studying the life story of a person identified as an apartheid resister achieves something important for my students, many of whom will also be teachers of the history of apartheid. This paper presents the results of my first attempt to research this practice.¹

Image 1: Tasks based on the auto/biography of an Apartheid Resister

Essay 2014: The Story of an Apartheid Resister

There are different ways of trying to understand apartheid and resistance to it. We can look at laws and policies and forms of organization. This will give us a broad sweep of history – but it can obscure the personal human experience. For your final essay of the year, I would like you to choose the biography or autobiography of a person who was involved in some way in resisting apartheid. As you read it, think about the points below from historian David Thelen.

In presenting a paper on the work of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, he argued that the strength of the TRC testimony was ‘its focus on individual experience’. Thelen goes on to raise,

the central issue of how individuals’ experience is and is not shaped by larger structures, what scholars call ‘historical context’. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels independently framed the problem in classic terms: Individuals make their own histories, but they do it under circumstances only partly of their own making. Jean-Paul Sartre added a second level: While time and place and circumstances do indeed frame the possibilities and constraints within which individuals experience and interpret their lives, those larger circumstances are not facts of nature. Individuals experience, name, construct and frame choices differently in response to the same circumstances.

I would like you to prepare two pieces of work:

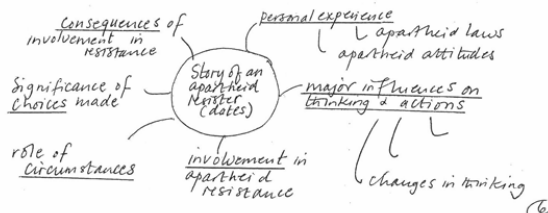
1. For Monday, 1 September, write an essay of 1 250 words.

Choose one main period in her/his life or one major issue in it. Write an essay in which you discuss the events in which s/he was involved and analyse her/his experience as a resister e.g. if you choose Sharpeville, 1960, you explain from your wider reading what the events were. Then you would discuss what you have learnt about someone like Robert Sobukwe as a resister to apartheid in this event. I expect you to consider some of the issues on my diagram below.

The essay title would be: Robert Sobukwe and the Sharpeville Crisis of 1960. Because you are reading a whole biography, I will only expect you to refer to two additional references, e.g. general histories, for background events. See the general section of your reading list.

2. For Friday, 5 September:

Prepare a 10-minute oral presentation, accompanied by a timeline, which provides an overview of your person’s resistance to apartheid throughout her/his lifetime. This will be assessed by your peers.



Source: Designed by the author of the article.

1 Ethics Protocol No: 2015ECE013S.

Students have six weeks to two months to read the auto/biography and prepare the additional tasks. Lectures run concurrently, filling in for students the origins and legal framework of apartheid; phases of implementation; debates about its purpose; as well as the main features of organized resistance.

As outlined in Image 1, there are three tasks in the assignment. The first asks students to choose and read a biography or autobiography of “someone who was involved in some way in resisting apartheid”. Having the power to choose their own subject is an important part of the exercise, although I have the right to veto short, simplified popular texts. The purpose of the second task, the essay on a particular event or episode, is to contextualize and amplify the single account without students trying to summarise the whole book. At the same time they are asked to work with the Thelen (2002: 181) quotation, which complicates issues of individual experience. The diagram attempts to capture these in framing the essay. For the third task, students are grouped with two peers to present an overview and assess each other’s outline of their subject’s life story. A “jigsaw” exercise results as I place three resisters of, for example, different backgrounds, ideological commitments, organizational affiliations and so on, in one group (e.g. Joe Slovo, Mamphela Ramphele and Desmond Tutu; or Jay Naidoo, Helen Joseph and Robert Sobukwe).

In October 2015, in order to investigate student responses to this engagement with auto/biography, I conducted an hour-long focus group discussion with seven student volunteers. These B Ed students are in their fourth year of study² and had carried out the assignment the previous year. Four of the students are black - three male (Lungi, Jabu and Mashudu) and one female (Doris). The other three students are also women - one of them coloured (Rachel) and two white (Francine & Tertia).³ The interview was guided by the questions outlined in Appendix B.

Biography and history

Biography as history is problematic. While popular biography has always remained in demand, for many academic historians (including those in South Africa) the largely empiricist approach of “old” biographies “narrating peoples’ lives”, particularly those of famous male leaders, became suspect. Jo

2 Wits B Ed students majoring in History have a half course of History as part of Social Science I and II in their first and second years. This is followed by full year course in each of History III and History IV. The students are thus at a second year level in History when engaging with the assignment analysed in this article.

3 These names are pseudonyms.

Margadant (2000:1) notes that this resulted in “four decades of dormancy” for biography as an academic field. After World War II, collective experience and notions of shared identity as class, race, gender, community and the like became the focus of historical research. Margadant identifies a more recent “ethnographic turn” as creating a view that “social identities take shape within an historically specific cultural setting that imparts meaning to the materiality of life and not the other way around”. This, accompanied by post-modern sensibilities, suggests that it is worth paying attention to how individuals “perform the self” and “that a biographical subject has many profiles” (2000:4) depending on the time, place, constraints or opportunities in which that life is performed. There is a “new interest in the politics of identity construction” and a return to biography “since cultural politics are most easily examined as well as empathetically imagined in the individual life” (2000:7-8).

Another new historiographical trend is the “transnational turn”. This seeks to displace the “nation” as the essential unit of analysis and to explore those aspects of the human past that transcend any one politically defined territory (Macdonald, 2013). The purpose has been to destabilize the divide between metropole and periphery, and the centrality of the former; to explore networks of ideas, practices, movements of people and so on. This approach seeks to do history “from the outside in”, where social history “rewrote history from the bottom up” (Ngai, 2012). Amongst other consequences, this has contributed to a rehabilitation of biography in colonial history (McKenzie, 2008:145):

In the search for methodological solutions to the challenges posed by transnational history, biography has loomed large. Individual lives often slip across boundaries imposed by nationally focused stories in useful and suggestive ways.

This is evident, for example, in the biographical studies in *Colonial lives across the British Empire: Imperial careering in the long nineteenth century*, examining “some of the ways that individual people made the British Empire and some of the ways that the empire made them” (Lambert & Lester (eds), 2006:1 in McKenzie, 2008:145). This suggests examining the life of apartheid resisters in exile in new ways, for example, despite their identity within a national struggle.

When this project on apartheid resisters began, there was little awareness of new theoretical engagement with biography, although I was fully mindful of the subjectivity of authors. I return to the implications of this in my concluding comments. The South African auto/biographies that the history students in this study engage with largely fall within the “old” biography paradigm. The

task is set with the awareness that publishers' priority is marketability, and that authors range from literary scholars and historians, to journalists and the political figures themselves. The proportion of available auto/biographies is weighted towards the political mainstream of the post-1994 dispensation. Because the life stories are the product of detailed research, they are perceived by students epistemologically to be largely "true" narratives of important historical figures. The main purpose of the assignment remains for students, despite the limitations of their texts, to engage in depth with the life story of an apartheid resister.

In his 2002 article, "How the Truth and Reconciliation Commission challenges the ways we use history", David Thelen explores the meaning, for historians, of individual experience as shared at the deeply emotional TRC hearings. The failure of "categories" ... "to capture the vast number of voices and roles that individuals contain within themselves" made him see "individuals as the real actors in history" (2002:175-6) - and in this he echoes Margadant, above. My use of the quotation from Thelen on the assignment (Image 1) was an attempt to guide students' engagement with the text so as to think about the complexity of life experiences (context), beliefs and agency of their subjects. The task itself does not ask about representation, but in the interview (Q.4) I attempted to raise this.

Choice of life story

Five biographies and two autobiographies had been chosen by the seven students interviewed: *Chris Hani: A life too short* (Smith & Tromp, 2009); *Thabo Mbeki: The dream deferred* (Gevisser, 2007); *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner revolutionary new ed* (Clingman, 2013); *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains* (Callinicos, 2004); *The unlikely secret agent* (Kasrils, 2010); *In no uncertain terms: A South African Memoir* (Suzman, 1993) and *Politics in my blood – A memoir* (Asmal & Hadland, 2011).

Motivating the choice of books were both personal concerns and a desire to hear something other than what one student described as the dominant Mandela narrative of resistance. For Lungi, his choice of Chris Hani came from the desire to know about "a comrade" personally and as "another perspective" – that of the SACP (South African Communist Party). Rachel chose Kader Asmal as she wanted to know more about "the coloured or Indian perspective", role and relative advantages or disadvantages. As a woman,

Tertia chose Helen Suzman because she was a woman (though admitted her choice was also by default – no-one else had chosen Suzman). Mashudu felt that “the story of women in the struggle has been ignored”, was annoyed by the “over-politicization” of the main male leaders of resistance to apartheid, and intrigued to discover Eleanor Kasrils, as a white woman, so committed to change. Francine, as a white South African, chose the biography of Bram Fischer because she wanted to see whether there were any white people who “made a difference”. She had needed her “faith restored”. Jabu was born as South Africa became a democracy and his personal interest in Thabo Mbeki was partly because they “came from the same area”. But he also regarded Mbeki as a politically significant figure – a “political genius speaker” – who merited study because he also ran the country. Doris’s study of Oliver Tambo was a route to finding out about the past, backgrounds and formative experiences of the leaders who she felt were currently subject to critical generalizations, including her own, e.g. of corruption.

What was gained from the engagement with life stories?

In the discussion, unasked, the students chose to compare their school and everyday knowledge of apartheid history with what they learnt from their engagement with the auto/biography. It became evident that besides their own reading, the experience of the “jigsaws”, where each student reported to his or her peers, informed these responses.

There was consensus that this was a worthwhile set of tasks. This contrasted with their view of school as having provided a flat set of generalizations, racial stereotypes, broad, factual descriptions of apartheid and a limited focus - as resistance events - on Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto on June 16, 1976. Mashudu described it as a “great exercise”, Tertia said it was “a real learning experience”, Francine described it as “invaluable” and Lungi commented that through it he gained great expertise on his topic.

In terms of expanded knowledge of apartheid resistance, Lungi found that the personal story of Hani took him through “other events contributing to freedom”, most notably the daily realities of MK operatives - infiltrating, sabotaging, leaving. For Jabu, the study undermined generalizations by showing that “people were hit by apartheid in different ways and the way they resisted it, it also narrowed down to ... their personal experiences”. He and a number of classmates noticed that different people, races and organizations

had been involved in resistance. Rachel added that she had gained new respect for the role of overseas exiles in mobilizing resistance through sanctions. For Mashudu, it showed the “normal day to day people’s reactions to laws” and the struggle as “inclusive” – as “what South African people were able to produce”. Doris, from reading about Tambo, identified education as the key to a black elite having the voice and status to be leaders. She also was “excited” to see Tambo as a radical young activist and not just as the “intelligent old man” and “brains” behind the struggle. The trajectory of a life of resistance was observed.

What is striking is that, in reading in detail about one person’s life, and then reporting on this to each other, students were adding texture and depth to their understanding of a historical era. It was more gendered, challenged simple racial dichotomies, paid more attention to the experiences of ordinary people, and recognized complexity in decision-making and in forms of action. What was not raised were differences in ideological positioning – the discourses of resistance.

As much as gaining information was useful to interviewees, what came across more strongly was an emotional engagement. The dominant sense was that life stories made the apartheid experience and resistance more “personal” and “more real” (Rachel). Jabu concluded that “apartheid affected everyone”; Tertia said that it went “much deeper” than she had thought – which is why “people today still feel such pain and suffering”. Francine was struck by “how human Bram Fischer was” and how hard it must have been to deal with personal loss while “hectic national things were going on”. Mashudu expressed surprise at his own feelings about the concurrent EFF “racial” and “radical” discourse (in the news) while he was “walking into the experience” of Eleanor Kasrils – “this ... white woman”.

So as I was reading this book I was actually surprised because I found out ... that the people we blame for apartheid actually sacrificed certain things that I personally would not sacrifice. I would not leave ... my baby brothers and go and fight for somebody else’s rights ... I would find that it would be strange, to detach yourself from something you love so much for a cause that is not gonna benefit you in any way. It’s gonna benefit you morally but physically you gonna be fine... It kinda shocked me in a way.

Jabu’s respect for Mbeki was largely confirmed. This was despite (as he recognized through Gevisser’s critique) “his flaws especially in leadership but ... they don’t overpower what he stood for which was to serve the country because he poured, he put everything in. He put his heart into what he was doing”.

Are there problems with focusing on great individuals?

Could the students reflect on the implications of auto/biography as a historical construct? Interviewed a year after reading their books, some could not remember the author's name, but they were mostly sure that white South Africans wrote the biographies. Asmal's memoir was written with a white collaborator who Rachel thought was South African. Mashudu wrongly identified his book as an autobiography, which is a tribute to the vivid way in which Ronnie Kasrils represents his wife as "the unlikely secret agent".

I then asked:

Do you not think there is a problem with taking one or two good women and generalizing from them? Some historians are critical of focusing on great individuals ... especially as the famous people ... are the ones who get their biographies written. Have you got any views on that in the light of what you read? Does that make it any less valuable or is it just something to think about?

A number of students agreed that auto/biography could glorify an individual although Jabu recognized that Mbeki's did not. Lungi felt his biography was problematic because of this, with Francine agreeing that Clingman wanted to show Bram Fischer "as an exceptional man". Rachel commented that in collaborative writing, the author "could still get your sort of bias across". Nonetheless the students deployed their identities as historical thinkers in suggesting that the value of the biographies need not be nullified by their limitations. Mashudu said it was good to have undertaken the task in third year when they had acquired the "capacity" to deal with historical thinking through their academic and methodology classes. This refers to ongoing in-class discussion about the status of historical accounts, to their own local history research, and to the application of Wineburg's (2001) and Seixas and Peck's (2004) work on historical thinking in their methodology tasks.

Doris and Francine both pointed out that the stories reached beyond (glorious) individuals.

Granted Mandela can be on a pedestal or whoever, but at the end of the day those people still on the grassroots [were] still facing problems every day. But now what these biographies do for me, they break the boundaries across the colour lines to say there [were] different people at the same time, different colour, different perspectives, but going towards a certain goal... (Doris).

Through a life story, "more names" are heard and it is possible to see who else was involved with the central figure. Francine also felt that to generalize from Bram Fischer that:

... every white male in apartheid was a saviour ... it's quite naïve and even ignorant. So... perhaps in reading a biography there does have to be some sort of responsibility in yourself to know, like I need to research this further if I'm going to start generalizing... And it won't take too long for me to see that I'm wrong.

For Tertia, the autobiography of a white woman resisting apartheid challenged a prior generalization but should not lead to a new one:

[L]ike before we did this we had that generalization, black versus white. And now we can do the same generalization, but we stop ourselves because we describe one person; but that doesn't mean that every person like [Helen Suzman] stood up against it. Some people hid or some people just like accepted what was going on. So you can't generalize it either way.

Lungi's view of *Chris Hani: A life too short* was:

I feel like it was too glorified. Like you never get to hear the other side of him being the radical and the way the media portrays him ... We get that one of being a fearless leader, very organized, very educated, like always having a book in fights and all those things. But we don't get to hear about him on a personal level, on other mistakes that he made, on other decisions that he makes. So I think that these biographies are also limiting our information (as Francine said), which we need to research more, to know about.

Agreeing that there was a bigger picture beyond the single biography, Lungi showed an awareness of the importance of who writes a life story. He had read a second, shorter book on Hani, which took the form of a friend's personal memoir. He distinguished between the perspective of Hani this provided and that based on "talking to people" and "research" which constituted the material for *Chris Hani: A life too short*.

I then raised the matter of biography as representation, commenting: "There is a push in historical writing to look at biography and autobiography, not as true histories, but as looking at the way people are representing themselves or are being represented by the author for a reason". This was taken up by Francine alone who agreed that Clingman may well have written his book differently if "he had a chip on his shoulder about Fischer". If someone else had written about Fischer would the story have been different? Francine continued:

It would be interesting to know more about the author ... because if I knew he was a relative or had heard [Fischer] at a lecture, or I don't know ... So it's interesting I think, to know why people are writing what they're writing and what's informing them and, you know, also as women ... if I have to research something ... there's a high chance if I can get a strong female who I can sort of punt and be like ... then that would inform me...

Mashudu saw his biography differently and argued that it showed the very strengths of the genre. “I think biographies and the overall understanding I’ve got from this is that let’s focus on how the human experience of apartheid was.” He alluded to Eleanor Kasril’s time in prison, the hunger, the relegation to a mental asylum and the “emotion about it, the heart in it”. To miss this would make the book “pointless”. Tertia agreed because autobiography goes “deeper into the person”. So the strength of biography, the students seemed to agree, was to bring humanity to the story of apartheid. Human vulnerability and pain could be perceived as well as or even despite heroic portrayals.

The demands of the tasks

The purpose of this set of tasks would have been invalidated by recourse to Internet summaries or skimpy popular vignettes of struggle leaders. I recognize that even at university, ours is not generally a reading culture, and was thus relieved to discover that all but two of the students had read their auto/biographies from beginning to end. Mashudu had no problem in finishing the relatively short biography of Eleanor Kasrils, which he found to be “dramatic” and “captivating”. Francine had been living in Ireland after Grade 7 and appreciated the chance to fill in some gaps in her South African history. “It gave me a chance to find my own time to read a book that I chose, that I was interested in reading and to get to know more about my history”.

For Jabu and Lungi reading the books had been a somewhat heroic event in their academic lives. Mastering the almost 900 pages of the Mbeki biography, Jabu said: “I got to see that I can actually manage my time. It was hard and tedious but each and every chapter ...was worth reading because I learnt more than I thought I knew about Thabo [Mbeki].” Lungi described his engagement:

Ja, I also read the whole book. It made me to be antisocial for weeks. Getting in the bus, having my earphones, reading, marking all what’s important and all those things. I even went with it to home. Like at home ... people were thinking that I’m crazy. Every day I’m on my book. But ja, I finished it. It was tough, but I had to.

The two who did not complete their biographies are conscientious students and their comments confirmed what I have noticed in the past – that the need to analyse, as well as follow a life story, can hamper entry into the text.

HL: So what did you think of just the simple task of having to read a whole book like that?

Rachel: It was challenging I think. But to get through ... I didn't get through the whole book because I think that just finding time to sit down and grapple with it was ...

Doris: And you find that you have to go back to go and look for ...

Rachel: But it was interesting.

Doris: ... things ... and jot them down. You still have to mark and go back. It was a challenge.

Sam Wineburg (2001) reminds us that reading a historical text requires students to engage in a complex internal conversation as they seek to move below surface comprehension. A historical text presents them with multiple levels of meaning, issues of sourcing and corroboration, formal language (in a second language for many students), the author's subjectivity, the essential foreignness of the past, and changing contexts. I admire Doris's engagement with Callinicos's dense biography of Tambo, even if it was limited to the early years of his life!

The students least enjoyed writing (as an assessment task) an essay on one aspect of their subject's engagement in resistance. For some focusing on an appropriate event or issue out of the integrated whole of their subject's life was hard. For a number, finding relevant secondary sources as required for the essay proved difficult. Mashudu maintained, however, that this was "really needed" because different perspectives on the chosen episode were important.

What they all enjoyed was the "jigsaw" activity. It seems that the opportunity to share their newfound depth of knowledge with each other was highly valued. The reflections of the seven students in this focus group clearly reflected their learning from their peers as well, and Francine said she would have liked, time permitting, to have heard all (twenty-one) presentations. Lungi elaborated:

It was interesting to hear from other people and also to bring what I had. And it makes you an expert in what you are talking about because someone will come with what they know and you're sharing with the person. So now it's like a competition. I had to sound intelligent to this person. I thought, let me try by all means to take out everything I read. So I believe that also motivated us to go and read the whole books. Because it was going to be simple to go on the Internet and say this is the information. But to hear that someone is going to be listening to you, you have to be an expert of that book. [It] made us to be motivated and read these books.

Implications for teachers of school history

The concluding discussion on whether they would use life stories in their own teaching of apartheid was fairly brief. The consensus was that a biographical approach would make the experience of apartheid and resistance to it “more real” for learners whose experience at school was that it was “very broad, impersonal and descriptive” (Rachel). Lungi felt it was important to teach about resistance as a collective effort by exposing learners to “different heroes of the struggle” ...“all those people”...“ because a lot of kids will tell you, ‘What’s the use of us learning about apartheid because I’m going to hear about Mandela. He’s in my money, there’s a Mandela Square, there’s everything.’” Tertia and Francine tried to imagine how this approach could work in the classroom: perhaps through a number of PowerPoint presentations of different life stories (Tertia); perhaps through groups of four learners working together using important skills to research a life story and then presenting it to the class? The problem of working with difficult or superficial texts was recognized, with Mashudu returning to his view of the importance of developing the capacity for historical thinking:

You can’t just go into the classroom and say, “here my grade 11 learners”, and they battle in understanding historical concepts and critical thinking in terms of history. And just go “Okay, here’s a textbook, read this textbook and here’s an assignment like this.” I think we have to foster people to have a capacity ...to actually deal with the content that autobiographies or biographies give to that person.

Conclusion

This interview with students, albeit brief, revealed their enthusiasm for reading the life stories of apartheid resisters. It showed perseverance, emotional connection and, for many, gratification that it exposed them to a more racially inclusive struggle narrative than they thought existed. While they were motivated to some extent by the desire for a “usable past” – one that met their present predispositions and needs, there was also evidence of an emergent historical perspective. Mashudu’s impatience with “politicization” of struggle stories was related to his sense that there was more to be found – the missing role of women. Tertia found herself cautious about replacing one generalization with another. Lungi had already referred to another book to see how or whether it corroborated what he found in *Chris Hani: A life too short*. Historical language used by students included “challenging generalizations”, finding other “perspectives”, needing to “take responsibility and research”

further, and wondering how knowledge about authors might change their understanding of the text.

There are many aspects of student experience and understanding that I would like to probe further. What difference would their gender have made to apartheid resisters? Could students identify ideological positioning of their subjects more clearly? Are resisters presented as always consistent and coherent in their thoughts and actions? Could they have been? Can the life of a resister be reduced to this identity? To what extent could biographers or autobiographers have constructed narratives for a purpose that the students have not discussed? How do they deal with the truth claims of these books? Do students perceive lives of resistance lived many decades ago to be different from life lived in the present? How so?

The new historiographical trends – using biography to trace performances of multiple selves and to track flows of ideas and influences across the globe in new ways – invite me to ask different questions of students as they read their life stories. But most importantly, the desire to allow history to be a humanizing study encourages me to continue to let students meet the diverse people whose lives took them on fascinating, costly journeys of resistance to apartheid.

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Appendix A:

Examples of resisters whose auto/biographies have been used

Kader Asmal
Frances Baard
Lionel Bernstein
Steve Biko
Patricia de Lille
Ruth First
Chris Hani
Trevor Huddleston
Helen Joseph
Eleanor Kasrils
Ronnie Kasrils
Ahmed Kathrada
Ellen Kuzwayo
Albert Luthuli
Nokukanya Luthuli
Nelson Mandela
Winnie Mandela

Trevor Manuel
 ZK Matthews
 Ismail Meer
 Kgalema Motlanthe
 Jay Naidoo
 Beyers Naude
 Lillian Ngoyi
 Phyllis Ntantala
 Alan Paton
 Cyril Ramaphosa
 Mamphela Ramphele
 Maggie Resha
 Albie Sachs
 Walter & Albertina Sisulu
 Robert Sobukwe
 Helen Suzman
 Oliver Tambo
 Ahmed Timol
 Desmond Tutu.
 Donald Woods

Appendix B: Interview schedule for History Focus Group, 2015

	Main Question	Possible Probe Questions	Reasons for asking them
1.	What was the title and who was the author of the auto/biography that you read? Can you remember when it was written?	If you read a biography, did the author know the subject personally? Was the author the same gender, race, nationality as the subject?	To elicit basic information while starting the conversation. It will also be relevant when thinking about the construction of a historical identity in Q 4.
2.	What were the reasons for your choice of the subject of this book?	Did you identify with this person? Did you want a different perspective from your own? Had you heard of him/her before? Any reason for choosing a man, woman, member of a particular organization etc?	To try to understand personal motivation and choices of students.

3.	What do you think you gained from reading this book and studying the life of this person?	What surprised you? What aspect of this person's life and struggle had the most impact on you? Did it alter in any way your understanding of apartheid and resistance? Some students express weariness or other emotions at having to study apartheid (again) –how, if at all, do you think reading this auto/biography influenced your feelings about this topic, era or issue?	This is the central question and the intention is to allow students to open up on the discussion as they choose. I am interested in both intellectual and affective responses.
4.	Some historians are critical of focusing on 'great individuals' and on presenting a person's life and character as uncontested. Have you any views on this in the light of the auto/biography you read?	Do you think another author would have interpreted your subject's life differently? Why? Why not? What sources of information for this life story do you think the author used? Did you think about that as you read the book? To what extent do you think your subject was contextualized/ or contextualized him/herself in the society and wider resistance movements of the time? What was the purpose of the book?	To explore students' critical awareness of auto/biography as history. 'New' biography is engaged with representation rather than truth, so I am heading in that direction with this discussion.
5.	Was there anything a future history teacher could take both from reading the life story of an apartheid resister and the activities linked to it in the History 3 module?	Was the reading task an obstacle for you? What if anything can a focus on one episode in the subject's life show (as tackled in the essay)? Was it possible to learn anything from the jigsaw exercise? Please give reasons for your answers.	To see whether there is evidence of the careful thought that recontextualization of what is learnt in an academic history course requires before transfer to a school classroom takes place.

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF VERACITY OR “TRUTHFULNESS” IN UNDERSTANDING AND TEACHING HISTORY IN SOUTH AFRICA¹

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Few historians today would argue that we write the truth about the past. It is generally recognised that written history is contemporary or present orientated to the extent that we historians not only occupy a platform in the here-and-now, but also hold positions on how we see the relationship between the past and its traces, and the manner in which we extract meaning from them (Alun Munslow, 2006:118).

Abstract

Debating the understanding and use of historical content as fact and/or fiction in publications has come a long way in the science of History (historiography). Arthur Marwick for example, in “The new nature of history, knowledge, evidence, language” provides, amongst others, insight into aspects of fact and fiction in writing (and certainly so in teaching) as part of the “eight battles” historians usually face.² To what lengths historians and educators of History in South Africa have contributed to voices and views in research on features of fact and fiction (concepts also associated with “truth” or truthfulness “cum veracity”) regarding the country’s past will be the key focus of the paper. Eight South African journals have been scrutinised for thoughts and notions of academia (as authors of articles) regarding their way of going about with particular histories and their associations with veracity, or their criticism against past histories because of an absence or lack of veracity. The general stand of the author is that educators of History must also be sensitised to the realities of one-sided factual exchange or a sense of fiction-creating in past knowledge, used as sources in Further and Higher Education and Training environments. The quest is that educators must also sensitise their students of History and Education History to be sufficiently informed and efficiently prepared when reading and using sources related to History in the classroom. Critical reading seems to be a way to become prepared to address the level of veracity of published historical research. Hands-on guidance towards critical reading will be briefly shared in the last part of the discussion.

1 T Haydn, “The importance of the concept of veracity/truthfulness in history education”, Paper presented and reworked: CISH XXIIInd Congress, Session, 28 August 2015.

2 A Marwick, *The new nature of History. Knowledge, evidence, language* (UK Hampshire, Palgrave, 2001), pp. 334.

Keywords: Veracity; Truthfulness; Critical reading History; Teaching History; Fact and fiction; South Africa.

Introduction

When delving into an aspect of historiography in History, one necessarily finds the fallible self at the centre of the activity – as Arthur Marwick³ puts it with reference to all historians: “...fallible human beings, known as historians”. These imperfect beings have their way in research and in writing, in method and principle, in order to make “choices in the language they use”. Equally so, these beings, while at work, do not only engage in battle with language and with what a proper articulation may be, but they also battle with their own past world and their current world view. Moreover, they also become involved in battles regarding one another’s choices and thoughts.⁴ In the light of these realities, a discussion with regard to veracity or historical truthfulness as “dream” is debated in a discussion of the impressions of historians and other researchers writing about aspects of South Africa in eight scientific journals associated with the history of Southern Africa.

Apart from observing the views of historians with regard to truth and truthfulness in science, another reality that will always remain part and parcel of History concerns the views of the past as reflected or perceptionalised by politicians and communities in general. A typical example will be the opinion of the post Second World War Russian leader Nikita Khrushchev, who is said to have stated that:⁵ “Historians are dangerous people; they are capable of upsetting everything”.⁶ It appears that this was a statement used by one Christina Barnes in 2012, who wanted to know from students what it meant to them to study History. One of several students asked, responded by quoting Khrushchev’s remark “... if a historian interprets something incorrectly, that could be dangerous”. The student’s opinion could also be associated with the historical profession’s battle or struggle towards the production of a representative, truthful historical account of a past event – one that can be assessed as to whether it is based on fact or on fiction, is accurate, reliable, authentic, representative and legitimate, or as valid as time and source access

3 A Marwick, *The new nature of history: Knowledge, evidence, language* (UK, Lyceum Books Incorporated, 2001), pp. 334.

4 See discussion later on South African historians as viewed by K Harris, “Warring societies? Towards a community of historians HASA and SAHS (1956-2014)”, *Historia*, 59(2), November 2014, pp. 355-368.

5 With acknowledgement to a C Barnes, 2012.

6 Anon., “What does it mean to study history?” (available at <http://www.dpcdsb.org/NR/rdonlyres/EA81D42F-53AD-4B4E-B061-D086615EF2FD/32808/WhatdoesitmeantostudyHistory.pdf>), as accessed on July 2015.

permits.⁷ Historians probably realise that the “battle” towards presenting a past as an absolute non-contestable piece, appreciated for its features of veracity will never be fully won. Yet there are ways to ensure progress towards best practice by means of developing a sensitivity to search for and to make use of a diversity of knowledge frameworks, in order to ensure inclusivity in past voices on issues and, equally so, to cultivate a habit of critical source reading.

To follow is an emphasis on the impressions of historians in South Africa regarding aspects concerning fact (a recovery of the “truth” or/and “truthfulness” as scientific enterprise)⁸ as well as fiction (meaning imaginary and not based on sufficient or reliable research)⁹ as contributions towards understanding and writing about South Africa. As general context with regard to the struggles of historians aspiring to truthfulness, the eight battlegrounds that Arthur Marwick discusses and which historians usually face (and no less do educators of history), also seem more than appropriate to mention. Lastly, some guidance is provided on how the educator of History could assess specific parts or sections of books and recent research articles in the classroom through a structured process of critical reading. Constructive exposure in this regard to learners and students may make them more sensitive to the historical battlegrounds and to ways in which they must approach History in order to be sensitised to academic truthfulness in classroom facilitations at all times.

Considering Marwick’s eight battlegrounds of History in dealing with veracity

In their profession, historians (and history educators) constantly face battles (as coined by Arthur Marwick)¹⁰ when dealing with the past in processes of recording, understanding and presenting historical narratives as truthful, since it can be a complex maze and overwhelming to a mind aspiring to be a “responsible” historian. Equally so, historians also battle against each other on what precisely and how accurately the past should be recorded. Some of these inescapable battles closely related to debating the search for truthfulness are the following:

7 Compare with A Marwick, *The new nature of history...*, pp. 334.

8 Compare RF Berkhofer (Jr), *Beyond the great story. History as text* (USA, Harvard University Press, 1997), Preface, p. 73.

9 Compare the interesting discussion by GW Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (USA, University of California Press, 1994), preface, pp. ix-x.

10 A Marwick, *The new nature of history...*, pp. 334; A Munslow, *Deconstructing history*, 2 (London and New York, Taylor & Francis), 2006, p. 118; P Veyne, *Writing History: Essays on epistemology* (Middletown, Wesleyan University Press, 1984), pp. 342.

- ***The metaphysical, nomothetic and ontological***¹¹

In the metaphysical, Marwick states, there is a tendency to ponder on questions and jargons in questions posed “out-of-context”. In the nomothetic, there is an implication of drawing a distinction between the theoretical and the speculative on the one hand and the purely empirical on the other hand. The ontological, on the other hand, reflects questions by human beings about the purpose of life, the ways in which societies develop and reasons for inequalities and oppressions.

Marwick is of opinion that a genuine historical approach in research and writing (method) must always be professional, non-metaphysical and source-based and differ regarding aim and language from the post-modernist metaphysical supporters. He states that:¹²

It is simply not the aim of historians to produce exciting, speculative, all embracing theories, or gigantic leaps of imagination utterly detached from evidence, and still less should they try to integrate their own researches into such speculations.

In turn Alan Munslow, a self-declared post-modernist deconstructive historian,¹³ differs from Marwick. He prefers to rather be in agreement with Paul Veyne’s writing in 1984 on “Writing History, Essays on Epistemology”, in which Veyne¹⁴ states that “a narrative in a root metaphor can also hold within itself a theory of the truth as a primary mechanism for coping with experience” (past and present). Munslow feels that one should begin with the historian’s representation of the past first before commencing with the past.¹⁵ Marwick, according to Munslow, makes too little of the historian’s own consciousness from which historical explanations are generated. So the ever on-going confrontation remains regarding the non-metaphysical as opposed to the metaphysical approach to historical narrative in which the writing of historical truthfulness (to be understood as “fact”) remains in a battle with the imaginary or “fiction”, which is still contested to this day.

- ***Radical politics or just nihilism?***

Nihilism as a philosophical view that implies, amongst other things, that life is without objective or meaning; that gaining an all-inclusive knowledge is impossible and that “reality” (as, for example, reflected in History) does not

11 Ontology is regarded as a branch of philosophy known as metaphysics.

12 A Marwick, *The new nature of history...*, p. 6.

13 A Munslow, *Deconstructing history...*, p. 118.

14 P Veyne, *Writing History: Essays on epistemology...*, pp. 342.

15 A Munslow, *Deconstructing history...*, introductory pages.

exist.¹⁶ Radical politics, on the other hand, as far as Marwick is concerned, means those who denote political principles as focus to alter social structures and value systems through revolutionary writing and/or ideas. This “change” implies working systematically towards changing a “bad bourgeois” society from their “language, values, culture and ideology”.¹⁷ In History, no historical discussion is definite or final for Marwick. The “truthful” debate can always be qualified or corrected and political bias will be pointed out vigorously. Marwick adds that historians are not propagandists: “Their job” is to understand the past (or parts of it), to inform and not “to change the future”.

- ***The challenge of truthfulness in the cultural construction of knowledge***

Marwick feels that historians do not “construct” the past as such a word, amongst others, is the bedrock of “critical” and “cultural” theory, and “indentured” to the metaphysics. He asserts that historians should prefer more precise verbs and invest much more in explanations than in assertions when writing History.¹⁸ Munslow, however, differs in his critique, asserting that historians tend to construct “the” past, and that a deconstruction [thus history without a paradigm?] is the way in which:¹⁹

... the deconstructively self-reflexive and self-conscious historian may, while accepting it is she who authors the past, may feel it is possible to legitimately offer an interpretation which, although it does not claim to be the true narrative, is nevertheless a plausible rendering of it...

It is easy to go along with Munslow’s view. Also that the meaning of sources is arbitrary, and equally so the “opaque character” of language, besides “the arbitrary and socially provided relationship between the signifying word and the concept it signifies”. The importance of a past and a present narrative explanation in order to understand the present from the past (a past embedded in physical and ideological disruptions and chaos) could, according to Munslow, deliberate historians. Yet it is also necessary to see another meaning in the view of Hayden White’s (1974)²⁰ understanding of “constructing” history in the sense that the present cannot be understood

16 A Marwick, *The new nature of history: Knowledge, evidence...*, pp. 5-6.

17 A Marwick, *The new nature of history: Knowledge, evidence...*, p. 6.

18 A Marwick, *The new nature of history: Knowledge, evidence...*, pp. 6-8.

19 A Munslow, *Deconstructing history*, Institute of Historical Research, 1997 (available at http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/4397/1/Deconstructing_History_by_Alun_Munslow___Institute_of_Historical_Research.pdf), as accessed on July 2015, pp. 1-4.

20 H White, “The value of narrativity in the representation of reality”, *Critical Inquiry*, 7(1), 1980, pp. 5-27; JL Gorman, “Objectivity and truth in History”, *An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy*, 17(1-4), 1974, pp. 373-397.

better if a research process to explore the past is not well framed and focussed. A lack of doing so can contribute to tendencies of concocting a past narrative relying on some “truth” as “fact” and some “fiction”. Also, Marwick’s point of warning is taken that care should be taken not to adopt a “gentlemanly” approach to postmodernist history too easily:²¹

Postmodernist theory, amongst others, encourages the view that it is impossible to write in a clear, straightforward way [and as “correct” or “representative” as possible with the most “reliable” approved sources by historians or researchers, than having done research on a particular topic].

Not doing so, Marwick states, will lead to post-modernist jargons, exaggerated metaphor and rhetoric. From Marwick’s point of view this way of approaching the past is not perceived as truthful.

- ***Language: The battle of History as a branch of literature?***

Language is viewed as a very important part of writing History in a truthful way. It remains a complicated medium of communication to ensure combinations of literary criticism, history and linguistics. Marwick states that “semantics and signification have preoccupied historians for generations” and that especially postmodernists state that language controls historians, which he opposes.²² As oppositional view within the postmodernist circles, Munslow, on the other hand states that:²³

Written history is always more than merely innocent story-telling, precisely because it is the primary vehicle for the distribution and use of power. The very act of organising historical data into a narrative not only constitutes an illusion of “truthful” reality, but in lending a spurious tidiness to the past can ultimately serve as a mechanism for the exercise of power in contemporary society... Because today we doubt these empiricist notions of certainty, veracity and a socially and morally independent standpoint, there is no more history in the traditionalist sense, there are only possible narrative representations in, and of, the past, and none can claim to know the past as it actually was.

So the battle amongst historians on writing and research paradigms continue to further complicate the debate on how historical truthfulness is possible or impossible to establish. One may even question if in this possible absence or lack of a more inclusive utilising of past recounts in their variety (multi-disciplines) and diversity (several voices) will it not bring about more

21 A Marwick, *The new nature of history...*, pp. 18-20.

22 Compare J Goodman, “Editorial”, Special issue on History as creative writing”, *Rethinking History*, 15(1), 2011.

23 Compare the discussion of A Munslow, *Deconstructing History...*, pp. 14-16 in which he heavily relies on the thoughts of the Philosopher Michel Foucault. See also A Munslow, *Deconstructing History...*, p. 18.

remoteness and distance if the need is for aspiring a sense of truthfulness in going about with historical narratives?

To what lengths historians and educators of History in South Africa have contributed to voices and views in research on features of fact and fiction (concepts also associated with “truth” or truthfulness *cum veracity*) regarding the country’s past will be the key focus in the rest of the paper.

Historians and history educators on truthfulness in South Africa’s past

In general, South Africa’s pre-1994 history and past presentations of its history – nationally and in curricula on school level²⁴ – are viewed as controversial,²⁵ Afrikaner-nationalist,²⁶ not as diverse and far away from allowing for notions of veracity or an acceptable truth.²⁷ Though it may still take another decade or so to critically review the performances of publications in the post-1994 years, the reality of time and the way it steers the historical decisions, selections and representations of the day seem an inescapable obstruction towards deliberated histories: Deliberated from the historian’s fallible nature, the influence and impact of the space of origin and way of living as well as an enforced directive in education.

From a teaching-education perspective, the history community has recently been accused of scrupulousness and lack of integrity when using their sources. Also, the authority of the claims historians make have been said to be subject to critique by communities of professional practice. Haydn’s frustration owing to historians not considering the necessity of veracity (as embedded in integrity, a respect for evidence, an open-mindedness, and an ethical passion for being reliable, legitimate, sincere and accurate at all times of writing) is shared.²⁸ In order to understand the levels of dealing with truthfulness – also known as “veracity” – by historians on South Africa

24 ES van Eeden, “Studying History in South Africa; Reflections of yesterday to face, map and bridging diversity today and tomorrow”, W Hasberg & E Erdman (Eds.), *History Teacher Education. Global Interrelations* (Germany, Wochenschau-Geschichte, 2015), pp. 225-258.

25 Compare K Smith, *The changing past: Trends in South African historical writing* (USA, Ohio, Southern Book Publishers, 1988), pp. 68-98; S Marks, S Trapido (Eds.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa* (London, Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-70.

26 S Dubow, “Afrikaner nationalism, apartheid and the conceptualization of ‘race’”, *The Journal of African History*, 33(2), July 1992, pp. 209-237.

27 Compare A Knapp, *The past coming to roost in the present: Historicising History in four post-apartheid South African novels: André P Brink’s Imaginings of Sand, Zakes Mda’s Ways of Dying, JM Coetzee’s Disgrace, and Phaswane Mpe’s Welcome to our Hillbrow* (Germany, Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 17-34.

28 T Haydn, A Stephen, J Arthur, M Hunt, *Learning to teach history in the secondary school: A companion to school experience* (New York, Routledge, 2015), p. 104.

(and especially South African historians) the research for this section of the discussion mainly involved selections of articles randomly chosen from eight of the most popular history journals in which South African historians publish or are editorially associated with. A search for contributions of articles in each journal related to an aspect of veracity and/or “truth” as well as references to “fact” and “fiction” was done selectively (and necessarily in an one-sided way). The selection was based mainly on whether an article title and/or the content related to or debated matters of “veracity”, “truthfulness”, and/or “fact” and “fiction” in writing histories nor about History as science.

A view on South African historians’ conceptual stand on veracity

Veracity, for the sake of this discussion in a context of history research and history education in South Africa, is associated with working towards an intention of wanting to know what actually happened (a sense of “truth”), being “full of truth” in the way sources are utilised or knowledge is disseminated; a tendency towards being accurate in articulating research at all times; being open-minded, reliable, legitimate, exact, sincere and aspiring to trueness as part of a professional “honourability”. Secondary vocabularies that come into play as being complementary to veracity will be to appreciate prismatic thinking, acknowledge multi-diversity and multi-disciplinary encounters and to be sensitised towards all knowledge offered as relics of the past.²⁹ One can also exercise “historical veracity” only insofar as source access, knowledge and availability permit. For this reason, reinterpretations – no matter what paradigm or information may come to light – will always (and must always) remain part of the openness in historical research and debate.

In another authoritative dictionary source, the following is said of “truth”:³⁰

The state of being the case: the body of real things, events and facts; a transcendent fundamental or spiritual reality; a judgement, proposition, or idea that is true or accepted as true; the body of true statements and propositions; the property (as of a statement) of being in accord with fact or reality. Truth, veracity, verity, verisimilitude: shared meaning element – the quality or property of keeping close to fact and avoiding distortion or misinterpretation.

29 Compare the Cambridge English Dictionary (available at dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/veracity); The Free Dictionary (available at www.thefreedictionary.com/veracity) and the Oxford Dictionary (available at www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/veracity), as accessed on January 2016.

30 *Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary* (London, 1975).

In the past decade some authors have re-deliberated several shades of the concept of truth in History,³¹ that also from time to time – further in history, received some attention from academics.³² Judging by the number of articles found on concept-related words to veracity, or some alter-ego related words like truth and fiction or objectivity and subjectivity, it is possible to assume that debate about and quest for truthfulness in history and historical writing in journals on South Africa has not gone unnoticed:

Journal	Articles on veracity-related discourses	Comments
<i>Journal of Southern African Studies</i>	249	Only one historian considered the possibility of veracity in research done. Truth or truthfulness visible in fiction contributions only (e.g. art, cinema and literary contributions).
<i>South African Historical Journal</i>	171	More references to notions of veracity, but the emphasis is more on using words connected to assessing or endorsing the “interpretation”; “reinterpretation” or “misinterpretation” of veracity. Older articles linger on the use, and sometimes irresponsible use of “truth” in discussing research done.
<i>New Contree</i>	176	The same notion as in the SAHJ is found, except that a very focused publication on fact and fiction was submitted by Kobus du Pisani in the early 21 st century.
<i>Journal of African Studies</i>	114	A feature in some articles is the critical contesting of truth and “truer” versions which are necessarily possible in counter-memory. A theoretical discussion of the possibility or impossibility of historical veracity appears to be a less contentious debate in the JAC. ^a
<i>Historia</i>	77	Examples of discussions under “fact and fiction” are evident in articles identified on contesting “truth” in history. ^b

31 The work that comes to mind are that of MG Murphey, *Truth and History*, 1 (New York, Sunny Press, 2009); E Paris, *Long shadows: Truth, lies and history*, 5 (USA, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015).

32 Compare the writing of P Ricour, *History and truth* (USA, Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 15-40; H Putnam, *Reason, truth and history* (UK, Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 127-173.

<p><i>African Historical Review</i></p>	<p>36</p>	<p>Journal articles identified expose limited discussion on “truth” as a theoretical debate, and in particular the historian’s “ability” or “inability” to be “truthful”. Subaltern voices in postcolonial times are part of some discussions, implicating the acceptance of diverse voices of history. An exposure of criticism on fantasies in history (like writings on the Zulus) is said to have a limited standing in the popular market whose perceptions remain statically embedded in past images of history.^c</p>
<p><i>South African Journal of Cultural History</i></p>	<p>25</p>	<p>It appears that contributions mostly accentuate film as medium to create images of “truth”. Also the value of imagining in cultural history imposes on history as discipline.</p>
<p><i>Yesterday&Today</i> (since 2006)^d</p>	<p>9</p>	<p>Theoretical contemplations on “historical truthfulness” of histories displayed in textbooks for various grades in schools and those used in undergraduate studies fall short,^c or are rather mechanically and artificially assessed for the limitations or efficiency in which the standard curriculum is represented. More voice should be added to how “truthfulness” should be encouraged in master narratives of South African history.</p>

The comments in the table above serve as a general personal impression of the “contribution” made by scientific journals contributions related to South Africa’s history, based on historical truth as point of debate. To follow are some pointers related to the two most prominently viewed journals, the JSAS and the SAHJ (and simply because space does not allow for a reflective discussion on each of the journals):

Journal of Southern African Studies (JSAS)

In line with its commitment, the JSAS covers a broader spectrum of continental researchers and also regularly publishes contributions on South Africa by non-South Africans. The Journal also accommodates other disciplines so that contributions in the arts and the languages strongly feature when

there is emphasis on a search reflecting aspects of “truth” and “truthfulness” with which veracity is associated.³³ The word “openness” also seems to be a favourable variant for writers to use when conducting research concerning “truth”.³⁴ Use of the word “veracity” hardly ever features in discussions.³⁵

Historians skilfully tend to shy away from notions of having discovered the “truth” or trying to articulate truthfulness in the research themes being studied as will be done by writers of fiction, and perhaps writers endorsing a more postmodern stance of History.³⁶ One particular example of contesting “truth” and even “more truthful” accounts for “numerous” accounts is voiced by Sheila Boniface Davies³⁷ on Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-1857 in South Africa.

Further in time, an acknowledged writer and expert regarding the South African War camps during the South African War of 1899-1902, Elizabeth van Heyningen, was the only historian identified in the JSAS contributions that reflected a sense of an imagining of the “truth” and “truthfulness” in her research observations, and by also utilising “veracity” as concept:³⁸

While these ceremonies endorsed the grief of the families who had lost loved ones, women’s testimonies validated the story of the camps themselves. The use of diaries and letters is a well-established source of historical writing. Personal voices impart colour and directness, and diaries especially appear to lend veracity to the evidence. [Underlining by the writer, EvE]

Van Heyningen furthermore concluded from Emily Hobhouse’s experience, as single-most prominent person associated with camps in South Africa, some notions of “integrity” (a concept also associated with “veracity”) that underlies reasoning towards impressions of a trustworthy personality in Hobhouse:³⁹

33 D Medalie, “A century later: New fictional representations of the Boer War”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(2), June 2004, pp. 379-392.

34 Compare M Wade, “Myth, truth and the South African reality in the fiction of Sarah Gertrude Millin”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1(1), October 1974, pp. 91-10; NS Ndebele, “The rediscovery of the ordinary: Some new writings in South Africa”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 12(2), April 1986, pp. 143-157; C Coetzee, “All tickets please, or how cinema histories of South Africa can stop re-enacting the racialised past”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39(3), September 2013, pp. 721-726.

35 S Marschall, “The virtual memory landscape: The impact of information technology on collective memory and commemoration in Southern Africa”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39(1), September 2013, pp. 193-205.

36 J Ferguson, “Modernist Narratives, Conventional Wisdoms, and Colonial Liberalism: Reply to a Straw Man”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20(4), December, 1994, pp. 633-640.

37 SB Davies, “Raising the dead: The Xhosa cattle-killing and the Mhlakaza-Goliath delusion”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33(1), March 2007, pp. 19-41.

38 E van Heyningen, “Costly mythologies: The concentration camps of the South African War in Afrikaner historiography”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(3), September 2008, pp. 495-513 (esp. p. 505).

39 E van Heyningen, “Costly mythologies: The concentration camps of the South African War in Afrikaner historiography”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(3), September 2008, pp. 495-513 (esp. p. 506).

What mattered to Hobhouse was the repetition, the universality, of suffering; in this lay the veracity and the value of the [concentration camp inhabitants'] testimonies. [Underlining by the writer, EvE]

Van Heyningen concurs that the redeployment of a paradigm of suffering in post-apartheid times, as was the scenario with the three to four decade commemoration/remembrance of suffering of women and children in camps during the South African War of 1899-1902, may simply be reinforced in the present-day South Africa. In this regard she states as conclusion:⁴⁰

It is doing no one a service, however, if an old mythology⁴¹ is redeployed to reinforce a new mythology of suffering, for new political purposes. Reconciliation and the building of a new nation are difficult projects; if founded on old mythologies they will not succeed.

The use of the words “numerous versions” (see Davies above) and “different interpretations”,⁴² as well as intentions to avoid “subjectivity”,⁴³ or an inclination that past “contradictions” and “ambiguities”⁴⁴ exist in a topic under study, become more visible in the articulation of discussions by historians, but sometimes traceable in contributions of other disciplines.⁴⁵

Contrary to what the concept “veracity” wants to expose the reader to, visible tendencies rather were discussions on an acceptable fictionalised past or a national past concerned with nation-building practices in film as medium,⁴⁶ and the government of the day having a firm control over its image and needs for marketing its image.⁴⁷ Nation building as a way of utilising the past will

40 E van Heyningen, “Costly mythologies: The concentration camps of the South African War in Afrikaner historiography”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(3), September 2008, pp. 495-513 (esp. p. 513).

41 A version or understanding of what the truth maybe.

42 Compare JB Peires, “Paradigm deleted: The materialist interpretation of the Mfecane”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (19)2, June 1993, pp. 295-313; G Paleker, “The state, citizens and control: Film and African audiences in South Africa, 1910-1948”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2014, 40(2), pp. 309-323; S Nuttall, “City forms and writing the ‘now’ in South Africa”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(4), December 2004, pp. 731-748, (esp. p. 743).

43 Compare S Kossew, “Re-reading the past: Monuments, history and representation in short stories by Ivan Vladislavic’ and Zoe’ Wicomb”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(3), September 2010, pp. 571-582.

44 Compare L Chisholm, “Education, punishment and the contradictions of penal reform: Alan Paton and Diepkloof Reformatory, 1934-1948”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17(1), March 1991, pp. 23-42.

45 See as example in another discipline A van der Vlies, “On the ambiguities of narrative and of history: Writing (about) the past in recent South African literary criticism”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(4), December 2008, pp. 949-961.

46 Compare M Simpson, “The experience of nation-building: Some lessons for South Africa”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20(3), *Special Issue: Ethnicity and Identity in Southern Africa*, September 1994, pp. 463-474; N Parsons, “Nation-building movies made in South Africa (1916-1918): IW Schlesinger, Harold Shaw, and the lingering ambiguities of South African Union”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39(3), September 2013, pp. 641-659.

47 G Paleker, “The state, citizens and control: Film and African audiences in South Africa, 1910-1948”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2014, 40(2), pp. 309-323.

always remain worlds apart from what History as discipline represents.⁴⁸

Also, the experience and outcome of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in novels are abundantly discussed, and in critical ways⁴⁹ in which it seems more acceptable to speak freely about a "truth" being visible or lacking.⁵⁰ Andrew van der Vlies quoted a historian and a literarian in discussing the aspect of "truth" from within the TRC-hearings. In historian Deborah Posel's words, the past was understood by the TRC as:⁵¹

... the site of contending constructions and perspectives, each 'truthful' to those who proposed it, while it was also necessarily (because of the Commission's remit to produce as full a picture as possible of abuses of the apartheid era) a procession of facts, visible from the elevated and perspicacious vantage point of the Commission. Ostensible openness to multiple species of 'truth' made for 'a very wobbly, poorly constructed conceptual grid' [Underlining by the writer, EvE].

Poet and educationist Ingrid de Kok's impression of the TRC and truth corresponds in this instance well with Posel's thoughts:⁵²

...that the TRC could not be expected to elicit or 'produce' the 'truth'; it was, rather, 'in the multiplicity of partial versions and experiences, composed and recomposed within sight of each other, that truth 'as a thing of this world', in Foucault's phrase, [would] 'emerge'. The archive, in other words, was necessarily – and inevitably – open to the future. [Underlining by the writer, EvE]

That a search for the complete "truth" will always imply partiality seems to be a *fait accompli*, and not contested.⁵³

Other discussions by researchers about South Africa (as in the JSAS) indirectly relate to "truthfulness" rather dominantly invest in reflecting on particular content for "truth". The tendency is then to rather utilise antonyms

48 ES van Eeden, "The youth and school History – learning from some of the thinking of yesterday in South Africa", *Yesterday&Today*, 8, December 2012 (available at scielo.org.za), pp. 1-24; ES van Eeden, "Die jeug en Geskiedenis – vandag en gister, met verwysing na die Hertzog-era, Genl JBM Hertzoggedenklesing", XXXX, *Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, 2011, ISBN: 978-0-949976-81-9, pp. 1-35. English version available from author.

49 D Thelen, "How the Truth and Reconciliation Commission challenges the ways we use History", *South African Historical Journal*, 47(1), 2002, pp. 162-190.

50 S Kossew, "Re-reading the past...", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(3), September 2010, pp. 571-582.

51 A van der Vlies, "On the ambiguities of narrative and of history: Writing (about) the past in recent South African literary criticism", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(4) December 2008, p. 950. See the source itself: D Posel, "The TRC Report: What kind of history? What kind of truth?", D Posel and G Simpson (eds), *Commissioning the past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 2002), p. 150 [esp. pp. 147-72].

52 P Kaarsholm, "Inventions, imaginings, codifications: Authorising versions of Ndebele cultural tradition", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23(2), June 1997, pp. 243-258.

53 Compare with the impressions of P Gready, "The Sophiatown writers of the fifties: The unreal reality of their world", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16(1), March 1990, pp. 139-164.

of “veracity” such as “inventions”; “imagining”,⁵⁴ “stereotyping”, “propaganda” and “subjectivity”.⁵⁵

South African Historical Journal (SAHJ)

The South African Historical Journal (SAHJ) is generally perceived as South Africa’s most prestigious historical journal.⁵⁶ The SAHJ is attached to the Southern African Historical Society who recently (1-3 July) hosted a conference at the University of Stellenbosch, Cape Town with the theme: “Unsettling stories and unstable subjects”. From the conference invitation it is evident that the realities of past “complexities”, a “multiplicity” of “memory and meaning” and encouragements debate “reversion” are points of discussion and attention, but not necessarily explicitly aspiring to bluntly contest past notions of presenting “truths”. Rather nicely, these contestations have been articulated by the Society in their call for papers, as:⁵⁷

We historians must offer bold analyses based on a nuanced understanding of the complexities of change over time. Our stories can disrupt the complacent presentist narratives of the status quo, but while they have the power to unsettle, they – in turn – are unsettled by each new generation of historians.

The “power to unsettle” is visible in several published articles of the SAHJ regarding a criticism on ways of having interpreted past narratives as not being complementary to “historical truthfulness”. In a few discussions, like those of Jessica Murray⁵⁸ and Kobus du Pisani,⁵⁹ the borderline between fact and fiction is pointed out. Because in both “fiction” and “fact” a close relatedness will exist, Murray points out the distinction between both by conferring the views of Jacques Derrida:⁶⁰

54 Compare P Kaarsholm, “Inventions, imaginings, codifications: Authorising versions of Ndebele cultural tradition”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23(2), June 1997, pp. 243-258.

55 L Saint, “Not Western: Race, reading, and the South African Photocomic”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(4), December 2010, pp. 939-958; PR Anderson, “Satire and historical gainsaying in AG Bain’s ‘Kaatje Kekkelbek, or, Life among the Hottentots’”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38(1), March 2012, pp. 217-232; E Sandon, “African Mirror: The life and times of the South African newsreel from 1910 to 1948”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39(3), September 2013, pp. 661-680; C Coetzee, “They never wept, the men of my race’: Antjie Krog’s Country of my skull and the white South African signature”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27(4), December 2001.

56 See the home page of the journal (available at <http://www.sahs.org.za/node/4>), as accessed on January 2016.

57 See Call for Papers by the SAHS (available at <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28765/discussions/49084/cfp-southern-african-historical-society-1-3-july-2015>), as accessed on October 2014.

58 J Murray, “Gender and violence in Cape slave narratives and post-narratives”, *South African Historical Journal*, 62(3), 2010, pp. 447-448.

59 JA du Pisani, “Fact and fiction: Representations of the South African War in Afrikaans history writing and literature”, *New Contree*, 45, September 1999, pp. 164-184.

60 J Murray, “Gender and violence in Cape slave narratives and post-narratives”, *South African Historical Journal*, 62(3), 2010, pp. 447-448.

Fiction is associated with the imagination; testimony is linked to experience or observation, while evidence carries connotations of something that can rationally and scientifically serve to indicate veracity. . . When there is proof, there is no need to appeal to be believed, since the existence of proof of a statement means that the veracity of that statement has been established.

As Murray rightly points out, the “difficulty with linking these concepts arises from the reality that they belong to apparently incompatible cognitive systems”. Past impacts on South Africa’s history, such as colonialism, apartheid⁶¹ and the varieties of contesting nationalisms,⁶² especially Afrikaner nationalism,⁶³ are pointed out as stumbling blocks in creating a sense of “historical truthfulness” because of competing versions of the past.⁶⁴

In essence, the argument for being “truthful” in historical writing, though a complex matter to its core, underlies notions of professional integrity and an approach in which diverse memories of a past trend or event is exposed. The work of some authors in the SAHJ supports diverse voices in topics under study.⁶⁵ Bargaño’s,⁶⁶ for example, further suggests “more lexical precision, as well as the integration of transnational and indigenous voices into colonial and post-colonial archives to understand the colonial era. . .”

When having to comment on “truth” *per se* as concept, some authors mostly refer to the TRC era in a parenthetical manner to point out another matter of discussion.⁶⁷ Other historians from other parts of Africa, who have published in the SAHJ, tend to be more frank in their reference to the achievability of “truth” (though still with caution, and employing inverted commas):⁶⁸

61 L Witz & C Hamilton, “Reaping the whirlwind: The Reader’s Digest illustrated History of South Africa and changing popular perceptions of History”, *South African Historical Journal*, 24(1), 1991, pp.185-202.

62 Compare L van Vuuren, “The many myths of Laurens van der Post: Van der Post and Bushmen in the television series *Lost World of Kalahari* (1958)”, *South African Historical Journal*, 48(1), 2003, pp. 47-60. On p. 51 critique is given on the highly subjective stand in the myths and mythical interpretations of the past as for example created by the literarian Laurence van der Post regards the Bushmen in *Lost World*..

63 FA Mouton, “AN Pelzer: A custodian of Afrikanerdom”, *South African Historical Journal*, 37(1), 1997, pp. 133-155.

64 R Greenstein, “History, historiography and the production of knowledge”, *South African Historical Journal*, 32(1), 1995, pp. 217-232 (esp. p. 225).

65 S Byala, “Museum Africa: Colonial past, postcolonial present”, *South African Historical Journal*, 65(1), 2013, pp. 90-104 (esp. p. 103); DP Bargaño, “Imperial discontents: A review essay”, *South African Historical Journal*, 63(4), December 2011, pp. 594-615.

66 DP Bargaño, “Imperial discontents: A review essay”, *South African Historical Journal*, 63(4), December 2011, pp. 594-615.

67 Compare C Hamilton, “Forged and continually refashioned in the crucible of ongoing social and political life: Archives and custodial practices as subjects of enquiry”, *South African Historical Journal*, 2013, 65(1), pp. 1-22; H Sapire, *Township histories, insurrection and liberation in late apartheid South Africa*, *South African Historical Journal*, 65(2), pp. 167-198.

68 S Molins Llitas, “From Toledo to Timbuktu: The case for a biography of the Ka’i archive, and its Sources”, *South African Historical Journal*, 65(1), pp. 105-124.

The re-appropriation and revalorisation of the African past, of its history and its memory formed a crucial part of the 'African Renaissance' vision. There was a will to establish 'the truth' about the pre-colonial and colonial past and to restore and acknowledge African contributions to human civilisation... [Underlining by the writer, EvE].

Reading African and South African history as “truths” coming from other continents and countries have lately become another point of critical debate.⁶⁹ Temu,⁷⁰ for example, notes:

Of what relevance is the history produced in the Euro-American academy to Africa? How do we judge such histories authored by outsiders, histories that are produced for an audience that is not Africa, histories which refuse to engage or converse with the very people who are actors in that history? Who validates or legitimises a history that is uprooted from its source to be presented elsewhere as the story of the 'other'? Who determines what constitutes an acceptable research topic and on what basis are such topics selected? To pose these questions is to enter the terrain of knowledge production and the politics associated with such an enterprise.

Processes of “knowledge production” and some apparent “agenda politics” behind productions are other complexities that make it difficult to attach “historical truthfulness” to research and writing at random.⁷¹ In this regard, the Floridian Luise White’s remarks in a keynote address at an SAHS conference in South Africa some years ago provides insight on the non-negotiable responsibility of historians to adhere to moral universals when it comes to reflecting truthfulness in research:⁷²

... One of the problems with current [2000] debates about history writing is that they're reified ten and twenty-year old practices around truth and evidence in ways that are simply inaccurate. The truth historians have understood since the 1960s was itself fractured and partial. The truth of social history was categorically different from the truth based on the moral universals; it was a belief that individual experiences were the bedrock of historical evidence. The project of social history was to render accurate the experiences of all subjects; the historical narrative would change and become more representative by inclusion.

We all know the drill, no national narrative without women, no political narrative without trade unionists and casual labourers, etc., etc. Such a project seriously undermined the idea that truth was a matter of moral universals, so that the history of the nation didn't look the same when all groups were included, the

69 L White, “The most telling: Lies, secrets, and history”, *South African Historical Journal*, 42(1), 2000, pp. 11-25.

70 A Temu, “Not telling: African history at the end of the millennium”, *South African Historical Journal*, 42(1), pp. 2-10.

71 See productions on South Africa such as F Hale, “Khoi Khoi culture refracted through a German prism: Christian Ludwig Willebrand's reconstruction in historical context”, *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 19(2), November 2005.

72 Compare L White, “The most telling: Lies, secrets, and history”, *South African Historical Journal*, 42(1), 2000, pp. 11-25 (esp. pp. 7, 13).

history of labour wasn't the same when you included prostitutes and pickpockets. Cultural historians have argued that the ways that this history looked different was an historian's construct... [Underlining by the writer, EvE].

Complexities in “doing history” will remain a transnational issue, and how to deal with sources and interpret them in order to arrive at an ultimate interpretation as “historical truthfulness” will remain a challenge, as was pointed out by White:⁷³

But where does this leave us? If everyone is interpreting, how can we possibly know where sources' interpretation end and an ambitious historian's interpretation of the past begins? How do we know who to trust? And I think this is part of a professional crisis that is about the constitution of the profession – one form it takes is concerns over the nature of truth and evidence. When history and the uses of the past were primarily the concern of one class, one race, and one gender, there was great latitude about the use of evidence. Most of the great nineteenth-century historians never touched what you and I would consider primary sources, and they were concerned with telling a story with a moral rather than letting archives dominate their analysis [Underlining by the writer, EvE].

Thinking of “interpretation” as vocabulary (according to White) to be discreetly and directly associated with searching for “historical truthfulness”, several contributions in the SAHJ deal with either matters of “diverse interpretations” as a requirement, “misinterpretations” or misrepresentations in past publications⁷⁴ and/or the need for (and critical discussion of) “reinterpretations”.⁷⁵ Apart from “truth” as an abundantly used concept (and not necessary in the context of understanding for the purpose of this discussion), an author's convenient variant seems to be some or other “interpretation” like “radical interpretation”⁷⁶ and progressing towards a “narrative truth”.⁷⁷

Source criticisms of South Africa's past also reflect a notion of determining who is “truthing” and who is lying, and sometimes even originate from the political front. A recent example is the South African Democracy Education Trust's publication titled *The road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 1:1960-1970* in which former South African President, Mr Thabo Mbeki, did the foreword

73 L White, “The most telling: Lies, secrets, and history”, *South African Historical Journal*, 42(1), 2000, pp. 11-25 (esp. p. 13).

74 Compare L Kriel, “Colin Rae's Malabocho: The power of the book in the (mis)representation of Kgaluši Sekete Mmalebôhó”, *South African Historical Journal*, 46(1), 2002, pp. 25-41.

75 S Meintjes, “The Mfecane colloquium: Impressions”, *South African Historical Journal*, 25(1), 1991, pp. 173-176.

76 Compare M Adhikari, “Responses to marginality: Twentieth-century coloured politics”, *South African Historical Journal*, 20(1), 1988, pp. 115-125; WH Worger, “White radical history in South Africa”, *South African Historical Journal*, 24(1), 1991, pp. 145-153 (esp. p. 148); CA Hamilton, “‘An appetite for the past’: The re-creation of Shaka and the crisis in popular historical consciousness”, 22(1), 1990, pp.141-157.

77 L de Kock, “Contending with the information narrative”, *South African Historical Journal*, 29(1), 1993, pp. 274-282.

quite carefully (but perhaps not well-articulated enough on “the truth”) as he states :⁷⁸

The text will compensate for the “paucity of historical records chronicling the arduous and complex road” to South Africa’s democratic settlement, the editors promise. “New insight” into the “operation of liberation movements” will result from “untapped documentary sources” and “the voices of scores of liberation veterans”. In using such evidence we will arrive “much closer to the ‘truth’ than history books” (pp. vii-xix) that lack such testimony... [Underlining by the writer, EvE]

Another example, though over-abundantly lamented on, is by politician Dr Gatsha Buthelezi on what has historically been produced about King Shaka. Buthelezi’s view is expressed by historian Carolyn Hamilton:⁷⁹

He [Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi] also criticized as ‘pathetic’ the writings of historians who relied on the texts of Isaacs and Fynn as sources for the period and described their endeavours as attempts ‘to fornicate with the truth’ [Underlining by the writer, EvE].

Mersham⁸⁰ also articulates a questioning of “truth” in his introduction to the Shaka topic and questions the historical veracity of mass media images. He notes:

The immediacy and apparent truth of the image confers a historical veracity on the material presented, creating for the viewer an easily digestible, but often misleading, vision of the past... [Underlining by the writer, EvE]

Mersham also warns the reader against the “truth of sensation”.⁸¹ Greenstein, on the other hand, reflects the critique of “truth” searched for by Buthelezi from another incontestable angle:⁸²

...The scorn scholars like to direct at Buthelezi for daring to venture into the realm of proper historians is thus misplaced. The real interesting question is not whether he deals objectively with history (as if academics do), or has his own agenda (as if academics do not), but how his interpretation of the past resonates with the concerns of his constituency... Shifting the focus of analysis from manipulations and the political interests they serve, to the historical and discursive conditions that make them possible, enables us to grasp how current political and cultural practices are rooted in popular legacies that fall beyond the control of colonial, elite and

78 South African Democracy Education Trust, *The road to democracy in South Africa, Volume 1: 1960-1970* (Cape Town, Zebra Press, 2004), pp. 804 (esp. p. 275).

79 Compare CA Hamilton, “An appetite for the past: The re-creation of Shaka and the crisis in popular historical consciousness”, *South African Historical Journal*, 22(1), 1990”, pp. 141-157; D Wylie, “A dangerous admiration: EA Ritter’s Shaka Zulu”, *South African Historical Journal*, 28(1), 1993, pp. 98-118.

80 G Mersham, “History, television and Shaka Zulu”, *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 5(1), 1990, pp. 10-19 (esp. p. 10).

81 G Mersham, “History, television and Shaka Zulu”, *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 5(1), 1990, pp. 10-19 (esp. p. 13).

82 R Greenstein, “History, historiography and the production of knowledge”, *South African Historical Journal*, 32(1), 1995, pp. 217-232 (esp. pp. 225-226).

academic forces. This would mean the reintroduction of history into the picture, since the success of particular inventions would have to be accounted for by their degree of compatibility (or lack thereof) with already existing images of the past. The invention of tradition would no longer be seen as a process that operates in a vacuum, but as deeply rooted in, and constrained by, its historical context.

Apart from the Zulu controversialities, Alan Paton's imaginary, and globally acclaimed work, *Cry the beloved country*, also relates to another (fictional) element of "truth". Garry Baines comments on Paton's personal reflections on the book:⁸³

Alan Paton's Cry, the Beloved Country (1948) is arguably one of the seminal influences on the shaping of mid twentieth-century South African consciousness with regard to the... [imaginary] ...city. In the preface to his acclaimed novel, the author admitted that although 'the story is not true', when considered 'a social record', it was 'the plain and simple truth'. [Underlining by the writer, EvE].

What is of value to note and perhaps is a global reality is that while historians were drilled over time to be uncomfortable to abundantly reach out in the search for an "ultimate truth" and to rather explore multiple memories in many forms, the ideologically locked mind, the perceived stressed, oppressed and deprived members of community urged and acted outspokenly for *the* truth. Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* can be viewed as falling within this ambit.

So the globally experienced difficulty among historians grappling with many issues surrounding "historical truth" – which does not necessarily bring one comfortably closer to any acceptable agenda because somewhere a hidden one will be improvised, whether historians thought about it or not. Think, for example, about the thought of the Israeli political scientist academic Pappé who certainly will not be favourable towards multiple diverse histories, because it seems that some (certainly not historians, but experts from other disciplines) feel it's possible to come to a "historical truth".⁸⁴

Reality is that communities, statesmen and producers of History from other disciplines (far, close-by and in one's own country) always had been, and still are, viewed as acceptable historical imaginaries of the past. Furthermore, if a divide between historians of South Africa are still perceived, as is the case between the Historical Association of South Africa (HASA), and the

83 G Baines, "On location: Narratives of the South African city of the late 1940s and 1950s in film and literature", *South African Historical Journal*, 48(1), 2003, pp. 35-46 (esp. p. 40); A Paton, *Cry, the beloved country* (Harmondsworth, 1975 [1948]). *Cry, the Beloved Country* portrays the harsher realities of segregated urban spaces, as Kumalo moved from the dusty streets of Sophiatown to the leafy suburbs of Johannesburg in search of truth and justice.

84 I Pappé, *A History of modern Palestine. One land, two peoples* (United Kingdom, Cambridge, 2004) pp. 333.

South African Historical Society (SAHS) as in recent times,⁸⁵ then former perceptions (and even stereotypes) may still stand,⁸⁶ which is not conducive to progress to conceptualise “veracity” as an universal moral obligation (to quote White earlier).

Sensitivity with regard to the realities of fact and fiction among educators of History

Terry Haydn of England’s University of East Anglia’s School of Education recently observed that, in many countries, “less time and attention is attached to developing students’ understanding of the concept of veracity, or ‘truthfulness’, in the sense of developing in learners the disposition of respect for evidence, open-mindedness, and awareness of the need to appreciate and acknowledge the appropriate knowledge warrant for historical (and present day) claims which are made”.⁸⁷

In what sense it will be possible to follow this very historical-minded route in a-historical environments like South Africa, loaded with political attachments, legacies and a limited number of educated learners in History, will be a challenge that will require more discussion than just a paper debate.

To get some notion concerning to what measures the South African Educational system and Higher Education are sensitised towards a view to the value a dealing with the concept of veracity, the following sections will be explorative.

A concise past view⁸⁸ regarding the urge for notions of veracity in history curricula, textbooks and in teaching on higher education level and in schools

During any period of transitional crisis, the meaningfulness of history is always a point of contention.⁸⁹ Cases do exist where History teaching at

85 KL Harris, “Warring societies? Towards a community of historians HASA and SAHS (1956-2014)”, *Historia*, 59(2), November 2014, pp. 344-354 (esp. 344).

86 Afrikaner Nationalism has in the past mostly been associated with historical Afrikaans Universities in South Africa while liberal, radical and revisionist ideologies were perceived as associations with mainly historical English universities in South Africa. Also compare with Bill Nasson’s remarks in his review of “John Pampallis’s foundations of the New South Africa”, *South African Historical Journal*, 26(1), 1992, pp. 236-244.

87 T Haydn, “Veracity: A neglected facet of history education in schools?”, Paper, International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHHS), XXIIInd Congress, China-Jinan, 23-29 August 2015.

88 A more extended view is available in ES van Eeden, “The youth and History – today and yesterday, with reference to the Hertzog era”, *Hertzog Memorial Lecture, South African Academy for Science and Art*, 40th lecture, 21 September 2011, pp. 1-43.

89 G Weldon, “A comparative study on the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum of post-conflict societies: Rwanda and South Arica (2003)” (available at <http://www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journal11/...>), pp. 1-16.

school level had been abolished in an attempt at pacification. For example, after the Boer defeat in 1902, Lord Milner provisionally prohibited fatherland History in white schools and apparently only allowed British Imperialist History.⁹⁰ However, the opposite is seen in the memoirs of the academic HES Fremantle from Oxford, who found himself at the southern tip of Africa from 1899 by becoming involved with the former South African College (currently the University of Cape Town). In his fervent attempts to establish a Chair of History at this College, his views on History teaching for the youth filtered through from time to time. Thus, his sentiments that the youth and communities should be confronted by means of “unbiased” historical content⁹¹ had a long history and enjoyed a lot of support.⁹²

Indeed, the planners of new school syllabi for post-war South Africa argued that the “political attitude” of the next generation would be determined by the History teaching.

In 1902, he presented his views on History teaching and academic research into the history of South Africa of that time, to a select British audience:⁹³

The subject [History] had been neglected with fatal results, and it was an Imperial necessity that this neglect should be corrected. The absence of accurate and unbiased historical knowledge... had allowed political myths to flourish among all the inhabitants of South Africa, and these had to be removed if a new country was to be built on a sound basis. Its bureaucrats too would need such knowledge, while a “scientific” study of the past would be vital for any serious study of “native questions”... as “a work of incomparable importance” for the future...

Commendable views by Fremantle though not necessarily taken seriously by those who should hear. Curriculum debates on what content, for example, suits youth at the FET level best, most of the time results in curriculum debates and suggestions for or against certain themes.⁹⁴ This tendency is not necessarily a negative drift, as excellence is supposed to evolve from constructive critique. However, content selection and method have always been contentious as so many voices and sectors want to be heard to ensure that the “truths” they

90 FA van Jaarsveld, “Weereens ‘n skoongeveegde lei? – Afrekening met, en nuwe singewing aan die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis?”, *Historia*, 39(1), May 1994, pp. 95-96, 98.

91 RB Mulholland, *The evolution of history teaching in South Africa* (MEd thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981), p. 127, as cited by H Phillips, “The South African college and the emergence of history as a university discipline in South Africa”, *Historia*, 49(1), May 2004, pp. 1-11.

92 RB Mulholland, *The evolution of history teaching in South Africa* (MEd thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981), p. 127, H Phillips, “The South African college and the emergence of history as a university discipline in South Africa”, *Historia*, 49(1), May 2004, pp. 1-11.

93 H Phillips, “The South African college and the emergence of history as a university discipline in South Africa”, *Historia*, 49(1), May 2004, p. 7.

94 P Kallaway, “History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, pp. 23-62;

present are incorporated in history curricula.⁹⁵

Bundy, in 1993, well summarised an ideal approach to the FET history curriculum that hints towards an inclusiveness of diverse truths:⁹⁶

...[to be] concerned with the content and interpretation of South African history, its main emphasis being that history should “reflect advances in the discipline of history”. That is: school texts should reflect recent and current debates about the past: the approach to the past should be inclusive and democratic; the approach to historical knowledge should be analytical and explanatory; skills and content should be inseparable so that the curriculum conveys a sense of how knowledge is produced and history not presented as a set of given facts...South African history should reflect the diversity of its population, while also accounting for processes that have created a single society; and should locate the country’s history within regional, continental and global events and processes.

A diversity of contributions (in memories) and diverse perspectives (in content) are required in History education in order to limit content distortion (and even to try to avoid it completely) to progress towards a balanced “truth”. In South Africa emotions about its past contested any will to ensure a balanced view on a history curriculum, or in school textbooks culminating from a revised curriculum.⁹⁷ The post-1994 transformation of education in South Africa⁹⁸ at especially school level jumbled in high and low moments. Kallaway noted that “The rejection of the apartheid education curriculum in History was confused with the abandonment of a curriculum that was based on historically constructed knowledge”.⁹⁹ Curriculum 2005 and Outcomes-based Education reforms, which emphasised “the most radical constructivist curriculum ever attempted anywhere in the world”,¹⁰⁰ allowed for a scenario of historical amnesia: not at all welcomed in a multi-diversified country. The significance of History as a core subject, necessary to be offered in schools,

95 Compare B Trabold, “Historical Narratives as a rhetoric of resistance in apartheid South Africa: The History workshop and the new nation”, *South African Historical Journal*, 62(4), 2010, p. 749; P Meyer, Ons geskiedenislose tyd, *Historia*, 12(7), Mei 1967, pp. 5-6; FA van Jaarsveld, Skoolgeskiedenis in die nuwe Suid-Afrika, *Gister en Vandag/Yesterday and Today*, 20, September 1990, p. 2.

96 View of historian Colin Bundy as quoted in L Chisholm, “Migration, citizenship and South African History textbooks”, *South African Historical Journal*, 60(3), 2008, pp. 357-358. P Kapp’s argument also hints at this. See P Kapp, “Die toekoms van Geskiedenis as skoolvak in Suid-Afrika”, *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 25, May, 1993, pp. 6-7.

97 Compare the comment with the views of R Siebörger and J Reid, “Textbooks and the School History Curriculum”, *South African Historical Journal*, 33(1), 1995, pp. 169-177.

98 Compare with K Asmal and J Wilmot (Eds.), *Spirit of the nation. Reflections on South Africa’s educational ethos* (Claremont, HSRC, 2002), pp. 2-17; M Khabele, “Political culture and democratic governance in Southern Africa”, *African Journal for Political Science*, 8(1), 2003, pp. 85-112.

99 P Kallaway, “History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, p. 2.

100 A quoted by Taylor as cited by W Hugo (2005) as referenced by P Kallaway, “History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, pp. 23-62.

was reaffirmed with the approval of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for senior high school (Grades 10-12) in 2012.¹⁰¹ The new CAPS curriculum was welcomed – its credibility was, however, also questioned in terms of knowledge criteria and pedagogic viability.¹⁰² Two aspects of the CAPS criticism to be pointed out are based on i) whether “truthfulness” is aspired and ii) whether learners of History are made aware of veracity as a didactic principle in viewing past historical events.

i. Is “truthfulness” demanded and required in CAPS?

Though more voices of standing should still be heard on this question, the respected impressions of Peter Kallaway must be used as an informative point of departure. In Kallaway’s vocabulary, “truthfulness” is embraced in the words “valid claims about the past”. While relying on Christine Counsell’s (of the United Kingdom) research regarding the history curriculum,¹⁰³ Kallaway states the following about the South African History CAPS:

... the purpose of teaching and learning history in the classroom is to bring the epistemic tradition of history to the pedagogical site so that pupils can understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made...bringing an epistemic tradition to the pedagogical site so that pupils can understand the grounds on which valid claims about the past can be made will never be easy...

Yet, it is argued by Counsell and Kallaway, that “good history teaching does foster thinking, reflection, criticality and motivation”.¹⁰⁴

Kallaway continues to note his concern about topics four to six of Grade 12 (see diagram below):

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

101 ES v an Eeden, “Studying History in South Africa: Reflections of yesterday to face, map and bridging diversity today and tomorrow”, E Erdmann and W Hasberg (eds.), *Facing – Mapping – Bridging diversity, 2* (Germany, Foundation of European Discourse on History Education), January 2015.

102 P Kallaway, “History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, pp. 23-62.

103 C Counsell, “Disciplinary knowledge for all: The secondary history curriculum and history teachers’ achievement”, *Curriculum Journal*, 22(2), pp. 201-225 (esp p. 202).

104 P Kallaway, “History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment”, *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, pp. 23-62.

TOPIC NO	GRADE 12
1	The Cold War: Origins of the Cold War; Extension of the Cold War; Case study: China OR Vietnam; Stages in the war.
2	Independent Africa: What were the ideas that influenced independent states? Comparative case studies: the Congo and Tanzania; The successes and challenges faced by independent Africa? What was the impact of the internal and external factors on Africa during the time? Africa in the Cold War: Case study: Angola.
3	Civil Society protests 1950s to 1970s: Overview of civil society protests; Case study: the US Civil Rights Movement; Case Study: the Black Power Movement.
4	Civil resistance in South Africa 1970s to 1980s: The challenge of Black consciousness to the Apartheid state; The crisis of Apartheid in the 1980s: Government attempts to reform Apartheid; Internal resistance to reforms: International response; The beginning of the end.
5	The coming of democracy in South Africa and coming to terms with the past: The negotiated settlement and the Government of National Unity; How has South Africa chosen to remember the past? The Truth and Reconciliation Commission; Reasons for the TRC; Remembering the past: memorials.
6	The end of the Cold War and a new world order: The end of the Cold War: the events of 1989; A new world order: Globalisation; responses to globalisation; unfinished process of liberation in South Africa.

The only reference to “truth” in the CAPS document relates to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s work as a way of remembering the past as outlined as Topic Five in the Grade 12 Curriculum. To aim towards a “truthful” topic reflection, the CAPS-curriculum content outline offers limited bits of possibilities with the intention to allow for the conceptualising of multiple perspectives.¹⁰⁵ Topics three and four of the Grade 12 Curriculum combined may be used as an example to encourage multiple diverse perspectives, and also the following topics in the curriculum outline of other grades:

GRADE	TOPIC
7	The transatlantic slave trade: The impact of the transatlantic slave trade on the economies of West Africa, America and Britain; Gains for America and
10	The world around 1600: Broad comparative overview: China; Songhai; India (Mughal); European societies
11	Ideas of race in the late 19th and 20th centuries: Theories and Practice; Case study: Australia and the Indigenous Australians; Case study: Nazi Germany and the holocaust.

¹⁰⁵ ES van Eeden sources.

ii. Are learners of History made aware of veracity as a didactic principle in viewing past historical events?

Though the curriculum as represented in the CAPS remain the core guideline to address the themes and topics outlined, the initiative and creativity to encourage diversity and diverse perspectives on each topic will still remain the responsibility of educators. In the CAPS guidelines support is expressed for rigorous historical enquiry by means of, amongst others, “historical truth that consists of a multiplicity of voices expressing varying and often contradictory versions of the same history”.¹⁰⁶ That is where the “support” stops. Textbooks (the few of them approved in South Africa nowadays) also do not necessarily offer sufficient guidance and insight since they are most of the time created and produced within short spaces of time with limited input from experts knowledgeable on a specific topic.¹⁰⁷ In this regard, the responsibility is that of Higher Education and Training Institutions that will have to train prospective educators more efficiently in dealing meaningfully with “truth” and “truthfulness” as a means to complement diverse knowledge pools of identity and memory on the same topic. An encouragement to work towards valid, reliable and authentic pools of reality will nurture ideals of establishing the ideal meaning of veracity in the classroom.¹⁰⁸ In the eight CAPS criteria – as principles to progress towards veracity – it is certainly high on the agenda (see table below regarding articulations suggesting openness and inclusivity),¹⁰⁹ but whether these are properly addressed in South Africa’s textbooks for schools (and currently in the very limited number of textbooks allowed per grade) is a debate for another day:

106 Republic of South Africa, Department of Education, National Curriculum Statement, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement, Further Education and Training Phase (Grades 10-12, History, 2012), pp. 5-6.

107 P Kallaway source.

108 ES van Eeden, “The youth and school history-learning from some of the thinking of yesterday in South Africa”, *Yesterday&Today*, 8, 2012, pp. 23-46.

109 Republic of South Africa, Department of Education, National Curriculum Statement, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement, Further Education and Training Phase (Grades 10-12, History, 2012), pp. 5-6.

- ✓ Social transformation: ensuring that the educational imbalances of the past are redressed, and that equal educational opportunities are provided for all sections of the population;
- ✓ Active and critical learning: encouraging an active and critical approach to learning, rather than rote and uncritical learning of given truths;
- ✓ High levels of knowledge and high skills levels: the minimum standards of knowledge and skills to be achieved in each grade are specified and set high, achievable standards in all subjects;
- ✓ Progression: content and context of each grade show progression from simple to complex;
- ✓ Human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice: infusing the principles and practices of social and environmental justice and human rights as defined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa;
- ✓ The National Curriculum Statement for Grades R-12 is sensitive to issues of diversity such as poverty, inequality, race, gender, language, age, disability and other factors;
- ✓ Valuing indigenous knowledge systems: acknowledging the rich history and heritage of this country as important contributors to nurturing the values contained in the Constitution; and
- ✓ Credibility, quality and efficiency: providing an education that is comparable in quality, breadth and depth to those of other countries.

Choices, with regard to the content of History education in the past and the inclusion of a range of experts in History, did not really set this example,¹¹⁰ and that is why any clear expectations regarding multi-perspective History education¹¹¹ at school level in the early 21st century have hardly been possible to date,¹¹² and will probably continue to be impossible if the protocol remains.¹¹³ This setting is not conducive to progress towards notions of complimenting the urge for truthfulness or veracity. A way that educators can explore to deal

110 Compare Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), "Die onderrig van geskiedenis aan Suid-Afrikaanse sekondêre skole; 'n Volledige weergawe van 'n opname in die jaar 1966", Compiler CR Liebenberg, Report 0-11, RGN, Pretoria, 1971, pp. 1-304. From pp. 234 it is pointed out that History as subject is losing popularity due to poor teaching; repetitive content; poor remuneration of teachers; spoon-feeding at school and the so-called "worthlessness" of History; P Kallaway, "History education in a democratic South Africa", *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 26 October 1993, pp. 10-17; L Chisholm, "Migration, citizenship and South African History textbooks", *South African Historical Journal*, 60(3), 2008, p. 357; P Kallaway, "History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment", *Yesterday&Today*, 7, July 2012, pp. 23-62.

111 Not all History educators and historians understood the concept in the same multi-perspective way, therefore division sprouted from that for a while as well. See P Kallaway, "History education in a democratic South Africa", *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 26 October 1993, pp. 10-17; MH Trümpelmann, "The HRSC-investigation on history teaching – a response", *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 23 May 1992, pp. 46-49.

112 Compare P Kapp, "Die toekoms van Geskiedenis as skoolvak in Suid-Afrika", *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 25 May 1993, pp. 3-15; BC Mohamed, "Alternative history as a response to multi-culturalism in History teaching", *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 21 April 1991, pp. 24-26; WRL Gebhard, "Does history teaching ask and answer relevant questions in a multi-cultural society?: Some suggestions for enlarging the vision of History", *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 22 September 1991, pp. 1-12; P Kapp, "Culture context and historical text", *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 26 October 1993, pp. 4-9.

113 Based on the author's personal experience as chairperson of the Society for History Education in South Africa and personal endeavours with regard to criticism relating to the latest History curriculum for the general and further education teaching phase, including the manner of secrecy and poor handling of the latest process in school textbook development for learners of History.

with creating a sense of the value veracity in research and teaching is to engage more constructively in critical reading of scientific created sources.

Equipping the educator with a tool to critically assess truthfulness in historical sources

A possible way to address the complexity and difficulty of dealing with and working towards truthful historical accounts is to develop educational criteria to meaningfully assess research produced. A possibility to depart from can be viewed in the example to follow. Its use at the North-West University in South Africa for several years has now made undergraduate and postgraduate students more sensitive to their own style of writing while simultaneously honing their skills with regard to reading and interpreting scientific articles. There is no reason why learners in lower grades (at school level) cannot be exposed to some of these criteria as proposed in the grid to follow (and to other criteria as well that educators of History may feel necessary to use):

Critical reading in classrooms (for Educators of History in FET and HET classes)

CRITICAL READING ASSESSMENT CRITERIA

When critical reading is required, the questions below all apply to the source(s), as indicated, selected or as advised.

ALL questions below must receive attention in critical reading, even if you are not able to find any application in the source/text selected for perusal.

[Please clearly indicate the page, paragraph and words you are referring to regarding a specific reader. State the title of the reader as well.]

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ON PAPER. NUMBERING MUST BE DONE VERY ACCURATELY. Respond in full sentences:

1) In half a page (or less), a) summarise the content of the source being studied, [4] and b) the value you observe coming forth from having read it (if any). [2]

2) Identify six remarks in the source that, via your research, appear to be based on factual evidence. (Indicate page, paragraph and the line PLUS write down the sentence and underline the part you refer to.) [6]

3) Identify two remarks in the source text that appear to be based on opinion(s) (based on research or in general and clearly indicate which of the two). (Indicate page, paragraph and the line PLUS write down the sentence and underline the part you refer to.) [2]

4) Identify any words that the author uses (or the authors use) that appear to be applied by the author(s) as a means to exaggerate or serve the purpose of using adjectives for a more "lively" presentation. (Motivate your response, even if you are unable to identify any such use of words.). PLEASE submit the page number and full sentence of each example identified. [2]

5) **Writing style: How does the author overcome** [FULL sentences please. Not only a "no" or "yes" Motivate your every response.]:

5.1) Historical silences in the content with which he or she is dealing? [2]

5.2) His or her uncertainty about issues? (Identify, e.g., the use of words such as "perhaps", "maybe", "possible", "there", "also", as well as "some people/individual/person", etc.). [2]

6) **Were you able to pick up words or sentences that cultivate or may cultivate** [FULL sentences please. Not merely a "no" or "yes" Motivate your response and underline the part of the sentence which you think applies AND also refer to the page, the paragraph, as well as the line]:

6.1) Stereotyping/Labeling [1]

6.2) Bias [1]

6.3) Racism [1]

6.4) Any perception of whatever nature (e.g. gender preferences or generalisations (such as "it is clear" or "it is obvious"). [1]

7) Based on all your impressions above, do you think that the author (or authors) succeeded in:

7.1) Using all available sources effectively? [1]

7.2) Exploring any other possible appropriate sources that might have been explored? (This question requires you to explore information system networks for other possible applicable sources if you have actually identified possible shortcomings.) [3]

7.3) Does the author's article serve as an objective and fair overview to the readers with regard to the theme discussed? [2]

Recapping and assessing

That a search for a complete "truth" in writing histories will always imply partiality and seems to be *fait accompli*, and not contested. In History no historical discussion is definite or final for Marwick and most historians will probably agree. The debate can always be qualified or corrected and political bias will be pointed out vigorously. Marwick also accentuates out that historians are not propagandists. Their "job" is to understand the past (or parts of it), to inform and not "to change the future".

From this perspective of the historical battle, one may even add whether – in the possible absence or total lack of a more inclusive use of past recounts in their variety (multi-disciplines) and diversity (several voices and traditions) – the need for sensitivity regarding the use of words like "integrity" and "veracity" will not bring about increasing remoteness and distance.

It will be a special day if historians and educators of History aspire to produce all-inclusive reflections on a past (in writing and in teaching). An engagement with the past may also differ in certain timeframes as more or additional information on the past is exposed, discovered or reinterpreted with the support of "other" sources providing more detail as additional insight. An escape from fiction or a lack of truthfulness in everyday life with its spontaneously growing paradigms and ideologies made by anyone in any profession is hardly imaginable. Yet a more informed and critical stand could be manageable in the education process (and by historians) if a dealing with a past is engaged with historically: Which implies a moral obligation towards inclusiveness and reflectiveness as part of progressing towards being truthful.

End Notes

- a In particular is pointed out Michael Wessels' article on "The /Xam narratives: Whose myths?", *African Studies*, 67(3), pp. 339-364.
- b See for example M Hugo and KW de Pauw, "Feite of fiksie – Freudiaanse fantasie en 'n feministiese beeld van Susanna Smit", *Historia*, pp. 8-13; RA Laing, "Our South African (Afrikaner) heraldic heritage – A mythical creation?", *Historia*, 49(1), May 2004, pp. 110-134.
- c Compare with S Leech, "New histories for a new millennium", *Kleio [African Studies]*, 2001, 33(1), pp. 144-155.
- d Though in existence since 1981 a thorough Google Scholar research is only possible as from 2006.
- e One recent critical view on past narratives is that of N Nieftagodien, "Youth in history, youth making history: Challenging dominant historical narratives for alternative futures", *Yesterday&Today*, 6, December 2011, pp. 1-11. Elize van Eeden also produced some articles that could be considered.

INCLUSIVE HISTORIES FOR INCLUSIVE FUTURES: INTERACTIONS AND ENTANGLEMENTS THEN AND NOW

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Abstract

This article makes a case for the production and dissemination of inclusive histories in public dialogue and public spaces of history consumption, including classrooms, lecture halls, monuments and textbooks. Inclusive histories are plural and multi-perspectival, meaning that interactions, overlapping phenomena and entanglements between various collectives at both the state and sub-state levels are emphasised. The discussion contends for a national historical narrative that encourages social accord rather than social fracturing without projecting a mythical reconciliatory motif onto the past. It also cautions against the pursuit of sanitised versions of the past and reflects on how discourses of victimhood and indigeneity put at risk the prospects for inclusive futures in pluralistic societies. The article argues that publically consumed commemorations and interpretations of the South African past should reflect the multiplicity of histories and peoples that inhabit the national space. It also suggests that re-telling South Africa's collective past in innovative rather than destructive ways, and in a manner that embraces the inclusive ethos of its constitutional democracy, will assist in producing a more inclusive historical narrative. The arguments in this article are intended to challenge and motivate those engaged in narrating history – amateur historians, history teachers, history learners, heritage practitioners, and textbook publishers – to represent the past in ways that promote plurality and multi-perspectivity in the present and for the future.

Keywords: South Africa; Inclusive histories; History education; Identity; Belonging; Multi-perspectivity; Critical citizenship; Entanglement.

Introduction

This article argues for an inclusive epistemological approach to the production and dissemination of South African history in various teaching forums and

public spaces, including classrooms, lecture halls, monuments and textbooks. The discussion raises important questions for all those working in the history profession and is intended to inspire new pedagogical interventions in the discipline (even though the practicalities of how such interventions may be achieved in the classroom or lecture hall are beyond the scope of this paper). The discussion is inspired by recent events surrounding public commemorations of the past in South Africa. It seeks to make a timely input to these public contests relating to identity, belonging and representations of the past. The discussion is intended to challenge and motivate those engaged in narrating history – in particular history teachers and learners – to represent the past in ways that promote plurality and multi-perspectivity in the present and for the future.

Perhaps the most important reason for studying the past is to glean insights into the present and how it has come to be. The study of the past does, however, serve several other important roles. For example, identities, both individual and communal, are based on some understanding of their origins, even if factually tenuous. The stories we tell ourselves about ourselves are informed by the past and the plotting of time into a narrative is what transforms the past into history (Neem, 2011:48). As Ahonen (2001:179) notes, “past and present become comprehensible to a community through narratives rather than more analytical modes of knowledge.” It is for this reason that history provides another crucial dimension to our understanding of the present: it sheds light on the influences, values and norms shaping our current interpretations and representations of the past. The way we speak about the past tells us something about who we are in the present. This is because the past is not history – “the past cannot be the same as narration about it” – but rather history is an interpretation of the past that is bound and shaped by the present (Morgan, 2015:371). The past is a strange place, a contested space, a foreign country, to which we cannot travel. The past cannot be reconstructed. It can only ever be partially re-presented based on the traces it has left us.

While professional historians are subject to the standards and values of their academic discipline: to imagine and re-present the past in as accurate and non-biased a way as possible, they do not have exclusive claim to the past. History cannot be monopolised by anyone or by any one group. It is open to re-imaginings and re-presentations that may not prioritise accuracy, balance, or fairness. Therefore, it is important to recognise that there is a difference

between history as an academic discipline and history as a public enterprise. Public history is not bound by the same professional criteria that apply to the academic discipline and is, as such, susceptible to misrepresentation, sweeping generalisations, inaccuracies and even blatant manipulation. As Macmillan (2008:36) has observed, bad histories tend to be bad because they tell “only part of complex stories”; bad histories are also guilty of making “sweeping generalisations for which there is not adequate evidence and [which] ignore awkward facts that do not fit.” Those working within the history profession – including amateur historians, school teachers and heritage practitioners – have a responsibility to “raise public awareness about the past in all its richness and complexity” and contest the one-sided, false histories that compete for space in the public domain (Macmillan, 2008:37).

History is not an exact science. Its conclusions change over time and with time. The recent South African past reveals clues to this fact. As Nuttall and Wright (2000:30) have observed, in South Africa “historical scholarship [has] had a persuasive political purpose, giving voice to selected grand narratives of the region’s conflictual past, and so feeding into contemporary politics.” These grand narratives have been shaped by the motifs of conflict and struggle, and triumph after the advent of democracy in 1994. In response to these changes, South Africa’s historical narrative has tended to shift towards embracing a reconciliatory tone. This was especially so during the Mandela years. The country’s rapidly growing tourism industry in the aftermath of the transition to democracy also created demand for a reconciliatory history; as is evident in several places of historical significance, such as Robben Island and the KwaZulu-Natal Battlefields, in particular, the site of the Battle of Blood River (Nuttall & Wright, 2000:31).

The problem with a reconciliatory approach is that the past is at risk of becoming “a source of comfort rather than a source of truth” (Torbakov, 2011:210). The past may be reduced to a teleological narrative that lauds the perceived inevitable triumph of good (the liberation struggle and subsequent political status quo) over evil (colonialism and apartheid), even as it seeks to emphasise examples of past co-operation between conflicting parties and interests in a bid to stoke hope for co-operation in the future. Nuttall and Wright (2000:31) remind us, however, that it is not necessarily desirable for South African historians “to make a shift to producing reconciliation history”, especially as they are “compelled to refer to archival sources where they continue to find more evidence for conflict than co-operation.”

Recent events suggest that the heretofore reconciliatory approach to the past is failing to resonate with many ordinary South Africans. Dissatisfaction with the pace of socio-economic transformation has been brought to bear on numerous reminders of the conflictual nature of the South African past that some find offensive and misplaced in the new democratic dispensation. Statues in particular have become the target of this frustration. In early 2015, several statues of colonial- and apartheid-era figures were vandalised amidst growing demands that they be removed. This was epitomised by the “Rhodes Must Fall” campaign that demanded the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes from the Upper Campus of the University of Cape Town, which succeeded in April 2015. Statues, like books, are not inanimate objects. They stand for human thoughts, ideas and actions. Our “built environment conveys historical meaning” and while South Africa’s urban and rural landscapes still bear deeply entrenched signs of the country’s segregationist past, statues are easier to focus one’s anger and frustration on in an attempt to initiate some form of change (Ahonen, 2001:187).

The removal of a statue is not likely to bring about the kind of structural transformation that is needed, but the act is far from insignificant. The vandalising and removal of statues represents the attempted erasure or expunging of parts of the South African past and as such, de-legitimises the presence of the ideas and people the statues symbolise. While the ideas represented by the statues that have been targeted for removal may no longer be in vogue and worth condemning, this is only because of the passage of time and the changes that have occurred in the interim. Without a sense of change over time, the past risks being reduced to a thin residue of a narrative that will obscure and distort any meaningful historical understanding of the present. There are enormous risks involved in trying to purge aspects of the past; in attempting to establish a sanitised version of the past; one that only tells good, heroic stories, or stories that stress the victimhood of those doing the narrating.

Be that as it may, “a new future requires a new past” and 22 years into the era of democratic rule this challenge remains very much alive for the South African collective, with the socio-economic legacies of the past still firmly entrenched (Torbakov, 2011:212). But if a reconciliatory history is inadequate for the reasons already mentioned, what type of history ought to be pursued instead? This article makes a case for the production and dissemination of inclusive histories in public dialogue and public spaces of history consumption, as well

as spaces of commemoration. Inclusive histories are plural, multi-perspectival and trans-cultural, meaning that interactions, overlapping phenomena and entanglements between various collectives at both the state and sub-state levels are emphasised.

The following discussion contends for a national historical narrative that encourages social accord rather than social fracturing without projecting a mythical reconciliatory motif onto the past. It also cautions against the pursuit of sanitised versions of the past and reflects on how a deeply-rooted sense of victimhood can still accommodate the anti-hero. The article argues that publically consumed commemorations and interpretations of the South African past should reflect the multiplicity of histories and peoples that inhabit the national space. It also suggests that re-shaping and re-telling the collective past in innovative rather than destructive ways will assist in producing a more inclusive historical narrative and in turn, promote the emergence of a more inclusive national identity (Ndlovu, 2013).

Entanglement and the dangers of exclusivist narratives

Nuttall (2009:1) describes entanglement as the “condition of being twisted together or entwined”. Furthermore, entanglement refers to “a relationship or set of social relationships that is complicated, ensnaring, in a tangle, but which also implies a human foldedness.” Nuttall suggests that entanglement offers a conceptual rubric by which South Africans can begin to face up to the challenges of the post-apartheid era (2009:11). Though differences, especially as they relate to inequalities, are often accentuated – understandably so in the current socio-economic setting – the “intricate overlaps that mark the present, and, at times, and in important ways, the past, as well” tend to be forgotten. An interpretive approach to the past that uses entanglement as a lens is a means “by which to draw into our analyses those sites in which what was once thought of as separate – identities, spaces, histories – come together or find points of intersection in unexpected ways” (Nuttall, 2009:11).

The concept of entanglement neatly sums up the South African historical experience and provides a novel way in which to construct narratives of the past. Contrary to a reconciliatory approach, entanglement does not shy away from acknowledging moments and processes of exploitation, dispossession, violence and conflict. It also avoids highlighting instances of co-operation and collaboration to the neglect of the predominant themes of dispossession

and discrimination that we encounter when looking back. Therefore, it is an important constituent element of inclusive histories. As a conceptual approach to the past, entanglement is able to accommodate a multitude of small narratives, which together may become the basis for a new, inclusive grand narrative that acknowledges just how complexly historied the South African national space is.

This is particularly pertinent given ongoing debate surrounding the style, content and use of history textbooks in the country. History is an identity subject and is used for identity-making. As such, any grand narrative that is disseminated through a national school history curriculum will project an identity onto learners. The temptation may be to impart a uniform identity, inspired by the invented attributes and qualities of the nation-state. Though Chisholm (2008:356) points out that “there is no causal connection between history textbooks, their constructions and uses and the emergence of particular forms of identity or attitudes amongst the general populace”, the textbook narrative does provide a sense of the political prerogatives influencing the transmission of historical knowledge.

The invented attributes and qualities of the collective tend to be imbued with a sense of inevitability in any master narrative that serves political interests, providing necessary justification for the status quo; the present was always meant to be. As Ahonen (2001:179) reminds us, however, “the identity of a community is not an immutable essence, but rather a dynamic process.” In addition, “whatever continuity we may choose to impose on the past is a human construct and, therefore, of necessity situated in a dynamic, ephemeral, and potentially fragile cultural time-space” (Allen, 2000:295). It is for these reasons that history textbooks, along with all other forms and productions of history, should promote an open process of critical engagement rather than an identity politics (Ahonen, 2001:190).

In multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-lingual societies – which are becoming increasingly common across the world – any narrative that imposes a uniform identity on the state collective will inadvertently impart an exclusivist vision of the past, and in turn the present and future. Nationalist historiographies are not only inadequate in the age of globalisation, but potentially dangerous. Nationalist, or exclusivist, narratives are morally and politically problematic in that they tend towards the essentialising of the nation’s identity (Nyamnjoh, 2007). In doing so, those left out of the narrative are also excluded from the historical community, delegitimising their presence

in the both the past and the present. Attempts at the monopolisation of the past by any group – be it an ethnic majority or a political elite – are flawed in an increasingly mobile global society in which conditions of hybridity and syncretism are becoming the new normal. Even so, this does not stop such attempts from being made. This is because “a critical community is harder to govern than a community with a uniform identity” (Ahonen, 2001:190).

However, the consequences of this will become more and more destabilising in a globalising world (Andreasson, 2010). Narratives of the past are going to have to incorporate the changing realities of the “Global Village”, especially at the level of the nation-state where the politics of belonging and identity are most contested. Nation-states all have a moment of origin, whether geographical, mythical or symbolic, or a combination of all three. Yet, even this is contested in many parts of the world. What for instance, is the point of origin of the United States of America? American Indians would dispute the suggestion that the declaration of independence in 1776 marked the birth of the nation. South Africa has had several moments of origin, some of which signaled a rebirth, such as in 1994. Nonetheless, an emphasis on roots has shaped the politics of identity and belonging since the emergence of the nation-state as the dominant form of global political organisation. But as LaSpina (2003:690) has observed, “globalisation shifts the emphasis on roots to an awareness of the route travelled – not only the route marking how a people migrated to their adopted country but also the historical process tracing how their identity was constructed from past to present”.

Any bid to redefine the past in narrow, exclusivist terms is likely to attempt to bend history to its will. And every sanitised history requires a villain; the antagonist against which the positive, self-righteous attributes of the protagonist can be juxtaposed. Every identity requires its “Other”; its counterpoint; its opposite. Identities are constructed and re-constructed as much in terms of what they are not as in terms of what they are; they are dialectical (Neem, 2011:66). All too often, the “Other” is also perceived as a threat; an undesirable presence that poses a menace to the identity of those doing the “othering”. Cultural and/or ethnic arrogance is a powerful generator of perceptions of “Others”. And while most perceptions are fictitious and informed by stereotypes and generalisations, they are incredibly powerful. So much so, the past shows that they spur people to action time and time again.

The past reveals an intriguing trajectory that begins with a history-making effort to legitimise a particular identity and its relations to those labelled its

“Others”. This can lead to cultural and/or ethnic arrogance and its attendant disparaging perceptions of those who are different. Such arrogance then breeds contempt for the “Other”. Contempt feeds upon notions that the “Other” does not belong; that the “Other’s” presence is somehow illegitimate. The contempt for the “Other” may even result in the steady dehumanisation of the target group. When there is sufficient contempt, there are grounds for action, which may take the form of xenophobic violence and if taken to its ultimate extreme, genocide. When a particular group of people imagine themselves as exceptional, and more victimised and persecuted than others, or having grievances specific to them, they may consider outsiders as undesirable and end up riding a wave of entitlement that absolves them from the responsibility of their actions. How the past is understood, interpreted and narrated plays a fundamental role in this process (Torbakov, 2011:213).

The African subcontinent has been a meeting place for different peoples for thousands of years; a place that has witnessed waves of human migration, settlement, displacement, dispossession and repossession. It is a place familiar with conflict. Throughout the region’s human history there have been winners and losers; winners at some points have been losers at other points. After enjoying free reign for several thousand years, the San – the original indigenous peoples of the African subcontinent – lost out on land and resources when the Khoekhoe followed them south approximately 2500 years ago (Elphick & Malherbe, 1989:4-7). Together the San and Khoekhoe lost out on land and resources when Bantu-speaking peoples also moved south in a series of migrations emanating from Central Africa, settling in southern Africa some 1000 years ago (Ross, 2008:10-21). Then European immigrants – Portuguese, Dutch, French, German, Scandinavian and British – arrived from the seventeenth century onwards, triggering a new wave of conflict over the land and its resources. But the interactions between these groups were not only conflictual. Mixed-race groups emerged through trade and cultural exchange, such as the Griqua, who are of Khoesan, slave and European descent.

The San were no easy push-over as they clashed with the Khoekhoe, the amaXhosa and the Europeans for their place in the sun. The Khoekhoe skirmished with the amaXhosa, the San and the Europeans. The amaXhosa battled the Europeans in a series of nine frontier wars from 1779 to 1879. The amaXhosa also absorbed groups pushed south by the violent emergence of the powerful Zulu kingdom in the 1820s. The amaZulu clashed with the

amaNdebele and later with the Voortrekkers. The Boers would eventually battle the British and by 1902, they too were a colonised people. Every group that has inflicted harm on another in South Africa has been the victim of harm itself. Modern South Africa is borne out of all of this. It is a past of struggle, the wounds of which remain fresh. However, it is also a past of entanglement, interaction and exchange. South Africa has also been created out of “processes of mobility, the boundaries of which have constantly been reinvented over time” (Nuttall, 2011:24). Indeed, while staying in place is often portrayed as the norm and migration as the exception in societies founded on the model of the nation-state, the opposite is a more valid historical representation of the South African collective’s past (Geschiere, 2009:224).

Victimhood and indigeneity in historical perspective

Many, if not all, of South Africa’s constituent identities may be described as victim identities. This is important to recognise, because nothing shapes identity quite like victimhood. Victim identities, ironically, appear to be capable of perpetrating incredible harm against “Others” and seem able to justify the inflicting of harm as being in the interests of defeating or overcoming their own victimhood. Every identifiable population group in South Africa can claim to have been a victim of another at some point in the country’s human history. By way of example, the San were the victims of everybody else, as were the Khoekhoe. The Bantu-speaking peoples were the victims of the Boers, who were the victims of the British, who were eclipsed by resurgent Afrikaner nationalism in the twentieth century, along with everybody else. Only for the Afrikaner nationalist experiment to eventually unravel, being replaced by the current system of majority rule.

The South African past has unfolded across frontiers, both physical and metaphorical. In simple terms, a frontier is “a zone of interaction among peoples practicing different cultures” (Elphick, 1981:270). Frontiers are unstable and fluctuating. Rather than being firm boundaries regulating interaction, frontiers in the South African past have been characterised by an irregular balance of power between societies competing for dominance (Giliomee, 1981:76-119). Though certain groups have achieved ascendancy over others for certain periods of time, this has tended to be temporary. Frontiers of exchange, interaction, understanding and misunderstanding have shaped power dynamics from the earliest moments of human contact in the region. Penn (2005:13) notes that since the dawn of South Africa’s

democratic dispensation, these frontiers have been rolled back and opened up everywhere. He observes that for instance, “the Great Trek must now be seen as having achieved quite different results from those which historians once credited it with.” Moreover, “the Xhosa of the eastern Cape have not only recrossed the Fish River but, for the first time, crossed the Liesbeek River as well.”

South Africa’s past also shows that indigeneity is not easily defined. Appeals to indigeneity are of immense importance in a contested national space where belonging is not guaranteed to all. Indigeneity relates to the state of being indigenous. It implies an essentialist claim to ethnic or racial belonging and “entitlement to a particular territory on the basis of having been there first” (Strijdom, 2012:24). A straightforward definition of the term such as this helps to elucidate the dangers surrounding its deployment in pluralistic societies. Indigeneity may serve diverse purposes depending on the historical context. The political instrumentalisation of indigeneity is worrisome as it is an expedient tool with which to delegitimise the presence of those deemed “non-indigenous” and render such groups invisible or undesirable. Pluralistic societies also need to be wary of the phenomenon of denaturalising indigenous identity, meaning that place of birth is no guarantee of belonging or social citizenship. This is especially pertinent in post-colonial Africa. The term “indigenous” has become based on a conception of time and space linked to the colonial encounter, referring to those who were already there when the colonisers arrived. Perhaps it is time to challenge this perception? As Nyamnjoh (2007:1) remarks:

Africa offers fascinating examples of how the term ‘indigenous’ has been arbitrarily employed in the service of colonising forces, of how peoples have had recourse to indigeneity in their struggles against colonialism, and of how groups vying for resources and power amongst themselves have deployed competing claims to indigeneity in relation to one another.

For example, in Botswana – a non-settler colony, in the classic colonial sense of the term that equates settlers with Europeans – citizenship is guaranteed to all indigenous groups that live within its territory. However, owing to their privileged position under British colonialism, the baTswana have become the most prominent ethnic group, as is reflected in the name of the country. This has stirred protest amongst the minority baKalanga, who were present in the area before the baTswana. Though of course the San were the original aboriginal peoples of the territory, before both the baKalanga and baTswana. Even so, the San have been relegated to the very bottom of

the hierarchy of indigeneity and are looked down upon as hunter-gatherers who have never lived productively off the land: considered a condition for entitlement to the land. The baKalanga in contrast, are stereotyped as darker-skinned “Makwerekwere” who are said to have originated from modern-day Zimbabwe (Strijdom, 2012).

The calamitous potential of an essentialist ethnic or racial monopolisation of indigeneity has perhaps been most evident in Rwanda, where a rigid ascription to the Hutu as the truly indigenous was juxtaposed alongside an equally rigid ascription to the Tutsi as foreign and invasive. Examples of rigid identity politics are not, of course, limited to Africa. In India, for example, Hindu nationalists continue to position a pre-colonial, homogenous Hindu identity as the sole criterion for belonging in the post-colonial nation-state. Indigenists attempt to recover and cultivate a “pure”, pre-colonial essence of culture and tradition. On the other hand, there are those who view cultures, traditions and religions as hybrid constructs that are in constant flux owing to continuous encounters and interactions between people. Though the indigenist paradigm fails to deal with the realities of historical change and an increasingly mobile global society, it has been popular in post-colonial southern Africa as a means by which to reclaim traditions that were repressed under colonialism and apartheid (Chidester, 2000 & Lawrence, 2010).

Indigeneity in South Africa is in fact layered. Waves of migration and immigration, over both land and sea, have produced degrees of indigeneity. South Africa’s complex human history complicates claims to indigeneity, regardless of attempts made by political elites both past and present to regulate and solidify “indigenous” and “non-indigenous” categories from above. Contrary to the conventions of the current, ahistorical public narrative on indigeneity in South Africa, the condition is contingent and marked by degrees of overlapping. For instance, the San are the most indigenous, certainly more indigenous than the Griqua, who are also more indigenous than Afrikaners, but with whom they nonetheless share genetic and cultural similarities, as well as a language (Cavanagh, 2013:10).

When historical discourses are permeated by narrow definitions of indigeneity they pose a serious risk to any potential inclusive future for nations created by waves of settlement. If deployed irresponsibly, the politics of indigeneity is capable of victimising those whose belonging is looked upon with doubt and suspicion. The concept also lends itself to attempts to sanitise the past, by expunging those persons, institutions and ideas considered to be of

extraterritorial origin from the grand narrative. Though the term is meant to refer to those who inhabited a space first, as shown, the diffusion of power in a society is what ultimately determines its interpretation and application. That is why it is possible for those who were the original aboriginal peoples of a territory to find their claims to indigeneity devalued or ignored altogether. Just as an inclusive history paradigm should endeavour to embrace multiple perspectives and attitudes, so too it ought to advocate for the recognition of multiple ways of belonging. An inclusive history model can also help to resist any attempts to position certain identities and their distinctive traits as either invisible or undesirable.

Some South Africans have been rendered invisible by history in the past. For much of the twentieth century, South African history was taught as having begun with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in Table Bay in April 1652. The San and Khoekhoe were airbrushed out of the narrative. The San were in many ways rediscovered when the film *The Gods Must Be Crazy* was released in 1980. Yet, well-intended acknowledgements - such as the prominent position afforded to the San on our national coat-of-arms, along with the /Xam national motto, meaning “diverse people unite” – appear to have done little to raise awareness about their blighted history and they remain largely forgotten once again (Adhikari, 2010:21). Deny a people a place in history and it is possible to deny their legitimacy and belonging in the present.

An argument for inclusive histories

Ahonen (2001:190) has noted that “in order to be socially and politically inclusive, a history curriculum must recognise alternative narratives of the past” and that “only in this way will people with different experiences be included in a historical community.” Furthermore, “where the past is both shared and multi-faceted, discussion can occur in an open space, and the future can consist of options.” Changes in the field of academic history in South Africa over the course of the past 20 years or so complement an inclusive history agenda. Any dominant historiographical trend indicates the contemporary influences shaping the ideas and research interests of historians.

Contests over identity and belonging have become more pronounced in South African society since the democratic transition of the early 1990s. Citizens of all races and classes want to be heard as they interrogate and re-define apartheid-era identities (Ndebele, 2007:153-160). In light of this, the

past has become a terrain of contestations as South African citizens search for examples of past achievements by their ethnic forebears in order to affirm their place in the present and assert their equal belonging. Though this urge may be “most acutely felt by persons dispossessed of their past”, it is as applicable to someone who identifies as Afrikaner as it is of someone who identifies as Zulu or Xhosa (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009:9). What appears to have emerged in the public domain is a socially-conscious citizenship, but not necessarily a critical citizenship.

While the former recognises the need for transformation and that South African society is not the way it should be, the latter is an empowered position that is better equipped to imagine a more desirable, inclusive future (Spreen & Vally, 2012:88). As noted earlier, inclusive histories can accommodate a multiplicity of voices and sub-narratives. Contrary to the uniformity of identity typically imposed by master narratives on society via broad brushstrokes of good and evil, right and wrong, moral and immoral, and which tend to lose sight of the intricacies and complexities of lived experience, smaller narratives are able to rescue individuals from obscurity and the reductionism of nationalist history. If individuals are represented as having been active agents in the unfolding of the past then it becomes possible for individuals in the present to imagine themselves in the same way. Thus, critical citizenship is an important value for history education to foster.

Critical citizenship entails self-awareness and therefore, sensitivity to subjectivity. It is possible to promote a sense of self-awareness in history curriculum if the subject goes beyond merely conveying names and dates, and incorporates the values and mentalities of past cultures (McDonald & Underhill, 2014:62). If history curriculum can pay attention to the constructed nature of identity in the past, then learners can be sensitised to the constructed nature of their own identities in the present, as well as the identities of those around them. Indeed, as Sieborger and Reid (1995:172) have contended, “more important than teaching identity, [is] teaching how identity [is] formed.” This is an ideal scenario and best understood as a project of possibility, whereby attempts to instill a sense of critical citizenship and self-awareness will resonate to varying degrees with different individuals, if at all (Simon, 1992:22). Still, it is worth making the effort.

Representations of the past that highlight subjectivities and individualised experiences will have to deal with multiple discourses and recognise the worth of plural meanings in a pluralistic society (Davis & Steyn, 2012:29).

By valuing alternative and multiple interpretations of lived experience in the past, inclusive histories broaden and deepen historical understanding and also create new possibilities for the acquisition of more nuanced historical knowledge. Though the objectives of inclusive history are fairly modest in the sense that it aims to encourage a sensitivity towards other perspectives and an understanding of alternative viewpoints, its ideals do not sit neatly with those of many modern nation-states.

Obstacles to realising the ideals of an inclusive history epistemology include: an authoritarian political culture; ethnic- or race-centric determinants of belonging; nationalist history; and common misconceptions about what history is. Even though a unified, national history curriculum based on a select number of approved texts may seem like the sensible option for a nation-state with a divisive past and a current identity crisis, such as South Africa, such an agenda is actually counter-productive. As long as societies continue to experience insecurities regarding their national identity – especially in contexts shaped by recent conflictual pasts – the prospects for a unified history curriculum to take hold and find widespread buy-in are limited at best. Few such history curriculums would satisfy the majority of any national population anywhere in the world.

The question then is whether it is possible to imagine a unified nation for the future without a unified national history curriculum? In response to this question, it is worth noting that history textbooks are not the sole source of historical information for school learners; textbooks do not exist in a social vacuum. There are multiple (unreliable) sources of historical knowledge that may be accessed in a variety of (unreliable) ways. It is perhaps disheartening for historians to acknowledge that academic history is not the only, or even the most important, source of information about the past (Allen, 2000:294). Different sources of historical knowledge compete with each other for influence and while it is important to make learners aware of this, it is also crucial to promote inclusive histories beyond just the classroom or lecture hall (Brookbanks, 2014). Nonetheless, history textbooks will play an important role in disseminating ideas pertaining to inclusive histories and identities. In spite of sound intentions on the part of curriculum theorists to avoid “narrow conceptions of the past”, as Van Eeden (2010:118) asserts, much of the responsibility for promoting inclusiveness rests with the textbook developers and publishers; “for providing substance and direction to curriculum content in the form of a variety of historical enquiry genres and voices” (Van Eeden,

2010:118).

In terms of promoting a unified nation for the future, the education system as a whole is going to play a foundational role (Staeheli & Hammett, 2013:33). Therefore, in order for the values of inclusive history to have any chance of resonating with and impacting on learners, a consistent discourse of inclusivity and multi-perspectivity needs to be upheld across the curriculum landscape. An inclusive history praxis will sit comfortably within a national school curriculum that encourages national cosmopolitanism as a tool for social (re) production. Within a paradigmatic approach of national cosmopolitanism, South Africa's past forms part of the nation's particular historical record, but it does not define or determine the nation's current collective identity; even as it fully acknowledges the historical roots of many of the challenges facing the country, such as profound inequality and continuing forms of spatial and social segregation (Staeheli & Hammett, 2013:34).

Conclusion: What history does South Africa's future deserve?

To refer to history in the singular is hugely problematic and arguably flawed. Any historical work that begins with the title: "The History of", or even more problematically, "The Definitive History of", ought to be treated with a healthy dose of skepticism. There is no one history, but multiple histories, of peoples, places, processes and events. At best, we can know *a* history of something and that particular version may change over time, as the present changes and as present priorities and prerogatives, of the economic, political and socio-cultural varieties, shift. As such, history changes; it is never static. And therefore it is always necessary for a society that strives towards inclusivity to ask: "What history does our future deserve"?

The ways in which the past is re-represented are representative of the dominant ideologies of the present. Therefore, if South Africa remains committed to pursuing a future that embraces the inclusive ethos of its constitutional democracy, it does not require a history that some want, or that some feel entitled to force on others, but it is in need of a history that reflects the multiple journeys that the collective complexities, entanglements and contests that constitute its social fabric have taken on the way to the present. A sanitised version of the past risks being informed by a combination of political dogmatism and socio-cultural bias that aim to provide historical legitimacy for a cause and that exclude those aspects of the past that do not

neatly fit. More importantly, and more dangerously, an exclusivist historical narrative will also exclude those deemed outsiders; those not belonging; those considered to be an illegitimate presence.

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“MAKING HISTORY COMPULSORY”: POLITICALLY INSPIRED OR PEDAGOGICALLY JUSTIFIABLE?

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Abstract

While recognising the contested nature of History as a school subject, this article explores the political context and practical implications of making History compulsory until Grade 12. After twenty one years of democracy, South African society lacks social cohesion, a sense of nationhood and is experiencing occurrences of xenophobia. To address these concerns, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) established the History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT) to oversee the implementation of compulsory History in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase. The terms of reference of the task team include: the strengthening of History content; a review of the content in the General Education and Training (GET) band; its implication for teacher education, professional development and textbooks. The campaign to make History compulsory was promoted by the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) and intensified after the outbreak of xenophobic attacks in 2008. To maintain the academic and professional status of History teaching, this article attempts to answer the question: what is the purpose of History as a school subject? To respond to this question, Barton and Levstik's model: "the purposes of History teaching", is employed as a framework to evaluate the proposal. By conducting a review of the post-apartheid History curriculum with special reference to complex phenomena such as nation-building and xenophobia, this article argues for attention to be given to the improvement of teachers' pedagogical practice and historical knowledge rather than policy reform which may be destabilising a large segment of the school system. The anticipated HMTT report is alerted against gratuitous political interference and to some practical implications of its work for educational practice.

Keywords: CAPS; Citizenship education; Curriculum; History as compulsory; Nation-building; Third space; Xenophobia.

Introduction

The school as an institution is routinely assumed to be society's only hope against the spread of complex social pathologies. This instrumentalist way

of reasoning seems to be common at times when society experiences social crises. The wave of xenophobic outbreaks in 2008, for example, intensified the call made by the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) for History to be made a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. SADTU claims that schools must provide compulsory History lessons to produce patriotic young South Africans, who can appreciate the “road we’ve travelled as a nation” and who are willing to contribute to building the “developmental state we envisage” (Saturday Star, 2014). Regular occurrences of xenophobia are arguably clear evidence of the youth’s lack of nationhood and historical knowledge. To address this knowledge and patriotic deficit, attention is being given to the History curriculum for a solution. Currently, the social crisis is exacerbated by the numerous “mustfall” hashtags, service delivery protests and incidents of overt racism as reflected in the media (Mail & Guardian, 2016). The political nature of the proposal to make History compulsory is underscored by the appointment of a Ministerial Task Team. Given the diverse reactions emanating from this initiative, this article asks the question: what “is” the purpose of History as a school subject.

During the pre-1994 period, History teaching is known to have been ideologically biased in favour of the political establishment and against the majority of South Africans. In the post-1994 period, this epistemological injustice demanded immediate redress. Subsequently, the national curriculum was reformed three times: Curriculum 2005 implemented in 1997, the Revised National Curriculum Statement of 2007 and Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) implemented in 2011. Additionally, in 2015 the Minister of Basic Education of South Africa, Me Angie Motshekga appointed a History Task Team (HMTT) to oversee the implementation of History as a compulsory subject in the FET phase. Thus, another curriculum reform in History teaching is being contemplated. The task team is mandated to research how other countries have dealt with the introduction of compulsory history and citizenship education in their schooling system and to make recommendations to implement it in South African schools. The terms of reference highlight the “strengthening” of history content in the FET band, a review of history in the GET band and its implication for curriculum implementation (DBE, 2015:4).

The DBE proposal provoked diverse reactions from the political, journalist, professional and academic sectors. The Democratic Alliance’s (DA) expressed concern that History could be used as an ideological tool and that the

DBE has acceded to the demand of SADTU (Mail & Guardian, 2014). A media report argued that making History compulsory will teach the youth the role played by other African states in the liberation struggle against apartheid and consequently make them good citizens and prevent them from becoming xenophobic (Maravanyika, 2015). The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) responded comprehensively to the proposal. In a statement, the SASHT, "... seeks in the first place, the assurance that whatever recommendations the task team should make, the present place of history among the elective FET subjects for the National Senior Certificate (NSC) examination (DBE and IEB) will not be undermined or weakened" (SASHT, 2015: n.p.). The SASHT's statement is carefully crafted to promote History as a subject and suggest that, "it may well be that the best way to strengthen the content of History in the GET and FET is not to make any big changes to it, but to improve teachers' content knowledge through training and to improve the quality of their teaching" (SASHT, 2015, n.p.). The SASHT generally adopts a vigilant but engaging and cooperative approach towards the proposal.

Given the multifaceted nature of South African history, a diverse historiography perpetuates a troubled perception of the past (Bam & Visser, 1996:11). At the public hearings on Curriculum 2005 called by the Department of Education in November 2002, disagreements amongst stakeholders arose about the inclusion of diverse cultural beliefs and practices (Chisholm, 2003:8). Given the diversity and inequities in the South African education system (Spaull, 2012), uniform implementation of the History curriculum is still a work-in-progress and highly contested. Towards the end of the curriculum reform processes some form of consensus about History teaching has been reached on academic grounds. The dominant role players such as the African National Congress, teacher unions and university-based intellectuals united around the need for a secular, liberal humanist, rights-based curriculum that recognises the diversity of South Africans (Chisholm, 2003:12). Siebörger (2016) argues that the current curriculum highlights History as the study of change and development over a period of time which involves critical thinking about stories of the past and present (DBE, 2011). He furthermore highlights the academic dimension of History which should be retained in any future curriculum change. Additionally, the recognition of the need to decolonise the curriculum as well as the epistemological project to deconstruct dominant approaches to History, should be regarded as part of an academic approach. History teaching as pedagogical practice is reflective and

critical, dynamic, not static. As a feature, the History curriculum should be subjected to critique and reconstruction: open to (re) interpretation.

To explain the diverse interests associated with the purpose of History teaching, this article draws on Barton and Levstik’s (2008) model which implies of an overlapping of visions. According to Barton and Levstik, three main competing visions describe the purpose of History teaching: patriotic nationalism, academic discipline and democratic participation. Educators, politicians and the public hold conflicting ideas about what and how History should be taught (Barton & Levstik, 2008). This model is useful because it identifies and illuminates the common interest in History teaching. In addition to Barton’s model this article employs Weldon’s (2009:177-189) notion of “curriculum as conversation” and “border crossing”. Homi Bhabha’s (1996:53) notion of “third space” is borrowed to foreground the uncertainty but desirability of an inclusive democratic and dynamic approach to History teaching.

Using Barton and Levstik’s model as analytical lens, a critical review of the post-apartheid history curriculum will be conducted. Following this introduction, the article is structured under certain sub-headings: searching for a new theoretical compass – politics and the purpose of History teaching; the terms of reference of the HMTT; the evolution of the History curriculum in the post-apartheid period, a discussion, followed by the conclusion that alerts the HMTT against political interference in the curriculum and implications of the proposal for educational practice.

Searching for a new theoretical compass: Politics and the purpose of History teaching

It was the outbreak of xenophobic attacks in 2008 and its reoccurrence in 2014/15 that placed the South African political authorities under pressure to prevent future xenophobic outbreaks. In this context, the Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga declared that History could enhance nation-building, national pride, patriotism, social cohesion and cultural heritage. “A country that chooses to hide its heritage and historical footprints from its children, takes the risk of having them repeat the mistakes of their predecessors” (Mail & Guardian, 2014). The Minister deduces that poor historical knowledge amongst the nation’s youth is a reason for xenophobia and poor sense of nationhood. The Minister further commented that “

we need to equip our youth with an accurate account of our history in order for them to make educated decisions regarding their own future” (Phakathi, 2015). Consequently, the Minister announced that History will be made a compulsory subject in the FET phase (Mail & Guardian, 2014).

SADTU sees History teaching as playing a reconstruction and developmental role in a post-apartheid society. SADTU asserts that History should be taught in conjunction with the democratic constitution that seeks to build a South Africa inclusive of everyone who lives in it, black and white. This History should be taught to advance nation-building, healing of wounds, bridging the gap between the South African rich and South African poor, so as to realize a developmental state, able to compete in a globalized world (SADTU, 2014).

Further support to make History compulsory was pledged by the highest political office in government: President Jacob Zuma. During a gala dinner in Midrand, President Zuma addressed parents in an aim to call for support of the campaign to have History declared compulsory at all schools (SABC TV, Morning Live, 26th June 2015). It seems that the proposal to “make History compulsory” has strong political intentions. While the first post-apartheid curriculum (C2005) has been critiqued for its “political symbolism” the proposal seems to be a perpetuation of the same problem. Jansen uses the concept “political symbolism” to explain the distance between curriculum policy ideals and practical outcomes (Jansen, 2002:199). An application of Barton and Levstik’s model signifies patriotic nationalism as political interests that inform the proposal to make History compulsory.

History serves a variety of purposes which differ from one society to another (Barton, 2001:54). While the connection between national identity and History is inescapable, alternative approaches may lead to more sophisticated understandings of important historical concepts. Barton (2001) argues that students in Northern Ireland give explanations that overlap with those of children in the United States and in some instances they have a better understanding of the nature of the discipline. They also have a broader framework in which to understand History. Children in Northern Ireland are less likely to equate change with progress and see change in a rational way. This is unlike the U.S experience of some children who have an internalized emphasis on “national history”, a greater sense of “our” and “we” and a jingoistic sense of important people and events (Barton, 2001:52). While Barton recognises the similarities between Northern Ireland and U.S children, he also identifies how History teaching influences their identity and criticality.

In the absence of an established “History teaching culture”, the South African educational sector can derive valuable lessons from international studies to inform how the practice of History teaching can be put to the common good of all (Barton & Levstik 2008).

A dearth of classroom research on History teaching in South Africa impedes the development of an empirically based conceptual framework. To analyse the various purposes of History teaching Barton and Levstik’s model and Weldon’s (2009) notion of “curriculum as conversation” can serve as analytical and conceptual framework. Weldon (2009) articulates a position that recognises the complexities of the past, acknowledges the contentions of the present and promotes an inclusive History for the future. Additionally, to accommodate Weldon’s “curriculum as conversation” as emerging unknown productive spaces, Homo Bhabha’s (1996:53) notion of a “third space” is incorporated to describe History teaching as an ambivalent site where co-construction of new narratives can emerge without being forced into primordial unity or fixity. From a theoretical perspective, South African History consists of multiple voices that are vying for discursive spaces to assume their power positions. In the new discursive space lies a generativity which accommodates all in the “third space”, that may offer an inclusive and democratic way forward.

What is clear in the political pronouncements mentioned above is the lack of reference to the current state of History teaching in South African classrooms. No assessment of the current state of citizenship education in Life Orientation or pedagogical questions about History teaching at the classroom level appears to have informed the political discourse. Political aspirations seem to have become the prime motivation for the appointment of the History Ministerial Task Team.

Establishment of the History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT)

In 2015 the Minister of Education formalized the establishment of the HMTT in a government gazette (DBE, 2015). A team of History experts were commissioned to compile a report based on the following terms of reference:

To conduct a research study on how best to implement the introduction of compulsory History in FET schools as part of citizenship located within Life Orientation; 2- to strengthen the content of History in the FET band; 3- to review content in the GET band; 4- to present proposals regarding teacher development in initial professional education and continuous professional development, to prepare a public participation plan and draft implementation and management

plan with time frames indicating: alignment with History textbooks according to the reviewed curriculum, key concerns for the implementation in the FET band and policy amendments and recommendations emanating from this process (DBE, 2015:4).

Considering these terms of reference, the following observations are problematized. First, the assumption that citizenship education ranges across Life Orientation and History would require curriculum specialist from both subjects to be part of the task team. The HMTT consists exclusively of History experts. Second, the “strengthening” of History content presupposes a lack of historical content and as it stands, it is ambiguous for the purposes of an investigation (Siebörger, 2016). It is not clear what historical content is in need of “strengthening”. Third, a review of GET content without investigating the present state of History teaching would lead to an incomplete assessment. Lastly, the proposal for curriculum reform has cost and training implications at teacher education, professional development and management level. Curriculum designers need to be cognisant of the system-wide consequences of policy reform.

Needless to say, the terms of reference shows no obeisance to the context that gave rise to the proposal to make History compulsory. When the proposal emerged in the public domain, there was a clear presupposed correlation between issues of nation-building and History teaching. According to the Minister of Education, making History compulsory will address the lack of nationhood, xenophobia and social cohesion (Mail & Guardian, 2014). However, to expect the school to ameliorate social ills may be unrealistic when considering that xenophobia in the South African context is not only a “deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state” (Valji, 2003:n.p) but rather a violent practice that results in bodily harm and damage (Harris, 2002). In practical terms, nationhood requires the expulsion from the “domestic space” of all that comes to be regarded as alien and dangerous; thus demanding a violent relation with the other (Campbell, 1998:13). In a study by Crush, Ramachandran and Pendleton (2013), it was found that in Southern African countries, citizens across the region tend to exaggerate the numbers of non-citizens in their countries, to view the migration of people within regions as a “problem” rather than an opportunity and to scapegoat non-citizens. The intensity of xenophobia varied significantly. Richards (2009) explained the economic causes of xenophobia which include the rising costs of food and commodities, service delivery failures and micro-politics of local communities. The same study asserts that the history of South

Africa’s immigration policy is rooted in the country’s racialised past which contributes towards xenophobia (Richards, 2009). When History teaching is expected to have certain predetermined outcomes such as to develop a sense of nationhood and the eradication of xenophobia, the intricate nature of the pedagogical task should not be underplayed.

While the objective of this paper is to respond to the research question: what *is* the purpose of History as a school subject?, a review of the curriculum content in the post-apartheid period assists to evaluate its knowledge content in relation to the political concerns expressed. The following section reviews the evolution of the History curriculum during the post-apartheid period until the present.

Evolution of History in the post-apartheid curriculum

For the past twenty one years, the South African curriculum has undergone three reform processes: Curriculum 2005 (C2005) launched in March 1997, the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) (2007), initiated in 2002 (Van Eeden, 2002:10-20; Van Eeden, 2012:1-24) and the current Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), implemented in 2011. What follows is a review of the evolution of the History curriculum. Reference will be made to the inclusion of content relevant to xenophobia and nation-building. Manifestations of curriculum tendencies in terms of Barton and Levstik’s model (2008) on the purpose of History teaching will be noted as observed in the policy.

History in Curriculum 2005 (C2005)

During the tenure of the first post-apartheid Education Minister, Sibusiso Bengu, from 1994 to 1999, History virtually disappeared from the school curriculum as an autonomous subject (Polakow-Suransky 2002). Due to the large knowledge component, and an inadequate Outcomes-based Education (OBE) training programme, an outcomes-based curriculum placed new demands on teachers (Harley & Wedekind, 2004:200). Curriculum 2005 had three design features that impacted directly on the didactics of History:

- It was outcomes-based which was manifested in its lack of content;
- An integrated knowledge system with eight “learning areas” when History and Geography had to combine as social sciences from Grade 1 to 9;

- It was informed by a learner-centred pedagogy which was undermined by poor teacher support and learners' social capital (Harley & Wedekind, 2004: 97). According to Jansen (1999), C2005 was doomed to fail due to its "political symbolism", poor quality teacher qualification, lack of social capital amongst most learners' and lack of textbooks (Taruvunga & Cross, 2012). The first curriculum reform (C2005) was:

A compromise curriculum which reflected and captured elements of constructivism, progressivism and traditional essentialism and in its intent, C2005 was a dramatic departure from the authorization subject and teacher-centered apartheid curriculum and pedagogy, as it marked a paradigm shift from a subject-dominated to an integrated curriculum with an active learner and a facilitating teacher" (Taruvunga & Cross, 2012:128).

In the absence of clear guidance and content, teachers were expected to develop their own learning materials to achieve specified "learning outcomes". With no textbooks and the combination of History and Geography in a new "learning area", during this period, History teaching and learning declined rapidly. The curriculum indicated tendencies of an academic disposition devoid of content. An outcome-based curriculum for a mainly impoverished educational sector and the integration of History and Geography into one learning area, contributed to the diminution of the subject now in desperate need of survival. Given the legacy of History during the pre-1994 era, there was clearly no emerging approach to History teaching as defined by Barton and Levstik (2008) in Curriculum 2005. The apparent absence of a culture of History teaching received some attention in the revised curriculum.

History in the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) 2002

History re-emerged as a subject after a review of Curriculum 2005. The National Department of Education instituted a committee in 2000 to review Curriculum 2005. The result of the review process was the introduction of the second curriculum reform: the Revised National Curriculum Statement (DoE 2002). The RNCS resuscitated History from its weakened position. Kader Asmal took over as Minister of Education in 1999 and appointed Me June Bam as head of the South African History project to revive the subject in the school curriculum (Polakow-Suransky, 2002).

History content in RNCS

The revised curriculum policy provides broad guidelines for the study of History within the General Education and Training Band with the following objectives:

(To provide) general knowledge and understanding of the history of all people in South Africa; (to understand) our diverse past and how it informs the present; (to appreciate) heritage and identity construction; (to participate in) oral tradition and archaeology and environmental impact; citizenship, (to promote) social and technological developments; (to teach) social organisations and their relevance; (to develop) skills to engage with historical sources (RNCS, 2002:4) (Insertions by the writer, MND).

The policy stipulates three learning outcomes in the Foundation phase (R-3), Intermediate (4, 5 & 6) and Senior phase (Grades 7, 8 & 9):

1. Historical enquiry (sources, writing history pieces, communication); 2.- historical knowledge and understanding (chronology and time; cause and effect and similarity and difference) and 3.- historical interpretation (based on sources influencing factors, interpretation of past, memory etc (RNCS 2002:7).

The RNCS document repeats traditional topics in Grade R to 3: personal biographies, national symbols and national holidays. These topics can be developed into relevant and interesting lessons which should contribute towards a sense of national identity: unity in diversity being the overarching ethos of nationhood. In the Foundation phase, the RNCS provides sufficient content and opportunities for the competent History teacher to teach national content.

Major historical themes in the intermediate and senior phase History (Grades 4 to 9) provide stimulating and relevant content to make History interesting. Themes such as human evolution, ancient civilizations in Africa, slavery, colonialism, human rights and democracy are rich in materials relevant to develop a sense of nationhood and respect for all human beings. Under the heading “Issues of our time” xenophobia is mentioned specifically in an appropriate context which could productively contribute towards a human rights ethic: crime against humanity, Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Holocaust and Nuremberg Trials, xenophobia and genocide e.g. Rwanda, Balkans (DoE, 2002:62). These two references provide sufficient evidence that the RNCS (2002) provides the content necessary for learners to acquire knowledge of xenophobia and nationhood.

Weldon (2009:182) asserts that the second curriculum reform aimed “at permitting the unofficial, the hidden, to become visible”. Weldon argues

that the RNCS (2002) contributed much towards post-conflict reconciliation and the writing of a new history for South African schools. Weldon argues that the RNCS can be seen in a positive light in three significant ways: first, its recognition of diverse memories and subjugated knowledge of previously marginalized communities: second, by using Applebee's notion of the "curriculum as conversation" opportunities are created to converse about experiences in a disciplinary way to develop skills and knowledge: third, the curriculum creates space for "disciplinary traditions" which interrogate texts of a diverse nature, sees artefacts as complex pieces of evidence and a multiplicity of voices as individual perspectives.

The RNCS rescued History as a discipline and provided a foundation for its future development. The RNCS seems to balance intersecting visions of Barton and Levstik's model of History teaching with careful presentation of the need for national and citizen content, democratic participation and maintaining the principles of History as an academic discipline.

Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) 2011

The experience of the two earlier curriculum reforms provided valuable knowledge to improve the quality of the new curriculum and attend to shortcomings (See Kallaway, 2012:23-62 for a comprehensive discussion). According to CAPS, History has the following aims: to create an interest in the past, provide knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the past and forces that shaped it, an understanding of historical enquiry and sources and evidence of history (DBE, 2011:10). The RNCS used the concept "learning outcomes"; CAPS replaced it with "aims". The "learning outcomes" identified in the RNCS have been incorporated under concepts in History stating that: the study of History involves different points of view, different narratives, texts, cause and effect, change and continuity and chronology (DBE, 2011:11). The "learning area" of social science has now been changed to the "subject" social science consisting of History and Geography (DBE, 2011:8).

In the Foundation phase CAPS document, History is taught as part of the subject Life Skills. Life Skills consists of "beginning knowledge", "creative arts, "physical education" and "personal and social well-being" (DBE, 2011:7-9). Social science concepts to be taught in this phase are: conservation, cause and effect, place, adaptation, relationship and interdependence, diversity and individuality, and change (DBE, 2011). Opportunities to discuss human

rights, xenophobia and nation-building are provided at least two hours per term. In Grade 3 the document makes specific mention of stories and experiences of older family and community members that are historical in nature.

Umalusi (2014) conducted a comparative study between History in the NCS and CAPS in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase. Drawing from this study, some of the conclusions based on the FET phase, are valid in the GET phase. Those conclusions are briefly stated below:

In terms of the broad aims of the curriculum, and the underpinning focus on history as enquiry, the NCS and the CAPS are very similar. Thus a new approach to history as a schools subject has not been taken. In terms of historical skills to be developed, the CAPS is a repackaging of NCS, as most of the skills are the same. CAPS specifies the content in greater detail while the NCS never indicates time frames per topic ... Assessment guidelines are much clearer than in the NCS (Umalusi, 2014:99-100).

In the section on the current curriculum that informs History teaching, subject content relevant to xenophobia and nation-building has been clearly identified. Because History teaching is informed by a common curriculum that is compulsory for all learners between Grade R and 9, the argument to make History compulsory may be deemed superfluous. CAPS acknowledges that Grade 9 History is an exit level and reminds textbook writers to cover topics comprehensively to provide for learners who will not select History in Grades 10 to 12 (CAPS, 2011:44). History curriculum developers approached their work with the full understanding that a comprehensive curriculum is needed because not everyone continues with History until matric. Learners who completed Grade 9 would therefore be expected to have acquired sufficient History content to satisfy national needs accommodated in the curriculum.

In response to the research question, evidence presented includes topics of personal interest, human rights and nation-building as early as the Foundation phase. Besides the inclusion of national symbols, national holidays such as Freedom day, Human Rights day, June 16 and Women’s Day opportunities are provided to teach learners about xenophobia and nation-building. If youth are xenophobic and do not have a sense of national identity, making History compulsory from Grades 10 to 12, may arguably be of little consequence. It would be more valuable to investigate the pedagogical challenges that teachers are experiencing with the implementation of the current curriculum rather than proposing another curriculum reform. It is noteworthy that Barton and Levstik’s purposes of History teaching are identifiable in the specified content

of the new curriculum. Researching curriculum implementation of History teaching across the diverse type of schools in South Africa should precede any reform.

Discussion

What has been presented in the preceding sub-sections aims at answering the research question: what is the purpose of History as a school subject? This question emerged as a response to the establishment of the HMTT by the Minister of Education.

The miracle that the rainbow nation symbolized after a peaceful transition to democracy is fast becoming a myth which politicians want to preserve. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was instituted in 1995 by the state as an instrument mandated to confront the crimes of apartheid and to promote nation-building and unification (Valji, 2003). Counter master narratives were needed to transform memories of the past into beacons of hope for the future. The promotion of a discourse of nation-building, national identity and social cohesion has become a national imperative for a successful South African state. Xenophobia is part of everyday service delivery protests at community level and indicative of grassroots socio-economic frustration (Richards, 2009). The Rhodes Must Fall initiated a nation-wide student protest movement and ushered in a new period of uncertainty. It is not surprising that the political leadership's irritation with the miscarriage of the nation-building project compels them to look for urgent solutions. The proposal to make History compulsory – even though it is already compulsory for nine of the twelve years of schooling (RNCS, 2002; CAPS, 2011) is therefore a sign of political desperation which lacks pedagogical justification.

Resistance to major curriculum reform emanating from the work of the HMTT may be expected. Curriculum reform involves spending resources which could be better employed to improve a (f)ailing educational system in poor and rural communities. Making History compulsory in FET will exert additional pressures on existing school staff establishments and financial resources. This article referenced literature (Masigo, Reitzes & Amisi in Richards 2009; MacGregor *et al.*, 2015) to illuminate the complexity of xenophobia and nation-building to support the proposal that making History compulsory seems political rather than pedagogical. It is significant that the SASHT noted as part of its report on a Round Table discussion arranged

by the HMTT that: “It seems that there were general agreement across the commissions that the integrity of History as an elective subject was to be preserved and that Life Orientation would develop patriotic citizenship” (SASHT, 2015:n.p.). The SASHT is hopeful that no drastic changes to the existing status of History in the FET phase will be made, thus implying that History should not be made compulsory in the FET phase.

Although this paper argues that making History compulsory is not feasible to redress xenophobia and nation-building, there exists much room for improvement in the implementation of the History curriculum. Hypothetically, if teachers are epistemologically and pedagogically better equipped, learners should receive a better quality education. The political leadership has given inadequate attention to the possibility that the problem of poor behaviour and historical knowledge of youth could be the consequence of a largely dysfunctional education system (Spaull, 2012) and an impoverished quality of life that is exacerbated by a high youth unemployment rate of 34,8 % (Stats SA, 2014).

Conclusion

In response to the research question: what “is” the purpose of History as a school subject?, a policy analysis supports the view that the purpose of teaching History is a combination of national, academic and democratic interests (Siebörger, 2016). The Umalusi (2014) report on the state of the History curriculum asserts that the curriculum is underpinned by enquiry thus endorsing Weldon’s (2009) view that the current curriculum recognises subjugated knowledge of previously marginalised communities. Weldon (2009) asserts that History should be evidence-based to create space for a “conversational” and deliberative engagement with texts and artefacts. The promotion of critical thinking is a key objective in an evidence-based approach to History. To pre-empt the report of the HMTT, the following cautionary comments may be worth considering.

The HMTT consists of highly qualified people who are aware that political interference and agenda setting in curriculum reform is undesirable. While there is a need to recognise and restore the rightful place of History, it should be pursued for the right reasons. Political interference may perpetuate an unpopular view of the subject which should be protected from ideological manipulation. The HMTT should be aware that History has been a victim

of a “market-friendly orientation” approach to education (Chisholm, 2004: 15). The declining numbers in students selecting History as a subject has been exacerbated by some state student financial aid projects that compel students to select scarce skills subjects in the sciences and business fields. This impacted negatively on the popularity of History. The decline in the teaching of History is not unique to South Africa. Similar trends have been observed in England (Paton, 2011) and Nigeria (Adoberin, 2012). Changing the curriculum has far-reaching pedagogical, social and economic consequences and should therefore be approached cautiously.

To obviate a possible destabilisation of History teaching and citizenship education, an assessment of the current state of History and Life Orientation should be conducted. A nation-wide investigation into the state of History teaching should specify the number of schools offering History in the FET phase, the number of qualified teachers and projection of the possible impact of making History compulsory at schools where it is not offered. A clear idea of the human resources available will then inform the extent that the proposal is feasible or not. While studies in other countries may be useful to inform how to carry out the plan, findings of local studies should inform the extent that History can be implemented at FET level.

Investing in the improvement of curriculum implementation will restore History as an essential school subject. The same can be said about Life Orientation. Findings from new research into the state of History teaching and Life Orientation/Life skills should inform innovative programmes to improve the epistemological and pedagogical quality of teachers. It was noted earlier that the curriculum and textbooks are cognisant of the fact that many learners will not continue with History beyond Grade 9. An analysis of the History curricula evinced that sufficient care was taken to equip learners with adequate historical knowledge and citizenship education which should provide building blocks for future personal development.

South African historiography is predominantly written within traditional perspectives. Reference was made to the ongoing projects of decolonising the curriculum and the dynamic nature of History teaching. Useful pedagogical tools for history writing and teaching can be taken from Weldon’s incorporation of Applebee’s “curriculum as conversation” and Giroux’s “border crossing” (cited in Weldon, 2009:177). What is needed is a paradigm shift towards an inclusive authentic democratic History. While taking cognisance of Barton and Levstik’s model, future programmes require innovative theoretical and

conceptual frames that are inclusive and democratic.

This article argues that the linearity between compulsory History, xenophobic attacks and nation-building is flawed. History teaching cannot operate as a single variable in an educational system that is often described as unequal or dysfunctional (Spaull, 2012). While keeping the History discourse alive, the HMTT should not ignore that available resources could be invested productively to improve current pedagogy instead of spending it on extensive curriculum reforms. Notwithstanding the educational role that History teaching is playing, its value as an academic discipline must not be compromised. While the work of the HMTT can be viewed as an exercise in curriculum design, its recommendations should be subjected to critique especially the role that politics play in defining History teaching.

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HANDS-ON ARTICLES

A SYSTEMATIC METHOD FOR DEALING WITH SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

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Abstract

This article is intended to help both learners and teachers get to grip with the source material used in examination and tests by providing a systematic way in which to analyse them for such factors as usefulness, reliability and validity. The various factors inherent in source analysis are arranged into a table, called the source matrix. To help learners and teachers further two examples are given of how the matrix could be used to analyse the source material provided. While such detailed analysis will never be required in tests and examination, it should nevertheless prevent the sort of meaningless answers which currently appear in many tests and examinations.

Keywords: Sources; Analysis, Usefulness; Reliability; Provenance; Validity; Bias; Typicality; Relevance.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to work towards a systematic approach to answering some of the more complex source-based questions which you might come across in examinations and tests. For instance, if you are asked about the *usefulness* of a source or perhaps asked to compare two different sources using *usefulness* as a criterion, what should you be looking for? Other criteria that will be also handled in this article are: relevance, reliability and bias.

Some general remarks about sources

Sources take many different forms: from artefacts (objects made by humans e.g. clothing, medicines, vehicles etc.), visual sources such as paintings and photographs, to documents which run the whole gamut from various forms of published sources such as government reports or newspapers to unpublished

sources such as private letters, diaries etc.

The focus of this article will tend to fall most strongly on documentary sources, although the criteria are applicable to all forms of sources. Sources fall into the categories of primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary sources are those produced by individuals or groups directly involved in the events being studied. However, it is not always easy to determine the degree to which something is a first-hand account so treat documents like contemporary newspaper accounts as primary sources. Secondary sources are usually the products of historians, journalists, students or writers who make use of the available primary sources as well as secondary sources to construct a view of the historical event or period they are dealing with. The book entitled *The Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War: A Social History* by Elizabeth van Heyningen (2013) is a secondary source. Tertiary sources are usually broad surveys which rely almost entirely on secondary sources. *The Collins History of the World in the twentieth century* by JAS Grenville (1994) is an example of a tertiary source.

Sources contain two important elements, namely facts and opinions. Although obviously important to historians, facts, provided they are accurate and/or not startlingly new, are less interesting to historians than opinions, because it is here that one can get a sense of what different individuals or groups thought about the events that were taking place around them. They also provide important clues as to what motivated a person or people to act in a certain way. Interestingly, even the most factual of sources in a sense contains an element of opinion as the person who produced the source has to decide which facts are important enough to be included and which should be left out, and a whole range of interesting factors often lie behind these decisions.

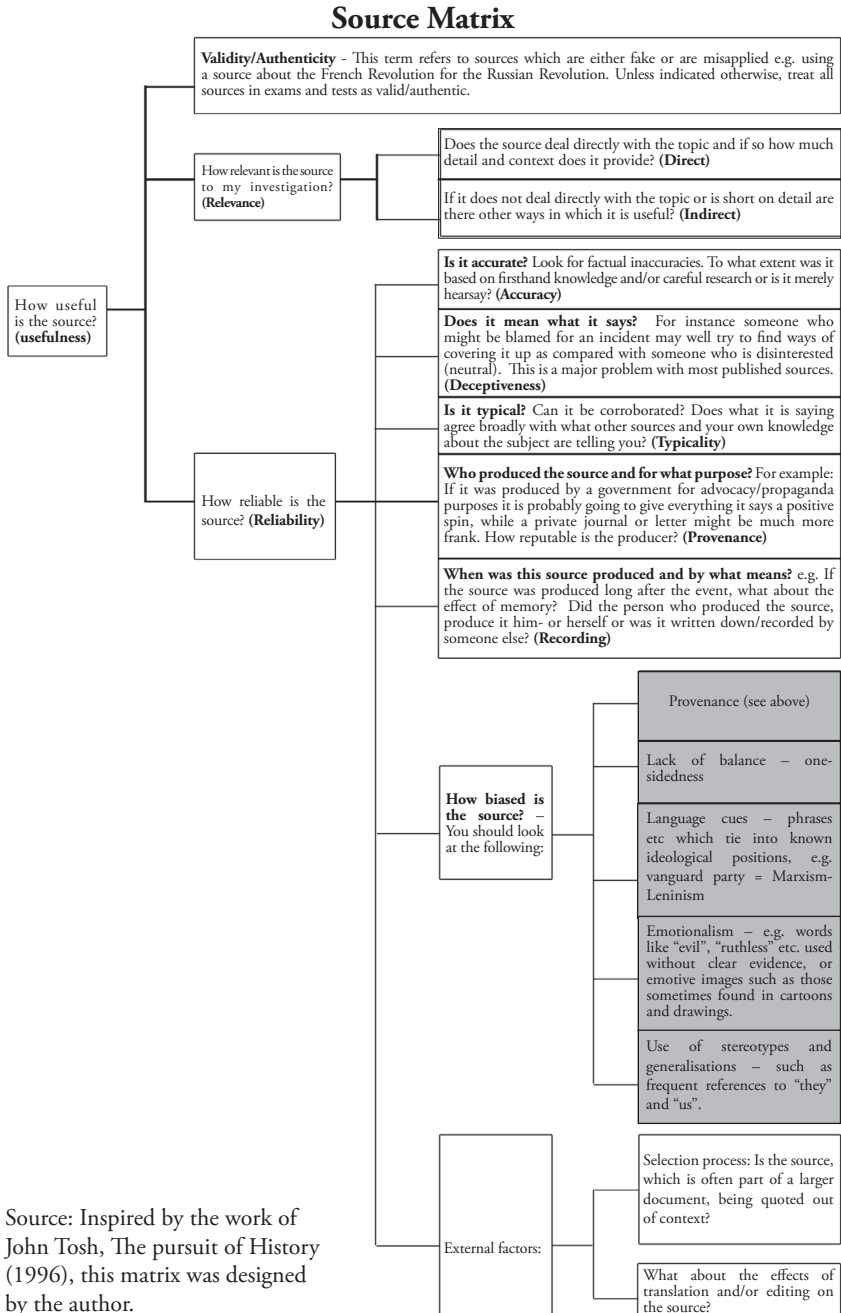
Using the Source Matrix

On the next page appears the Source Matrix, which it is hoped will give you a systematic way of approaching sources. Basically it works like this:

- If you are asked about the *usefulness* of a source for a certain task, what should you look at? The matrix suggests that you should look at three factors: validity, relevance and reliability and it provides you with the questions you should ask to evaluate these factors.
- If you are asked about the *reliability* of a source for a certain task what should you look at? Once again the matrix provides you with specific questions to ask

about the source to reach a reasoned judgement. The same is true of *bias*, which is treated as a sub-section of reliability.

Have a good look at the Source Matrix and then we will use it to examine specific examples of sources to show you how it works.



Source: Inspired by the work of John Tosh, *The pursuit of History* (1996), this matrix was designed by the author.

The application of the Source Matrix

Now that you have had a chance to look at the Source Matrix, let's apply it to some concrete examples. Our first example applies to a source on the Cold War.

The Key Question is: What factors led to the building of the Berlin Wall?

The source we are using was used in the November 2008, Paper 1. However, it was never properly contextualised in this paper. We were told only that it resulted from an interview of Charles Wheeler, a West Berlin citizen, and that it appeared on the website: www.gwu.edu/nsarchiv/coldwar/interviews (Do not try and use this link as it will not work in its present form, although the site still exists). This really did not supply enough information for those writing the exam to make informed judgments on the source. The contextualisation actually provides wrong information as it says that Wheeler was commenting on Berlin in the 1960s when in fact he was talking about Berlin in the early 1950s at the time of the Berlin Riots. Here then is the full background to this source:

The document comes from the National Security Archives at the George Washington University. This independent archives and research institution was set up in 1985 to make available and study declassified American documents relating to events such as the Cold War. The Wheeler interview was part of a project to document the Cold War by means of oral history interviews with individuals who were involved in various ways. Wheeler was the BBC's German correspondent based in West Berlin in the early 1950s. The interview was made with Wheeler in May 1996. The main focus of the interview of which only a small part is reproduced in the source was the Berlin Riots of 1953. An important point that Wheeler makes in an earlier part of the interview is that, as a foreign correspondent, he was not allowed to visit East Berlin.

Having given you the background here is the source that consists of two parts:

Part One: Conditions in East Berlin (in the 1960s) as viewed by Wheeler

... East Berlin struggled to recover from the effects of the Second World War and was feeling the effects of Russia extracting reparations (payments)¹ from East Germany. In fact very little rebuilding took place and despite a huge housing shortage, no building of houses took place, yet money was spent on building prestigious projects like the Communist Party headquarters.

The standard of living was poor compared to the West, wages were low, and there were no consumer goods in the shops, only endless jars of pickles. What production there was, was either going to the Soviet Union or being exported in the interests of the Soviet Union. Conditions here were desperate and people were indeed left destitute.

Part Two: Conditions in West Berlin (in the 1960s) as viewed by Wheeler

On the other hand West Berlin was a prosperous Western city that was rebuilt as a result of assistance from the Marshall Plan and assistance from other European states. The result of this was evident in a number of ways such as, many people I knew were employed, they enjoyed a good quality of life, most shops were well stocked with several goods and services and they bustled with shoppers. Moreover, there was freedom to travel and unemployment was really very low. Many people were happy with this state of affairs.

It was difficult to disentangle politics from economics. West Berlin thrived as a democracy and enjoyed the fruits of freedom, while East Berlin could not develop because of communist influence.

Having studied the source as well as the contextualisation (the part which gives you all the background information such as: Who produced the source? For what purpose? When was it produced?, etc.) very carefully, let us use the Source Matrix to answer the following question:

¹ The bracketed phrases appeared in the 2008 History paper.

How useful would this source be for a historian studying the factors which led to the building of the Berlin Wall?

Validity – As you will see from the matrix, the examiners are not likely to give you a bogus source, although, as we have seen, they may contextualise it wrongly, so you do not need to concern yourself with this particular aspect of source criticism. In fact in this particular case, because Charlie Wheeler is describing the situation in the early 1950s, this source is invalid for the 1960s.

Relevance – This source would receive a fairly high score on this criterion because, although it does not deal directly with the Berlin Wall, it certainly gives insight into the factors which may have contributed to its building, which is the main focus of the question you have been asked.

However, it should be borne in mind that Wheeler is commenting on the situation in East and West Berlin in 1953 — there were almost certainly some changes between 1953 and the building of the Wall in 1961. One of the changes was that the Soviet Union was no longer directly involved in the running of its East German satellite. This is clearly shown by the fact that Stalin's Soviet Union was directly involved in imposing the blockade in 1948 but had no direct involvement in the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, which was erected by the East German government of Walter Ulbricht.

This was very convenient for Khrushchev as, even though the Wall broke several treaty terms, he could claim that the Soviet Union had nothing to do with it, although there is evidence that he suggested the idea to Ulbricht.

Reliability – The following factors should all be taken into account when judging reliability:

Accuracy: There is no evidence of any wrong facts and as the BBC correspondent in West Berlin Wheeler's business would have been finding out as much as he could about the situation.

However, we know from reading the contextualisation that Wheeler, as a foreign correspondent, was not allowed to enter East Berlin. This means that his information on conditions in that part of the city would have had to come mainly from Germans who either worked in West Berlin but lived in East Berlin or refugees who had fled from the Eastern sector. The likelihood would therefore be that most of his sources would view developments in East Berlin in a negative light.

Deceptiveness: As this interview occurred after the conclusion of the Cold War, there would be no reason for Charlie Wheeler to be deceptive in any way. In other words the source means what it says.

Typicality: As learners, the only way we can test whether this source is typical is to compare it with the other sources we have been given in the exercise and with our own knowledge. Judged in this way, it appears to present a similar and therefore typical view of the situation in the two Berlins found in most other sources. In other words the other sources available to us appear to corroborate (agree with) what is being said in this source.

Provenance and Purpose: The main things we can say about provenance is that Charlie Wheeler was English; he was working for the BBC and was living in West Berlin. His access to East Berlin would therefore have been non-existent and he is likely to have approached the situation from the perspective of a supporter of the West. These are indeed factors which might affect the reliability of what he is saying. However, as this was not a propaganda piece, and was recorded after the Cold War had ended, there is no evidence that he has made any deliberate attempt to distort the information he provides. Furthermore, both the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the George Washington University can be regarded as reputable sources with high standards of scholarship.

Recording constraints: In this case Wheeler is being interviewed about events which had taken place 44 years earlier. Unless he kept a journal to which he was referring, of which there is no evidence in the transcript of the interview, distortions may have crept in because of the long period involved. Memory even in the short term can be the cause of considerable distortion.

Furthermore, this testimony was obtained using an oral history interview technique; this might further confound the reliability of the testimony. On the other hand as a seasoned journalist his job would probably have made him a more careful observer than someone in a different line of work.

Bias: Although this is certainly written from the perspective of a supporter of the West – a factor which needs to be kept in mind – it does not exhibit particularly strong signs of bias. Let's quickly look at the various bias indicators:

- Provenance and purpose: See above.
- Lack of balance: Although he states that conditions in West Berlin were much better than those in East Berlin, he does provide the political context for these differing situations. Soviet Union extracting reparations versus the Marshall

Plan and deliberate Western reconstruction.

- Language cues: There are some signs of anti-communism but not very strongly expressed.
- Emotionalism: The language appears balanced and is not very emotional. Look for lots of adjectives such as evil East German government, enlightened Western powers etc.
- Use of stereotypes and generalisations: Only to a limited degree. There is some attempt to qualify statements such as “Many people were happy with this state of affairs” rather than “Everybody was happy with this state of affairs”.

External factors: A significant distorting factor is that this is a very short extract from a reasonably long interview. However, more importantly the original contextualisation as supplied to candidates in the November 2008 examination suggests that this interview was recorded at the time of the events being described and that it provides a view of conditions in the 1960s, when in fact it dealt exclusively with the 1953 Berlin Riots – the period immediately after the death of Stalin. These points regarding other distorting factors, however, would not feature in your answer as they have not been provided to you in the original contextualisation of the source.

- As you can see from the foregoing, you could spend hundreds of words just deciding the degree of usefulness of a source. So how would you go about answering the original question about the usefulness of this source for understanding factors leading to the building of the Berlin Wall? We suggest that your answer should contain the following points:
- The source provides useful details about the different lifestyles in West and East Berlin (relevance).
- It is worth noting that Wheeler was talking about the situation in Berlin in 1953, while the focus in the question is on 1961 – much can change in eight years (relevance).
- The descriptions of lifestyles in the two Berlins are supported by other sources and by my own knowledge (accuracy, deceptiveness, typicality).
- A degree of bias needs to be taken into account as the author was a BBC correspondent living in West Berlin, who was not allowed access to East Berlin (provenance).
- However, as this was recorded after the Cold War, no ideological purpose would be served by giving a strongly biased account.

- Further cautions are that this source is based on oral testimony taken 44 years after the event – memory lapses/distortions should be kept in mind.

If you are asked about how reliable you think this source is, you would leave out the first two bullets concerning relevance – all the others would apply, however.

Let us look at a source which contrasts very strongly with the first source. The following source is the front page story which appeared in *Die Vaderland* (*The Fatherland*), a Johannesburg-based Afrikaans language newspaper, the day after the Women's March on August 9, 1956. As was the case with virtually all mainstream Afrikaans-language papers, *Die Vaderland* was strongly in favour of the National Party government that had come to power in 1948.

Key Question: What happened during the Women's March of 1956?

The question is: How useful would the following source be for someone trying to find out what happened during the Women's March of 1956?

Translated out of the Afrikaans the main headline and front page article reads as follow:

Do their Parents know where they are?

It is very clear that these white children in the photos do not know what is happening.

Do their parents know that they were taken by their non-white *oppassers* (child minders) to the demonstration at the Union Buildings?



Source: Ellis, Haw ,Karumbidza, Macallister, Middlebrook, Olivier & Rogers (2012).

When we took this photograph the little boy was very close to tears. The non-white on the right of the photo took off her shoe and gave it to him to comfort him as shown in the photograph.

Validity: The source is valid.

Relevance: The report contains no details as to who was involved, how many were involved, what their demands were, what happened on the day of the march. Therefore for the particular question being asked it is almost entirely irrelevant.

Reliability

Accuracy: It is not an accurate account of what happened during the Women's Day March as it focuses on the irresponsibility of the black minders in having taken their young white charges to such an event to the complete exclusion of everything else. It therefore gives a distorted impression of the March.

Deceptiveness: This is slightly tricky in that the writer of this article definitely meant what he says. However, the article deceives the reader as to the true nature of the Women's March.

Typicality: This newspaper article is not at all typical of accounts of the Women's March. All the other accounts focus on who was there, how many were there, and what happened. Well-disposed mainstream papers like the *Rand Daily Mail* emphasised the impressive discipline shown by the women.

Provenance: This source is taken from a newspaper, which is a strong supporter of the apartheid government. The purpose of the writer would tend therefore to be to belittle any opposition to government policy and support government policy very strongly.

Recording: This is a contemporary, primary source. It was produced by journalists sent to cover the Women's March for the paper. Consequently there are unlikely to be any problems related to memory distortions over time.

Bias: This is a very biased source. Let us look at why this is the case:

- Provenance :See above
- Lack of balance / one-sidedness: The reporter picks out one or two instances where white children were present at the March and tries to blow this up into a major feature of the March. Furthermore the evidence he or she advances for what he or she is saying is very weak. For instance, we do not know whether the minders had permission to take the children to the Union Buildings or not, and we have to rely on the journalist that the little boy was upset as this is not obvious from the photograph.

- Language cues: Nothing much to comment on in the case of language.
- Emotionalism: This appears to be very strong. The image of “poor little white children” being exposed to danger by the people who are looking after them is calculated to tug at the heartstrings of the readers. This idea is emphasised by the notion that the little white boy was near to tears.
- Stereotypes and generalisation: Strong stereotyping of black women as ignorant, irresponsible servants. A degree of generalisation – as one is meant to assume that this sort of “irresponsible” behaviour was widespread.

External Factors: The fact that the article has been translated from the original Afrikaans may be a distorting factor. However, the original has been published alongside the translation.

So how might you answer a question about the *usefulness* of this source to someone trying to find out what happened during the Women’s March. Here are some of the main points which should be in your answer:

- Relevance is very low as the source contains no details about the Women’s March other than that there were a few white children there, apparently with their minders.
- The source gives such a narrow view of the event that it can be described as inaccurate and not typical (in other words the information it gives is not supported by other sources and seems to focus on one detail of the gathering that was not typical of the March as a whole).
- The source was produced by a journalist working for an Afrikaans-language, National party newspaper which strongly supported apartheid and white domination (Provenance).
- Because of the provenance, the source is very biased. This is shown by such things as the emotional tone of the source and by the use of stereotypes.

A question asking about *reliability* would focus on the last three points.

Note that if the question had been about the attitude of National Party supporters or the National Party press to the Women’s March, this source would have been both more useful and more reliable. This shows that a lot of the characteristics of sources discussed in this guide depend on the particular question which is being asked (context).

All the foregoing is about answering source-based questions, but the points made in this connection have strong implications for examiners setting these types of questions and/or for moderators and others assessing whether the question is a good question or not.

The following points can be deduced from what has been said about answering these types of questions:

- Wherever possible use primary sources rather than secondary ones.
- If secondary sources are used, they must be thoroughly referenced giving such details as author, publisher, place of publication and date and, where relevant, specific details about the author. This will prevent the use of extracts from David Irving's book without reference to the extremely controversial nature of his views.
- Very careful consideration needs to be given to the language level in sources. Try to choose sources which are written in accessible English with due consideration given to the fact that these sources are going to have to be translated.
- Thorough contextualisation is of enormous importance in the case of primary sources as is clearly demonstrated by the first example used in this paper. Without this contextualisation it will be difficult, if not impossible for the candidate to make any meaningful comments about factors such as usefulness and reliability.
- The category "usefulness" was created largely because the usefulness of a source is not always readily apparent. Since the post-modern stress on textual analysis, there has been as much concentration on the unintended significance of sources as there has been on what the person who produced the source intended to say. Marc Bloch, one of the founders of the Annales school of History refers to this as "the evidence of witnesses in spite of themselves" (as cited in Tosh,2015:75)and regards these unwitting revelations as being of great significance to the historian.
- Wherever possible, the question should be unambiguous in its phrasing and there should be a clear answer so that examiners are not forced to fall back on the "any other response" type of entry in the marking memorandum.
- It needs to be clearly acknowledged that full source analysis is beyond the scope and competence of the vast majority of learners. Furthermore, most teachers have not had the training to make them confident practitioners in this field. It is important therefore, that our ambitions are scaled down to accord with the reality of the situation. As teachers of History, we would like to get across to our learners the fact that sources can almost never be taken at face value. It is this critical stance towards information and opinions which makes History so valuable in creating the sort of critical thinkers which a modern democracy requires.
- At present, too much of the questioning in History amounts to little more than comprehending the sources provided.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article has been to provide a systematic way of analysing a source in terms of factors such as reliability, bias, usefulness and validity. This should assist both the candidate writing a test or examination and the teacher setting the questions to arrive at meaningful questions and answers. Clearly the sort of exam question where virtually any answer, including the most vague and generalised, is regarded as acceptable has little educational purpose and hopefully this article will contribute to preventing this unfortunate tendency.

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INNOVATIVE WAYS TO TEACH THE YOUTH LESSONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORICAL LEGACIES

SADFA Project: The heritage connection – enrich your future!

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Abstract

This article explains a creative way in which lessons from history may in future be presented to a new generation. This will be made possible by utilising new technology and ingenuity to make history educational and entertaining at the same time. Outside the classroom the SADFA Project also intends to create jobs for communities throughout South Africa. Military veterans with a passion to preserve the past and pass on a legacy to future generations will be invited to mentor the programme, together with historians and history enthusiasts. The aim is to present South Africa's joint history in a new and exciting way to contribute to the knowledge of future generations about how this country came about. Different cultures should gain respect for each other's history in the process.

Keywords: Heritage; Military Veterans; Edutainment; Treasure hunting; Genealogy; Geocaching; QR Codes; Preservation; Job creation in History; Amazing Race.

Introduction

The great German militarist Bismarck once made the remark: "Fools say they learn by experience. I learn by the experience of others" (Brownson, 1875:39). Despite the History school syllabus that has been changed since the 1990's to accommodate a more all-inclusive South African history, it seems that black and white school learners across the board still show very little knowledge of each other's past, especially of the events that shaped the South African landscape before 1976. Furthermore, the curriculum seems to foster a more socio-political awareness and sensitivity to cultural beliefs, prejudices and practices in our society (DoBE, 2011:3-4). Historical and cultural heritage sites in South Africa can play a major role in gaining knowledge of

the pre-1976 era, but they are unfortunately very seldom visited by learners. An attack on South Africa's national history legacy by defacing monuments is not very complimentary to what History and historical legacies aspire to. A tendency to repeat past wrongdoings will certainly impact negatively on a balanced perspective on what actually happened. An all-inclusive vision can be achieved by a creative re-imagining of our public spaces and monuments.

The South African Defence Force Association (SADFA) strives to make learners more aware of their heritage. This organisation is a Section 21 non-profit company (NPC) that was formed in 2008 as a military veterans' organization and has as its objectives to commemorate, give recognition to and encourage reconciliation.

The SADFA has identified the legacy that they wish to leave behind after having accomplished the project, as to have:

- inspired and equipped people to fulfil their dreams and reach their potential;
- created an awareness about military veterans and their role in our democracy;
- pursued both financial success and made a community impact as passionate social entrepreneurs;
- played a part in building a positive future for South Africa.

The discussion will focus on what gave birth to the idea, and how it is foreseen to be implemented.

An idea is born

I was working at the Heritage Foundation at the Voortrekker Monument in 2013. My responsibility was to maintain the historical concentration camp graveyard sites of the Anglo-Boer (South African) War (1899-1902). Fifty concentration camps for white women and children were established as part of Lord Kitchener's "scorched earth policy" (Pretorius, 2001) in which 34011 inhabitants subsequently died (Wessels & Raath, 2012:245-252). In the Irene Camp alone, for example, 1238 deaths occurred (Van Rensburg, 1980:125).

A lot of effort went into maintaining and improving the concentration camp graveyard sites, but I soon came to the realisation that we attracted hardly any visitors at all. After having consulted the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) for the different grades in History, I discovered that the topic of the Anglo-Boer (South African) War is only prescribed for

Grade 10 learners in their second semester. Grade 10 History learners are also expected to conduct a heritage investigation as part of their formal assessment programme (DoBE, 2011:16-30). This gave rise to the idea of creating a cellular phone application in an effort to bring learners to visit these sites in support of their practical assignments.

The *South African heritage and battlefields application (App)* was developed and launched on the Amazon.com platform in 2014. Different icons indicate the main items: *Battlefields 1650-1900; Monuments of South Africa; Concentration camps; South African Wars 1900-2000; History; Videos; Treasure hunts; Where to stay; Images of historical places and things; Websites; Join our social media through Facebook; Museums*; and *Join our social responsibility program creating jobs and help preserve our heritage sites*. The App is currently only available for Symbian phones, but will be expanded to all smart phones in future. It can be downloaded free of charge from the Amazon App store under the name *South African battlefields*. The maps are GPS enabled and will show the user how to get to heritage sites with GPS coordinates and links to relevant websites. This is a must have for every family going on holiday. It surely can make road trips interesting and memorable. “The use of the Internet together with multimedia technology could be useful in History teaching to make the learning experience ‘magical’” (De Sousa & Van Eeden, 2009:68).

Shortly after launching the App a call was received from a young entrepreneur, Twin Mosia, living in the town of Petrus Steyn in the Orange Free State. He indicated that he was very interested in the history of black concentration camp sites, and was planning to undertake a bicycle tour to all these places. It is not well known that during the war 64 separate camps were erected for blacks. About 18 000 to 22 000 deaths were recorded in these camps (Wessels & Raath, 2012:245-252). Mosia planned to collect two stones from each concentration camp site in South Africa and take them back to his hometown, where his intention was to build a monument to attract tourists to his town. He felt he had to do something for his people, as there is barely any work opportunities in Petrus Steyn for its inhabitants. Mosia’s dream inspired the *The heritage connection: Enrich your future project*.

The heritage connection: Enrich your future project (HCEYFP)

The aim of the HCEYFP is to take some of the lessons of the past and together build a better future for all in South Africa, while the sub-theme of

the project is: “Turning Swords into Ploughshares”.

The SADFA concept for this project is to have nine provincial teams consisting of military veterans, school children and history enthusiasts simultaneously participating in an “Amazing Race”, visiting each and every concentration camp around South Africa over the period 1-15 December 2017, planting commemoration crosses as they go, and collecting two stones from each site. (See the routes on the map.) This will culminate in the building of a Reconciliation Monument at the Petrus Steyn Station Heritage Site on 16 December 2017. Each town along the route will form a local Heritage Committee, responsible for preparing and hosting the events and mobilising their own community in the process. Local, national and international media coverage will be arranged for the whole event. The Afrikaans Language and Culture Association (Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging (ATKV)) and Toastmasters South Africa will assist in presenting a national competition and provide training to secondary school learners to select the main speakers at each event on the theme: “What lessons can be taken from this tragedy 115 years ago to make South Africa the country of our Future?” The best speaker will have the stage at the final event on 16 December 2017.

The above-mentioned endeavour will promote the efforts of the Elandskop Museum in Petrus Steyn to establish itself as a tourist attraction. It should also be an inspiration to many others to take the initiative the same way as Twin Mosia is doing, to make a difference in their home-town.

Participating in this Amazing Race in 2017 will be military veterans from all over the spectrum: uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (APLA), the Azanian National Liberation Army (AZANLA), the veterans belonging to the Transkei; Bophuthatswana; Venda; Ciskei; the Council of Military Veterans’ Organizations (CMVO), the Memorable Order of Tin Hats (M.O.T.H.), the SA Legion, 32 Battalion, 61 Mechanised Battalion Group and the Infantry Association, amongst others. The aim will be to demonstrate solidarity and a serious commitment to turn swords into ploughshares and to together, using a host of skills and experience, assist in building a better future for all South Africans.

Expansion plans

To enhance experiences and promote general tourism to each of the concentration camps and other historical sites throughout South Africa, the

following will also be undertaken:

- The *Heritage Atlas of South Africa*, based on the South African school syllabi, is currently being compiled by a group of renowned historians. It will contain the most prominent historical and cultural sites in our country, with place for learners to paste the unique stamps of the treasures found on the different sites, as well as their pictures and own notes of each place visited. The aim is to ensure that every learner receives an atlas, and that it becomes a precious hands-on tool for exploring history. The Department of Basic Education will also be approached to become actively involved and teachers will motivate learners to visit these sites on a regular basis.
- On each concentration camp site a *Treasure hunt* is currently being developed. This will enable every South African visitor and tourists interested in discovering what really happened on the site, to with the aid of pictures, videos and text, linking into family genealogy, utilising the Geocaching and Quick Response (QR) Code (a type of matrix barcode) techniques, finding the hidden treasure, and learning through unique “Edutainment”, come into contact with the realities of the past. (See the brochure). Access will also be through the App as mentioned earlier, which is currently available in five languages: Afrikaans, English, German, Zulu and SeSotho.
- The SADFA is currently also negotiating with the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) to be contracted to maintain and improve all the concentration camps, battlefields and cultural heritage sites throughout the country. Once this project has been approved, the plan is to create a Co-op for each site, consisting of local people under the mentorship of a knowledgeable veteran or historian. The members will then be trained as official local tour guides as well as security personnel to ensure the sites are well maintained, kept safe and developed to become real tourist attractions.

Once the above-mentioned goals have been reached, the offering will be expanded to all other heritage sites where a substantial and transferable heritage exists to be incorporated into class activities in History, as well as to be easy accessible to overseas tourists and South Africans exploring the past from the present.

Partnering

Partners in the SADFA endeavour are some well-known historians from universities throughout South Africa, the Voortrekker Monument and

Heritage Foundation, Freedom Park and the Nelson Mandela Foundation, as well as curators of heritage sites throughout the country.

Educator participation pivotal

The SADFA has applied to the National Lottery Fund for seed capital to launch the multifaceted SADFA project in 2017. All educators of History at all educational levels are encouraged to get involved and to make contact with us at jan@streetsafe.co.za should they wish to participate or contribute. For a start we need, for instance, to establish every black concentration camp site's exact location, as well as the details of who were kept there, who died and who survived, what circumstances were like in the specific camps, the stories originating from them, if possible photographs of them and the surroundings etc., as very little is known about this facet of the war.

We are also looking for names to build the relevant genealogy links, not only of those who perished there, but also those who lived through it. This will later on be integrated into the App and the treasure hunt to ensure their legacy lives on and to make it interesting for those who will be visiting these sites in future. Starting with the concentration camps, the project will be extended to the battlefields and most important cultural sites across the country. The focus will be on what happened where, why and how and, most importantly, what we can learn from this.

Conclusion

The SADFA *Heritage connection - Enrich your future project* is a unique project that will take some more years to complete. It will provide young South Africans and other local and international tourists with a practical and very realistic, virtual and physical experience of the many events that formed the country we have today. South Africa's history and the lessons that can be learnt from it should inspire all to serve the youth in the technology they currently know best, namely cellular phones and tablets. The SADFA project creates a unique and exciting way to entice young learners (and not only of History) to visit historical sites, and to experience the past more vividly and realistically than ever before. In the same process the SADFA wants to create job opportunities and sustain entrepreneurial initiatives to ensure purpose and pride. Calls for active support and participation are made.

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MILITARY VETERANS RECONCILIATION PROJECT 2016/17

CONCENTRATION CAMP TOURS 1-16 DECEMBER 2016

5 Heritage Treasure Hunting Example:

Remember
Dad/mom must take
you to visit 3 sites
this holiday!

Teacher

Drive

Scan QR Codes
and follow the clues provided

The dates on the graves provide the
missing GeoCash GPS co-ordinates

Use GPS

Find GeoCash

Unique stamp in Heritage Atlas
Share with friends!

f b

1 What?

Using treasure hunting and new technology to bring our children and their parents to visit, enjoy, understand and appreciate our joint, diverse history, cultures and traditions by creating edutaining opportunities at each site, based on our school syllabus, creating "learning bridges" between our classrooms and the places where our country was formed.

2 Aim?

To show our people the benefits of preserving our past, learn the lessons from it, building our future and creating employment opportunities to ensure long term sustainability and viable economic upliftment.

3 Why?

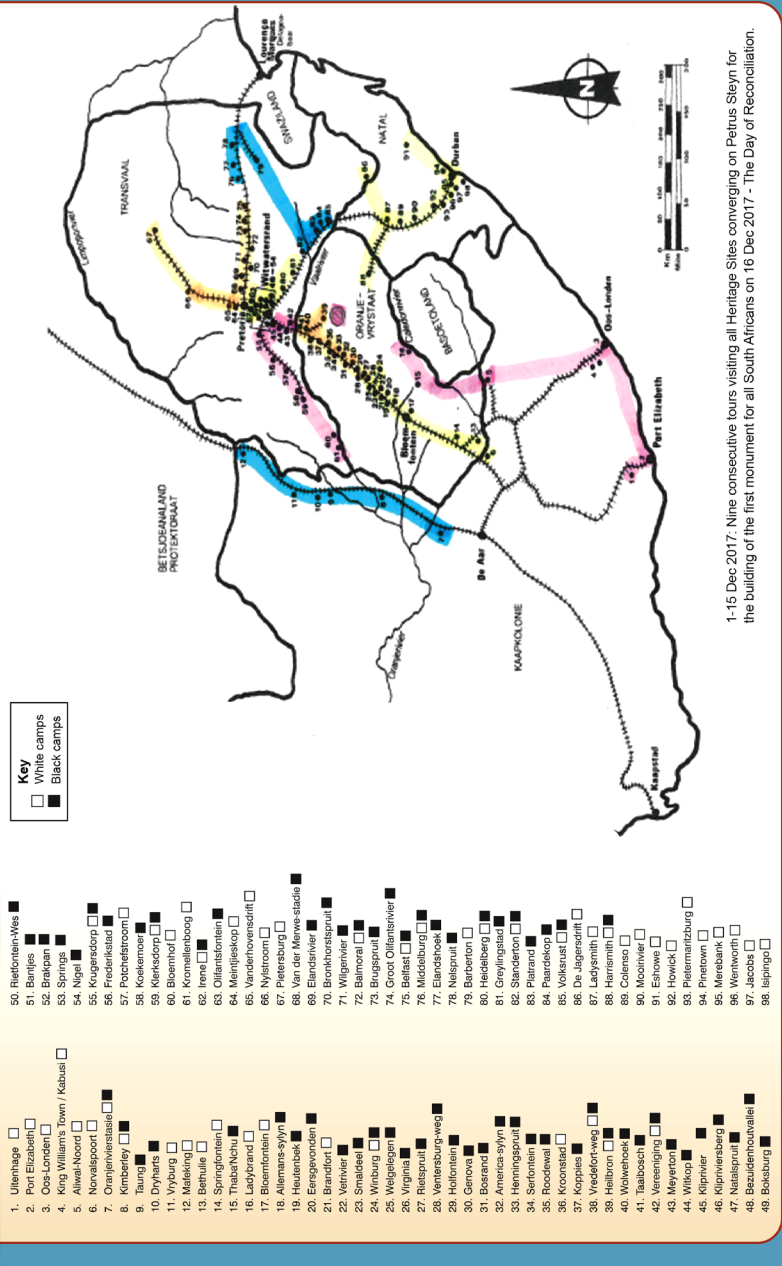
To commemorate, give recognition and to re-conciliate – jointly turning our "swords into ploughshares".

4 Vision?

Vision 2030 is a transformed South Africa with work and good living conditions for everyone, living in the real spirit of Ubuntu.

Source: Brochure design by the author

Proposed Tour Routes to the Concentration Camp Heritage Sites of the Anglo-Boer/South African War 1899-1902



1-15 Dec 2017: Nine consecutive tours visiting all Heritage Sites converging on Petrus Steyn for the building of the first monument for all South Africans on 16 Dec 2017 - The Day of Reconciliation.

Source: Kessler, 2012:12.

BOOK REVIEWS

A far-away war: Angola, 1975-1989

(Stellenbosch: SUN MeDIA, under the SUN PRESS imprint, 2015, 207 pp.
ISBN 978-1-920689-72-8; e-book, ISBN 978-1-920689-73-5, Available
at: www.africasunmedia.co.za/www.sun-e-shop.co.za/africansunmedia.snapplify.com)

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The war that broke out in the north of South-West Africa (today Namibia) in 1966, that escalated from about 1973, and from 1975 onwards spilled over into Angola, had far-reaching consequences for the whole of southern Africa. This conflict, which dragged on until 1989, has been referred to as (from a South African point of view) the Border War, and sometimes also as the Bush War. It can also be regarded as the Namibian War of Independence, albeit that it became intertwined with the civil war in Angola. It formed part of the Great Liberation Struggle in southern Africa, which lasted from 1961 (when guerrillas first became active in Angola, then still a Portuguese colony) until 2002 (when Jonas Savimbi was killed in Angola).

Although a number of books were published on this conflict in the years immediately after Namibia became independent in 1990, there has been a prolific output of books on the war “up north” and “on the border” (mostly from a South African point of view), dealing with, inter alia, special operations, unit/regimental histories and the (sometimes very personal) reminiscences of ordinary soldiers (and generals) who were involved. Very few of these books are of a scholarly nature, but those members of the general public who are keen on military history, do not really care.

From an academic point of view, it is always good to see a new book that is based on solid research, on the shelves. This holds true of *A far-away war: Angola, 1975-1989*, edited by Ian Liebenberg, Jorge Risquet (who died before the book was published) and Vladimir Shubin, with Gert van der Westhuizen, Hedelberto López Blanch and Gennady Shubin as co-editors. Other contributors are Phil Eidelberg, Klaus Storkmann, Ulrich van der Heyden and Tienie du Plessis (the latter who also died before the book was published). Already from these names it is clear that in this publication the war in Angola is seen from different points of view, including that of the Republic of Cuba, the former Soviet Union (now Russia) and the former East Germany (DDR).

A very important aspect of the book is thus the fact that it indeed does not primarily look at the war in Angola from a South African (Defence Force) perspective, but also gives a voice to participants “on the other side” – see in this regard especially the emphasis that is placed on the role of the Cubans and Russians. This is further emphasised by the inclusion of many (probably never before published) photographs from Cuban and Russian archives, etc. depicting the war as seen through the lenses of Cuban and Russian cameras.

The editors/authors have indeed achieved what they set out to do, namely to contribute to a wider understanding of the war in Angola (and in Namibia); a war that had lasting consequences for the whole region – consequences that are still felt today. In *A far-away war: Angola, 1975-1989* the editors and their authors provide an excellent review of the above-mentioned conflict. In the first chapter, important historical background information is provided. In the next chapter, the war is placed in the context of the broader Cold War. In separate chapters, the role of the Cubans and of the Soviet Union, is analysed. In other chapters, the relationship between South Africans and Russians, the military support provided by East Germany for the liberation movement in Angola, the resistance to national service by many South Africans, as well as the militarisation of South African society, are discussed and analysed.

Pages 165-200 of the book contain the most comprehensive list to date of sources that deal with the war: more than 500 book titles are listed, as well as some 500 articles, a report, 44 theses, as well as internet sources, websites, CDs, films, records, novels, plays, etc. This bibliography is an invaluable source for anyone interested in the war in Namibia/Angola and will be of great assistance to postgraduate students and other researchers, as well as anyone interested in the most traumatic southern African conflict in the era

since the end of World War II.

As Romanian Gen. (rtd) Dr Mihail Ionesco has previously correctly pointed out, *A far-away war* does indeed contribute to an understanding of present-day realities in the countries that were involved in the war in Angola. Furthermore, it offers striking if not controversial interpretations to past events that (perhaps disconcertingly), broadens our understanding of the present. To this, one can add that more than forty years after South Africa's armed forces invaded Angola in 1975, this excellent publication provides much thought-provoking background information, as well as an invaluable bibliography on the war in Angola (and adjacent areas), thus enabling those on all sides who participated in the conflict, together with those who watched from the sidelines, to either once again or for the first time take stock of this relatively recent and most devastating conflict. This is undeniably a very important scholarly publication and a worthwhile contribution towards the historiography of the Angolan/Namibian/Border/Bush War. It should be read by anyone interested in (southern) African military history, the political development of southern Africa in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and related themes. *A far-away war: Angola, 1975-1989* is highly recommended.

The new black middle class in South Africa

(Jacana Media, 2016, 296 pp. ISBN 978-1-4314-2316-3)

Roger Southall

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While today's black middle class may be 'new', it has important roots in the households of the past (p. 164).

In *The new black middle class in South Africa*, Roger Southall offers us what he terms as a modest aim to making some contribution to the greater understanding of contemporary South African society. The book was originally inspired by

Southall's rereading of Leo Kuper's *An African Bourgeoisie: Race, class and politics in South Africa*. Intending to replicate Kuper's analysis of portraying the black middle class of the time with intimacy and deep understanding, whilst sympathetically depicting the "the pathos in their position" (p. vii). But, times had changed so much that a replication would not work, so a very different plan of analysis was embarked upon to examine the black middle classes composition and character.

Southall's interest in the composition and character of the black middle class (BMC) was sparked by the need for social scientists to complicate and correct the picture of the black middle class being crafted by the advertising industry (p. xiv). Furthermore, Southall argues that an analysis of the BMC has been largely pushed to the margins of South African society, and analyses of the BMC are needed as globalisation and democratisation impacts them (p. xvi). Southall contends that, "there is no clean divide here [his analysis] between 'structure' and 'agency'; rather, there is a complex interaction which is reshaping both the black middle class itself and the environment in which it is located" (p. xvi).

At the book's launch hosted by the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER) in early 2016, Professor Hlonipha Mokoena in a jocular manner remarked, "If you're looking for juicy detail about the black middle class, this is not the book". Having now read the book, I am inclined to agree with her. Southall has largely focused on "structure" with sparse regard to empirical lived experiences of the BMC's "precious positionality" (p. 164), thus, rendering a stiff book. The book's overall mantra is that, "If we want to understand the location and identity of the black middle class, we need to relate it to the two major sources of power in contemporary South African society; the post-apartheid state and the large corporations that dominate the economy" (p. 159).

A reading of the book makes one question the accessibility and utility of the book. It reads as a detailed impact report. An anthology of stand-alone academic journal articles which tangentially speak to each other. It is a book about the new black middle class, but I have strong doubts that not more than a handful of the book's subjects would read beyond the first chapter. It is an academic thesis masqueraded as an accessible book for public consumption. Below I provide a review and highlight aspects of interest.

In chapter one Southall provides us with an elaborate overview of the widely used and misused "middle class" term. He begins with a Marxist understanding

of class, based upon ownership or non-ownership of property. He then moves onto a mosaic narrative of Weber who conceded that, “property and lack of property were the ‘basis categories of all class situation’, no less important were factors such as income prospects and the general array of social material advantages, summed up as a person’s market situation or life chances” (p. 6). Southall contends that, “in-between the two we find the middle class, who derive their income and status from their small-scale ownership of land, from their occupation (which is strongly linked to their education) or from both” (p. 6).

To jump ahead, in the concluding chapter Southall provides a “lived experience” definition of the black middle class, “[I]t sees itself as ‘black’ in reaction to the historical political and economic oppression by whites, and in resentment at what it perceives as continuing white dominance of the economy”, he says (p. 240).

Key theoretical problems around the middle class are flagged by Southall such as, contrary to Marx’s expectations, as capitalism developed, the class structures associated with it became more highly differentiated, along the lines elaborated by Weber. A multidimensional approach to class espoused by Weber seems to offer more purchase (p. 8). The middle class is becoming more differentiated as capital industrialisation advances, their contradictory class location may pull different segments of the middle class in different directions, their work, life, occupation, income and status are becoming inherently precarious for large segments of the middle class (p. 21).

Chapter two provides a broad history of the black middle class, examining the African petty bourgeoisie whose status was dictated not only by its standard of living, but by its education, literacy, lifestyle, political authority and its orientation towards material improvement and individual betterment (p. 25). Southall contends that while their counterparts in *kholwa* communities continued to enjoy relative privilege among the rural African population, a recognisable black elite took shape in urban areas, its position reinforced by individual’s ability to acquire certificates or letters of exemption from the provisions of ‘native laws’ (p. 28). The black elite were subject to legalised racial barriers that blocked their upward mobility. The South African Natives National Congress (later to become the ANC) was largely drawn from the emergent black petty bourgeoisie, and steadily these bourgeoisies were radicalised, to use Phil Bonners (1980) term. They were radicalised as they noticed that racial subordination affected them equally with the black masses.

In chapter three Southall examines the composition of the black middle class. Apart from broad consensus that the black middle class is 'growing fast' there is little agreement about its size, shape and structure (p. 42).

The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) in 2004 calculated the BMC to amounting to around 2.5 million people. UCT's Unilever Institute for Strategic Marketing in 2013 estimated it to being 3.6 million. Definitions of 'middle class' vary widely reflecting different theoretical traditions and purposes, not only whether the approach is broadly Marxist or Weberian, but whether research is being conducted for reasons of social analysis, policy or marketing (p. 42). The Black Diamond approach and the Living Standards Measures (LSM), despite their descriptive value, tend to feed a popular notion of the black middle class as essentially shallow, showy, and materialistic (p. 47).

Chapter four then examines the National Party reform policies which aimed to grant black people with residential rights in urban areas with unrestricted freedom to work in any white urban areas, improve salaries and join registered trade unions (p. 66). Yet, black advancement took place only as whites moved upwards into more skilled and better paid jobs (p. 67). It was only after democratisation that real transformation and upward mobility happened, as by 2008 the composition of the public service was 78% black African. As the National Planning Commission (NPC) was later to observe; affirmative action within the public service clearly played a major role in the growth of the black middle class (p. 77), whilst equity employment is far less advanced in the private sector. Two decades into democracy, the black middle class has outnumbered the white middle class. But its economic foundations are precarious and it remains heavily dependent on the ANC's party-state (p. 92).

In chapter five Southall charts forward with the Weberian term, "life chances" which are heavily depended upon education and qualification (p. 97). Southall further examines trends in levels of education amongst the black middle class and sparse complexities with regards to those that attended former model-C schools. Facts and figures on the number of black students doubled since the early 1990s and black students migrating to former white universities, and the legacy of resource distribution.

Chapter six examines various occupations that the black middle class occupy, as "it is the jobs people obtain and the roles they fulfil in the division of labour in society that largely determine their income, ranking and status" (p. 125). Southall then examines a few; black state managers who by 2011 accounted for 74% of public service managers, whilst black corporate managers haven't

increased that much due to various factors, some stating lack of qualified black people, but some black corporate managers are preferring employment in the public sphere as its viewed as more culturally welcoming and offering better prospects of advancement (p. 132). Most interesting are the ‘job hoppers’ as they move jobs in order to take control of their own careers, advancing from one employer to another in order to build their repertoire of skills and competence (p. 135). Another segment being the *professionals* and *semi-professionals* with professionals such as CA’s only 20% are black, “it does not only take ability and determination to gain entry to the profession, but requires access to considerable resources” (p. 139).

Chapter seven examines the social life of the BMC, dovetailing on the popular focus as in a previously racially segregated society, this aspect and its visibility is fairly new. The BMC have been characterised in pejorative ways, as their wealth is often seen as a product of corruption and political connection, rather than of the virtues of hard work, responsibility and integrity so often associated with being middle class (p. 163). The chapter is telling of the entire book’s thrust; “many dimensions such as leisure activities are therefore left aside in favour of the more fundamental issues of consumption and debt, changing residential patterns, and what is termed the ‘precarious positionality’ of the black middle class” (p. 164).

The capacity to spend embodies social agency; wealth represents success; and black consumerism has become associated with a realisation of citizenship (p. 170). Citing a Statistics South Africa September 2010 – August 2011 survey, two subgroups of the middle class were distinguished, namely the emerging and the more established middle class, arguing that the more the black people became established within the middle class, the less they spend conspicuously (p. 175). As asset ownership rises, conspicuous consumption decreases, because the need to signal economic status declines (p. 176).

In chapter eight Southall turned his attention to the politics of the BMC, giving an overview in three propositions all in line with the ANC being the party vanguard of South Africa’s BMC.

Southall concludes the book in an *Afterward* instead of a conclusion, highlighting key pointers for further analysis. Stating that, middle classes were believed [by firms such as McKinsey and others] to boost growth, promote desirable social dynamics, and safeguard democracy. In short Southall remarks that the new BMC are modernisers who embody a positive vision of social mobility and meritocratic social order (p. 230).

Southall has offered his colleagues a book of immense detail about the structures which contributed and continue to contribute to the black middle classes “precarious positionality”. But, to “ordinary” readers and members of the black middle class, the book lacks in many regards. Primarily due to its stiff nature and forfeiting “juicy” details for structures such as politics, corporate and their structures affecting the black middle class.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 had great potential of being “juicy”, by capturing the lived experience of model-C education (Matlwa, 2013) and “clever blacks”. Moreover, “job hoppers” were another rich vein to be cut open; the notion of “strategic guilt” articulated by Thabang Sefalafala (M&G, 28 August, 2015) would have enriched the analysis of black corporate managers. These and other rich veins were sidelined in favour of “major sources of power in contemporary South African society; post-apartheid state and large corporations” (p. 159). The book was largely disappointing.

Tales of the Old East Coast from Zululand to the Cape

(I-Go-Books, 2015, 271 pp. ISBN 978-6206-4994-0)

Ron Lock

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The aptly-titled *Tales of the Old East Coast from Zululand to the Cape* is a compilation of absorbing sub-narratives that compose an enlightening narrative of the history of the South African East Coast. The book covers the period from the first European arrivals on the East Coast in the late fifteenth century up to late nineteenth century when British colonial rule was firmly established in the Cape and Natal colonies.

Each chapter of the book is headed by a catchy title such as “Birds with many wings” and “Nightfall at noon.” Some of the chapter titles such as “Seers and sorcerers” and “Cannibals and crocodiles” lean on the provocative side. The first chapter explains how the first Europeans on the Old East Coast were

castaways who were involved in the European trade with India. From such initial coincidental contact with the local Khoi population, the book reveals how more contact was established with other locals since there were at least twenty-five shipwrecks on the South East coast during the seventeenth century alone. The second chapter then demonstrates how the east coast developed into a “melting pot” with the establishment of planned and unplanned European settlements. The author emphasises how most European settlers (including Jan van Riebeeck) did not enjoy this early settlement, to the extent that even some British criminals chose to go and hang back home rather than die of the unknown in a faraway land.

The narrative develops as the Ron Lock illustrates the violent contacts between the different European settler nationalities (British, Dutch, French and Portuguese) and against the local populations. The subsequent slave trade and slavery are explained showing the involvement of different groups of people, including a case study of a Black African called Efendi.

The story moves into the nineteenth century as the European settlers clashed more with, particularly, the Xhosa and the Zulu. The contrasting roles of the Khoi as resisters and collaborators are also illuminated. Other local ethnic groups such as the Pondo are mentioned, but do not contribute much to the narrative. Similarly, the San are also included, but largely in dedicated chapter titled “The Bushmen”, and nothing more. The detailed encounters include the Frontier Wars, in which the Europeans clashed with generations of Xhosa people under leaders such as Hintza Nqika and Sandile. The encroachment into Zululand and the encounters with Zulu leaders such as Shaka, Dingane, Mpande, and Cetshwayo are also discussed. The book ends with the final defeat and subjugation of the both the Xhosa and Zulu Kingdoms.

The author writes in simple language that enables the reader to focus on the intriguing content of book. Furthermore, the author does not inundate the narrative with needless dates, something which traditional history books are often criticised for. As a result, the content of the book is accessible, not just to historians, but also to all historically curious readers. The book is full of well-illustrated, some humorous and some tragic, anecdotes which flavour the narrative making it a captivating read. Many contemporary images are used to illustrate the tales helping the reader to create a vivid picture of events.

Ron Lock’s book is very useful for history teaching and learning. It covers content that school teachers and learners would do well to know, especially on topics such as European colonization, Slavery and the Mfecane. Very useful

information is provided about leaders such as Shaka (whose history is one of the most contentious in African history). Social life at the Zulu court is illustrated, showing how some of the brutality attributed to Shaka and his successors were exaggerated. The book also reveals the role of traders and Christian missionaries during the early days of European colonialism.

Through reading this book a history learner can develop an understanding of second order concepts such as change and continuity, cause and consequence and empathy. The Old East Coast experienced major changes within the 450 years under focus, while some traditions are explained to be continuing in the present-day. An interesting example is how the place presently known as the Red Desert at the end of Maurice Road in Port Edward was created as a result of one of Shaka's cattle raids. The reader can explore the causes and consequences of the Frontier Wars and understand their complex nature. The author also helps the reader to empathise with the Xhosa society which heeded Nongquase's call to slaughter all their cattle by explaining how the society had reached a point where they had virtually nothing to lose.

However, the book has a few weaknesses which can be raised. While self-published books are now very prevalent, they are still looked down upon as lacking critique. The narratives are written largely from a European point of view which could lead critics to label the narrative as "the history Europeans on the East Coast". Other populations fit into the narrative of what the then European settlers were involved in. Acceptably, the author has a right to his historiography. The book also contains a few typological errors which could have been eliminated with more critical editing.

SASHT ONLINE HISTORY QUIZ OFF TO A GOOD START

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In 2016 the South African Society for History Teaching launched a quiz based along similar lines of the well-known History Olympiad, but with a modern twist. The quiz is based on multiple choice questions and is completed on line. Careful consideration was given to naming the quiz and the madeSA – National History Quiz of Milestones and Legacies in South Africa was born.

After a successful pilot in 2015, the SASHT launched its first formal online quiz this year on 23 May. The focus for this year's questions was Resistance in South Africa during 1948-1964.

Schools that entered paid a nominal fee of R100-00 and schools from Gauteng, North West, KwaZulu Natal and Western Cape were represented. A total of 173 learners logged in to complete the test during the 90 minute window it was available on the website. Once they have logged on, learners had a limited time of 30 minutes in which to complete the test. The online programme further allowed just one opportunity to answer a question and once that have moved on, there was no going back to double check. The questions proved to be quite challenging but a total of 48 learners qualified for receiving a certificate for scoring above 50% average. Book prizes sponsored by SASHT were awarded to the top achievers.

The results for the top participants are: First place: Cyle Smith from Hoërskool Jan van Riebeeck; Second place: Grace Taylor from Cornwall Hill College; Third place is shared by: Nombuso Mthembu from Glenvista High and Sean Cameron from Cornwall Hill College.

The madeSA online quiz will be run annually and we believe participation will grow as the feedback from schools was very positive. The team responsible for making the quiz possible is Prof Elize van Eeden, Patrick McMahon, Jimmy Verner and Rika Odendaal-Kroon (coordinator).



Winner

Jason Cyle Smith from Hoërskool Jan van Riebeeck. Members of the SASHT visited the school to hand over his book prize and certificate.

From left to right: Prof R Siebörger (SASHT), Me V Swart (History teacher), Jason Cyle Smith, Mr Franken (principal) and Mr B Firth (SASHT)



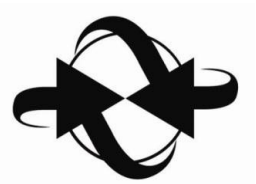
Second place

Grace Taylor from Cornwall Hill College with History teacher Me V du Toit



Third place is shared by:

Nombuso Mthembu from Glenvista High and Sean Cameron from Cornwall Hill College.



THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING

invites you to the

30th ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2016

Hosted by the SASHT, in conjunction with the Faculty of Education of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU).

Thursday 6 October to Friday 7 October 2016

Venue: Conference Centre, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University,
Missionvale Campus, Port Elizabeth

CONFERENCE THEME

Understandings of 'decolonising' curricula and history teaching

We call for papers/panel discussions that address one or more of the following sub-themes:

- Collective understandings of heritage in teaching history.
- Why should or shouldn't History be compulsory?
- The impact of the #everythingmustfall movement on the teaching of History.
- Teaching emotive and controversially perceived topics in History.
- Exploring the status of History in curricula and teaching at different levels for their colonised or 'decolonised' nature.
- Teaching regional and local histories in African contexts of understanding.
- Any other theme, preferably related to the main conference focus.

The programme will include presentation of papers (20 minutes) followed by 10 minutes for discussion. Poster presentations are also welcome. A display area will be available and poster presentations of 10 minutes will be scheduled.

A motivation can be made for panel sessions of 90 minutes each. Panel discussions will comprise three or more presenters who all focus on the same theme.

We invite you to submit abstracts for:

1. Individual papers (30 minutes): About 300-400 words: Paper title, names (s) of presenter(s), affiliation(s) and email address(es) and four to six keywords and the sub-theme into which the paper best fits.
2. Panel presentations (90 minutes): About 1 000 words: Panel topic, panel chairperson and names of panel participants, affiliation and email addresses of participants, four to six keywords and the sub-theme into which the panel best fits.
3. Poster presentations: Posters will be displayed in a public area and will also comply to a time programmed of 10 minutes during a walk-about. Explain the content focus of the poster presentation as envisaged. Four to six keywords and the sub-theme into which the paper best fits.

Abstracts must be done in MS Word format.

Submission of abstracts must be done via the conference's internet platform at: sashtconference@gmail.com

DEADLINES FOR ABSTRACTS & REGISTRATION

Abstract submission:	26 August 2016
Notification of abstract acceptance:	31 August 2016
Registration date open:	1 September 2016
Final date for registration:	30 September 2016

REGISTRATION & LODGING

More details on the conference registration fee as well as lodging possibilities will follow by end of July.

**Diarise the dates
See you in *The Bay!***



MINUTE
SASHT ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
10 October 2015
University of Limpopo

Core Executive:

- o Chairperson: Elize S van Eeden Elize.vanEeden@nwu.ac.za
- o Vice Chairperson: Henriette Lubbe lubbehj@unisa.ac.za
- o Secretariat: Susan Bester sjbdok@telkomsa.net

Additional members:

- Patrick McMahon (Website-Facebook portfolio & core meetings) mcmahons@netactive.co.za
- Jakes Manenzhe (General SASHT Marketing-DoE & other podiums) ManenzheJ@edu.limpopo.gov.za
- Siobhan Glanville-Miller (G- Province – FET marketing & reporting) Siobhan.glanvill@wits.ac.za
- Rob Siebörger (DoE; DBE and DHET-communication and GET-marketing//reporting) rob.sieborger@uct.ac.za
- Pieter Warnich (NW- Province rep. and Yesterday&Today editor) pieter.warnich@nwu.ac.za
- Barry Firth (WC- Province rep. and History Textbooks developments) barryfirth29@gmail.com
- Marshall Maposa (Popular SASHT-Teaching Journal exploring and Book Review reporting Yesterday&Today) maposamz@ukzn.ac.za

Co-opted members (for regional representative and/or particular sub- committee positions):

- Matthew Marwick (KwaZulu-Natal province regional representative) marwickm@mc.pmb.school.za
- Sunet Swanepoel (Northern Cape Province) sunet@museumsnc.co.za
- Keneilwe Mosala (Mpumalanga Province) kmosala@mpg.gov.za
- Wilfred Chauke (Limpopo Province) chaukew@gmail.com
- MG (Gladstone) Nhlapo (Free State) mgnhlapo@gmail.com
- Rika Odendaal-Krone (History Olympiad developments and Web-quiz) rikaod@gmail.com
- Eastern Cape representative -Vacant

1. Welcome and Personalia

Prof Elize van Eeden welcome all SASHT members at the Annual Meeting. The attendees pay their condolences to Mrs Henriette Lubbe (Vice-Chair) with the passing away of her sister.

2. Previous minute (11 October 2014) and matters from the minute

It is decided to accept a motion to change Clause 4.6 of the SASHT constitution to add the regional representatives as part of the SASHT Executive committee. The regional representatives are also elected for a three year term.

3. Chairperson's Report

3.1 Membership & Marketing

Up to date 85 paid up members are listed. The membership fee remained unchanged (R200 for individuals and R400 for institutions and the indicated amounts in the *Yesterday&Today* journal for members outside South Africa). Membership fees enable the SASHT to, among others, afford sponsoring needs during the annual conferences, journal publications twice annually and website maintenance. The developing of new initiatives like the annual national SASHT History Quiz, coordinated by Ms Rika Odendaal-Kroon, is also financially covered. Members are encouraged not to neglect their regular payment of membership fees.

3.2 History as compulsory subject

Prof Rob Siebörger has been tasked from 2014 to liaise on behalf of the SASHT with the Department of Education regarding the appointment of a Ministerial Task Team to oversee the implementation of compulsory history in the Further Education and Training schools. SASHT members can send their recommendations and comments on this matter to him. An SASHT Statement on the appointment of the Task Team will be compiled and submitted to the Department of Education and be communicated on the SASHT website.

3.3 The South African Book Fair (SABF)- Fr 31 July 2015- See Appendix A

During this event some leading historians and SASHT members debated present day matters regards school textbooks, the number of textbooks and also History as compulsory subject in South African schools. The representatives on the panel were:

Sarah Godsell (facilitator)
Prof Noor Nieftagodien
Prof Elize S van Eeden
Mrs Luli Callinicos
Mr Patrick McMahon

Mr Barry Firth
Ms Michelle Friedman

The SASHT invited educators to attend. Approximately 40 people attended and the SASHT also sponsored the refreshments afterwards.

3.4 SASHT-Website

Those who follow the SASHT-webpage and the Facebook sites know, that the SASHT is up and running. The latest news on the Oct SASHT quiz and the Facebook page links and draws attention to this. As a result, Patrick has reloaded all the issues of *Yesterday&Today* for the last 10 years, and has ensured that all past conferences are properly archived since 2009. History as a compulsory subject and the debate at Newtown were also communicated.

As the society is very much conference-driven, this is where the major interaction takes place, on the website and the Facebook page. After the conference in 2015 more content will be move to the archives (which can still be accessed!) and just leave the last few years of conferences on the main pages. Articles and discussion of various topics would also appreciated as they could be placed into the relevant pages on the website and have attention drawn to them on the Facebook page. The pilot stages of a History quiz will also be launch on the website. The SASHT appreciates Mr Patrick McMahon's efforts to maintain the SASHT website and Facebook despite a heavy everyday workload.

3.5 SASHT History Olympiad-MadeSA

The theme for this year is "Monuments and memorial parks in Gauteng". Fifty Multiple choice questions were compiled by J Verner, P McMahon, N Pereira. Mrs Rika Odendaal-Krone is the coordinator behind this initiative. The questions are posted on the web app Classmarker. The fee to do 250 tests has already been paid by the SASHT. Mrs Krone reported that two trials are carried out and it works well. As it started as a pilot, entry forms were only sent to 12 schools. (15 candidates per school). Everything seems in place to launch the first quiz and Mrs Odendaal-Krone indicated that there is still place for schools to enter this pilot quiz at this late stage. The tests that are not used in the round can be used next year. It is valid for one year and no fees are charged this year. Three book prizes sponsored by Red Pepper will be awarded. Mrs Krone and her team is thanked for the hard work behind the setting of this quiz, intended to go national if 2015's effort is successful.

3.6 SASHT Finances

The ABSA fixed Investment account further grow to R32 897.71.

The income of the ABSA savings account was R35 931 on 8 Sept 2015. SASHT income is mostly from membership fees and attendees paying for conference registration. Expenses since October 2014 are among others

the monthly payments for the Website (R1 100 per annum), SA Book Fair, Debate expenses (R1 700), Developing the SASHT Quiz Brand (R5700); Classmarker web app () and planning (R500) and added to these the usual bank fee expenses. The Conference expenses will take up most of the funds in the savings account, but it is hoped that the SASHT will be able to remain with a debit of about R13 000 for 2016. The expenses for the *Yesterday&Today* is solely afforded by some generosity coming from the NWU and the Y&T account opened at the NWU and that generates limited income from authors liable to pay page fees.

4. Vice Chairperson's Report

Eastern Cape

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

Free State

Unfortunately it is impossible to report on History-related activities in the Free State other than the Unisa History Skills Training Workshop in Welkom presented by Henriëtte Lubbe towards the end of January 2015, as no feedback was received from the current SASHT regional representative in that province.

The said two-day workshop formed part of a Unisa-funded community engagement project but, like all similar workshops, created a useful opportunity to publicise the activities of the SASHT and encourage teachers to become members of the Society.

In terms of content, the workshop focused on using thinking maps as practical tools for data collection (research), teaching, assessment and community building. It also acknowledged and celebrated the impressive achievement of the group in die 2014 final Grade 12 examination, when all project participants achieved a Grade 12 pass rate of between 82% and 100%.

Gauteng

From Gauteng Siobhan Glanvill-Miller reports that 2015 has been a difficult year to organise any specific events at the Wits School of Education, largely because of the rewriting of the entire B.Ed. programme, the increased teaching load of the History lecturers, and significantly larger numbers of students in most classes. 'Whilst this has been a challenge', Siobhan says, 'it is exciting to see that, in spite of no Funza funding, there are still students who are prepared to become History educators in the Primary and Secondary Schools.' Many of her students reported that the reason why they wanted to teach History was because they had had wonderful teachers at some point in their school careers,

and that they realised that with a passionate and knowledgeable teacher, History is a wonderful subject.

Siobhan's colleague, Michelle Friedman, continued to make an important contribution

towards in-service teacher training by facilitating workshops at Constitution Hill organised and sponsored by the South African Historical Archives (SAHA). These workshops covered the teaching of Apartheid from 1948 until its demise, with a particularly popular workshop on teaching about the TRC. In addition, Marj Brown from Roedean Senior School in Johannesburg, presented a very successful workshop for SAHA on the 1913 Land Act based on her own research on land claims.

Siobhan also conducted several workshops on the challenges of teaching about race in South African classrooms and teaching about the sinking of the SS Mendi. The format of the interventions during 2015 was half-day workshops every few months which created a group of regulars who freely shared ideas about their own classroom experiences.

Siobhan reports that Catherine Kennedy and her team at SAHA are passionate about getting their rich archival materials into the schools. She would like to encourage other educators to make use of these opportunities as SAHA generously offers the workshops free of charge and teachers leave with great resources and new ideas. We thank our colleagues from SAHA for their valuable contribution to History Education in Gauteng.

Siobhan and Michelle were also fortunate to attend a special function held at the Swedish Embassy in Pretoria facilitated by the DBE and a Swedish initiative called the Living History Forum. This is a programme that is sponsored by the Swedish Government to promote tolerance and respect among the youth using the past. The event gave Siobhan and Michelle a chance to engage with representatives from the DBE and with the leaders of COSAS about the issue of compulsory history in schools.

They listened to Khulekani Skhosana from COSAS, who explained that young people felt frustrated about not being taught History before Apartheid and that they wanted to know more about their own roots before colonialism. At the same embassy function, the Department of Education officials gave the assurance that there would be more public engagement and a round table discussion before the Minister would go ahead with the implementation of the proposal to introduce History as a compulsory subject. Although the details of this Government initiative are still unclear and the focus of a current investigation by a government-appointed task team, one positive outcome may be the extension of Funza bursaries to include History – something that Siobhan and her colleagues have been wanting for their students for a long time.

According to Siobhan, the Swedish participants at the workshop could not believe that South Africa does not have compulsory History as all European

countries do. She summarises it well by saying: ‘Perhaps we need to see this as an opportunity rather than a challenge and use all our resources to produce the best history teachers who will not be mere tools of indoctrination? Let’s keep the Society involved as much as we can in these debates.’

KwaZulu-Natal

Matthew Marwick reports from KwaZulu-Natal that SASHT-related activities in KZN ‘have been bubbling on a low heat’, since the region successfully hosted the SASHT Annual Conference in September 2013. However, the two KZN-based representatives, Simon Haw and Matthew Marwick, have put together a three-day and two-night History tour of the KZN battlefields, aimed at especially History learners in Grade 10, and have offered the package to certain schools in Pietermaritzburg. The tour, which is stated to be a combined SASHT/Maritzburg College initiative, enabled learners to attend the established ‘Talana Live’ commemorations in Dundee on 17 October 2015, including the re-enactment of the Battle of Talana by the renowned ‘Dundee Diehards’. It includes visits to the battlefields at Isandlwana, Rorke’s Drift, Blood River and Spioenkop, a visit to the Churchill capture site near Frere, and a stop-over at the Siege Museum in Ladysmith. It is hoped that the tour, which has realistic ambitions in this its inaugural year, will become an annual one, and that it will attract much wider learner support in the future.

Limpopo

The state of History teaching in the Province

SASHT Regional Representative for Limpopo, Wilfred Chauke, reports that it was not possible to organise a provincial one-day History conference this year, partly because of hosting the 2015 SASHT Annual Conference in October. The History Subject Coordinators nevertheless met monthly to update one another on History-related activities in their respective areas. The Province’s Curriculum Advisors also met periodically to address areas that are critical to the subject. One such area is the Grade 12 pass rate. The 2014 National Senior Certificate Results indicated that 74.9% of the 11202 candidates passed compared to 70.4% in 2013. A target of 80% has been set for 2015.

The Curriculum Advisors studied the Diagnostic Report of the two History papers and conducted subject meetings with teachers across the Province. The focus of the meetings was to involve teachers in addressing the challenges that had been identified. The Provincial Coordinator was over-stretched this year as some of the districts did not have curriculum advisors. However, a few curriculum advisors from other subjects have since joined History.

Answering essay questions in general and sustaining a line of argument, as well as answering paragraph questions and Level 3 source-based questions were critical to improving learner performance. Common Papers, produced by selected teachers under the guidance of the curriculum advisors, were used in districts to help maintain and improve the level of performance. At times, some circuits, or groups of schools collaborated in designing formal tasks. This practice assisted in building networks among teachers and enhancing the quality of formal tasks.

Moreover, cluster or circuit meetings were held throughout the five districts, while in some districts content workshops and memo discussions were conducted to assist teachers, particularly newly appointed teachers or those who had recently been allocated to teach History. The main reason for the introduction of new teachers into the subject, is the high History enrolment during 2015. Subject Committees under the guidance of curriculum advisors have been instrumental in assisting these new teachers.

SASHT Conference (2015)

Probably the most important SASHT-related event in Limpopo Province during 2015 was the Society's Annual Conference hosted by the University of Limpopo in cooperation with representatives from the Limpopo Department of Education.

Although the conference organisers faced a whole range of logistical challenges (see the report submitted by the Chief Conference Organiser elsewhere in this issue), the conference turned out to be a big success. The keynote speaker, Prof Barney Pityana from the University of Cape Town, impressed delegates with an academically solid and compassionate keynote address which generated a standing ovation from the audience. Compared to many previous SASHT conferences, this conference also represented greater cultural diversity, and it is hoped that the trend will be sustained at future conferences.

History Skills Training Workshop (July 2015)

The Unisa History Department once again came to the assistance of Limpopo History teachers in the form of a History Skills Training Workshop presented by Henriëtte Lubbe in Polokwane on 17 July 2015. The workshop was dedicated to the late former State President Nelson Mandela as it was held on the day just prior to his birthday. All workshop activities related to research skills, oral interviewing, poster-making and assessment of research tasks were structured around the leadership and personality traits that made Madiba a world icon. All the participants were excited about the day's work and looked forward to taking their learners through similar activities. It is hoped that this involvement by Unisa will motivate the teachers to teach the subject more creatively and with greater passion and commitment.

Mpumalanga

SASHT regional representative for Mpumalanga, Keneilwe Mosala, who services the eMalahleni sub-district in particular, reports that, in addition to discussions around the provincial Moderator's and Diagnostic reports, various intervention workshops were conducted in the Province during 2015. In February 2015, printed copies of the marking memoranda for the 2014 NSC exam and documents on other curriculum matters were circulated to all the schools in the Province, while content workshops were held in March focusing on problem areas relating to Papers 1 and 2. During these workshops teachers could share ideas around how to teach challenging topics; participate in essay marking using the marking matrix; discuss what to consider when working with sources and how to implement this in teaching and learning activities; and learn from teachers with good NSC results how to prepare learners for the final examination.

On 26 August 2015 a History Day was held during which the teachers in the Steve Tshwete municipality covered the revision of the content for Paper 1 under the guidance of the Subject Advisor. This led to an improvement in the learner performance in the Trial Exam. Finally, the Subject Advisor gave out the SASHT membership form to all the teachers and encouraged them to become members.

Among the challenges facing History teachers in Mpumalanga are the lack of a Provincial Coordinator for History; the language barrier which negatively influences learner performance; and the tendency among some schools to phase out History on the grounds that History learners (usually those facing a language barrier) do not do well in the NCS Examination.

Northern Cape

Sunet Swanepoel of the McGregor Museum in Kimberley reports that the Museum opened two significant displays during 2014/15 to which schools were invited. In October 2014 an exciting temporary exhibition titled 'For Future Generations' was opened at the Duggan-Cronin Gallery. The exhibition showcased the collection of the International Library of African Music (ILAM) at Rhodes University in Grahamstown. The exhibition is currently touring South Africa and makes use of artefacts, photographs and audio-visual features to give visitors a picture of the history of African music.

In May 2015 the McGregor Museum hosted Sport and Recreation South Africa's exhibition titled 'Sport in the Struggle: Honouring the Forgotten History'. This exhibition is a sport history project that tells the stories of the forgotten heroes of sport who were denied the opportunity to excel on national and international levels of sport as a result of Apartheid.

The McGregor Museum also hosted the launch of the first ever children's dictionary in a San language. At the same time local San participants were invited to the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre to hear about the creation of

mother tongue materials in San languages using Ju ǀhoansi as an example for ǀXun and ǀKhwe.

By providing free access, and with the Department of Education providing free transport, more than 2000 learners from various schools in the Kimberley area, including Herlear, Tlhomelang, Venus Primary, Thabane High School, Masiza Primary and Endeavour Primary, visited the McGregor Museum during March 2015.

On 5 May 2015 the Museum's oral historian, Mr Sephai Mngqolo, presented a talk and a tour of the Galeshewe precinct to 13 Sol Plaatje University students, and on 7 May 2015 he gave another talk on Northern Cape liberation struggle heroes to students from Chatham University, Pittsburgh, USA. In addition, Maria Pienaar, a post-graduate student at North West University, presented a talk at the Museum on 20 May 2015 in celebration of Africa month. This talk was titled 'African Indigenous Sciences: Healing the Mother Continent' and was attended by 49 members of the public.

Also during May 2015, Walking Tall (PAST) in collaboration with the McGregor Museum, gave a dramatised presentation on evolution to the public, educators and learners, while in June the Museum co-hosted field training of 16 students from Sol Plaatje University and five from Toronto University (Canada) at Canteen Kopje.

In 30 June the Museum hosted a Freedom Charter Memorial Lecture in celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, and on 14 July 2015 a lecture by Dr Michael Epkenhans of Potsdam in Germany, titled 'Germany and the First World War'.

History teaching in the Northern Cape also faces some serious challenges. With the assistance of the Unisa History Department, and the offer of full funding by Unisa and the SASHT Executive, it was attempted to organise a History Skills Training Workshop for History educators in the Northern Cape during April 2015. Unfortunately this workshop never materialised due to lack of support from the Northern Cape Education Department.

North West Province

Potchefstroom Schools' Oral History Project

SASHT regional representative for North West Province, Dr Pieter Warnich, invited a history teacher from one of the schools in Potchefstroom's informal settlement to accompany him to deliver a paper at the 3rd Community Engagement Symposium hosted by the School of Educational Sciences, Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University on 22-23 June 2015.

The invited teacher completed his B. Ed degree in 2013 at the North West University (Potchefstroom Campus), majoring in History and English. In 2011 he was one of the History students that participated in the Potchefstroom Schools' Oral History Project that was initiated and managed by the Institute

for Justice and Reconciliation and the North West Department for Basic Education. This project dealt with the renaming of public places and street names in an attempt to contribute to building an inclusive society that seeks to promote reconciliation in the town of Potchefstroom where black and white residents were divided on the issue of name changes.

In preparation for the presentation at the symposium, the teacher faced the challenge of designing for the first time a Power Point presentation for his paper titled 'Building democracy by embracing diversity and expanding community engagement through the Potchefstroom Schools' Oral History Project'. After receiving the necessary guidance and support, he delivered a lively and thought-provoking presentation to a receptive audience on the aim, the roll-out and results of the project. His conference experience ultimately inspired him to continue with his studies and register for an Honours degree in History Education.

History Skills Training Workshops

Having heard about the Unisa History Skills Training Workshops from his Limpopo colleagues, the provincial History Curriculum Coordinator for North West Province, Kgosiemang Mothobi, approached the Unisa History Department with a request to extend its Community Engagement project to North West Province. This gave rise to four workshops (Mafikeng, Hebron, Klerksdorp and Vryburg), reaching 180 History teachers across the Province. These workshops focused on developing research skills, assessing research assignments and teaching first-time essay writing as these have been identified as major developmental areas across the country. Several follow-up workshops are being planned for 2016, and information about the SASHT will be circulated to all workshop participants. It is hoped that many of these educators will ultimately become members of the Society.

Western Cape

In the Western Cape, SASHT regional representative Barry Firth organised two events. The first took place on 5 August 2015 when Rivonia trialist Denis Goldberg addressed learners and teachers from five different schools in the Western Cape. The theme for Goldberg's presentation was 'Looking forward by looking back'. This allowed learners to assess their own sense of agency by becoming aware of how Goldberg experienced his role in the Struggle. Learners broke up into small groups to answer two questions: 'Are we doing enough?' and 'What can we do?' They then reported back to the larger group. Barry reports that it was good to listen to young people expressing appreciation for actions of the past. More importantly, he found their hope for the future particularly inspiring.

The second project focused on providing support to History educators. On 19 August 2015 a marking workshop was held. This workshop was hosted by the SASHT and presented by Anthony Lister, chief marker for History Paper 2. It was attended by twenty four educators from three EMDC's and covered issues around marking, standards, process and rigour. The link between practice and assessment was made explicit, and it was emphasised that assessment should inform practice. It is hoped that some of those who attended this workshop will apply to act as markers during the 2015 final examination.

5. Editor's Report- *Yesterday&Today* Journal

The *Yesterday&Today* journal which is currently published in conjunction with the SASHT is making excellent progress as a scholarly journal. As an accredited journal since 2012 it has showed an impact factor of 0.0233 calculated on the citation of the articles for the last three years. The journal is also linked to the open access Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO) platform that has been viewed to date more than three million times. Apart from the SciELO platform the Journal is also linked to Boloka which is an open access institutional repository of the North-West University. All the articles are also available in the e-journals that can be seen on the SASHT website at: <http://www.sashtw.org.za>. From 2016 each article will be assigned with a unique serial number (Digital Object Identifiers) which will further increase the visibility, accessibility and indexibility of the Journal nationally and internationally.

When comparing the statistics of 2014 and 2015 (see table) regarding the top countries in the world that views *Yesterday&Today*, it is clear that it is making great strides to established itself as a reputable educationally focused History journal:

Statistics: Top country views	
<u>2014</u>	<u>2015</u>
➤ United States : 139	➤ United States : 257
➤ South Africa: 99	➤ South Africa: 189
➤ Germany: 41	➤ Germany: 113
➤ United Kingdom: 38	➤ United Kingdom: 45
➤ China: 31	➤ China: 48
➤ France: 25	➤ France: 53
➤ Canada: 14	➤ Canada: 16
➤ Zimbabwe: 5	➤ Russian Federation: 96
	➤ Ukraine: 7
	➤ Hong Kong: 6

6. New Matters

6.1 Constitutional changes

It is decided to accept a motion to change Clause 4.6 of the SASHT constitution to add the regional representatives as part of the SASHT executive team. Regional representatives will be also elected for a three year term. This arrangement has been accepted by the meeting.

6.2 Conference 2016

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) - Port Elizabeth. Prof Rob Siebörger and NMMU-representative Mr Dave Edley will be working on the conference topic and possible date for hosting the 2016 conference soon.

6.3 Joint Conference ISHD-SASHT 2017

International Society for History Didactics Conference ISHD- in conjunction with the SASHT as guest, will host an international conference in 2017 in the NWU-Vaal Triangle area. Dr Pieter Warnich is the chief organiser.

Prof van Eeden give thanks to the SASHT executive and regional representatives as well as Dr Warnich for their passionate inputs to ensure that quality in the teaching of History and dissemination of research in History and History education remains high on personal agendas. Mr Jakes Manenzhe in particular is thanked for having pulled extraordinary efforts to make the milestone conference in Limpopo, the first ever in this province, possible. The participants is thanked for their overwhelming support of attending the conference (about 60 attended). Also the presenters of papers are acknowledged, especially the meritorious key note of Prof Barney Pityana



PROGRAMME

APPENDIX A

The **South African Bookfair**, in collaboration with the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT), are hosting an event entitled *Monuments, memory, legacies, reality and all other textbook stuff... the status and future of History as (compulsory) subject* on Friday 31 July, at 12:30pm, and we would like to invite you to participate.

Join the participants with Pearson in discussion with some leading historians and members of the SASHT on some contentious present day matters regards school textbooks, the number of textbooks and history as (compulsory) subject in South African schools. Also hear about an exciting national quiz in History for schools to be launched soon!

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BOOK FAIR 2015 – A FIRST FOR JOBURG

For the first-time ever, The South African Book Fair (SABF) will be held in Johannesburg, South Africa's industrial and cultural centre. It promises to bring to Jozi a literary festival like no other and will be held at the beautiful and historic Turbine Hall in Newtown, 31 July – 2 August 2015. A big bookfair in South Africa's big city is big news, and we are excited for this inaugural event!

The 2015 three-day programme will feature book launches and signings, author interviews, literary workshops and forums, exhibitions and displays, and much more. Friday is a dedicated schools and library day, with a committed and carefully crafted literary programme for learners and educators.

The SABF 2015 will enjoy a comprehensive marketing and publicity campaign, online, radio, print and outdoor media, website social media, before, during and after the event. The wide appeal and importance of this fair has prompted a decision to alternate between Johannesburg and Cape Town – an innovative move that will ensure that SABF has the greatest impact on South African readers and also becomes entrenched as a major book event on the African continent.

The Fair hopes to offer amongst others, a children's zone, a poetry slam, and three breakaways rooms that will offer around 40 diverse sessions – from serious discussion around topical issues and current affairs to fun chats with authors and local celebrities. Through events, exhibits, readings and debates, we hope to make books and words come to life, and we hope you will join us.



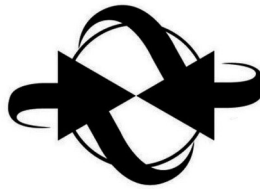
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**SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY
FOR HISTORY TEACHING
(SASHT)**

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 text** must be used sparingly. If used, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and **NOT** in italics. Example: An owner close to the town stated that: “the pollution history of the river is a muddy business”.
15. Quotes (**as part of the body text**) must be in double inverted commas: “...and she” and **NOT** ‘...and she’.
16. **Images: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures:** Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript’s body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.
Example: **Image 1: ‘Image title’** (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.
Sources of all images should also be included after the ‘Image title’.
Example: **Source: ‘The source’** (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.
Important note: All the images should be of good quality (a minimum resolution of 200dpi is required; if the image is not scanned).
17. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text. Example: the end.¹ **NOT** ...the end¹.
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 Transgariëp tot 1870* (Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein, 1989), pp. 33-34.

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

Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book

From:

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

To:

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

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book

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

Shortened version:

S Brown, “Diplomacy by other means...”, C Leys, JS Saul et.al, *Namibia’s liberation struggle...*, pp. 19-39.

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

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

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

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

or

Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references:

• Interview(s)

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

• Example of interview reference

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

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

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

• Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter

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

• National archives (or any other archive)

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

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

A source accessed on the Internet

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

A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:

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

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

Shortened version:

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

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

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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(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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