Yesterday & Today

No. 16, December 2016

The Yesterday & Today is a scholarly, peer-reviewed and educationally focused History journal. It is indexed by the South African Department of Higher Education and Training. The journal is currently published in conjunction with The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) under the patronage of the School of Basic Sciences, Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University. Open access to the journal is available on the SASHT, the SciELO and the Boloka websites. The Website addresses to find previous and current issues of the Yesterday&Today journal are:

http://www.sashtw.org.za

AND

http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_issues&pid=2223 0386&lng=en&nrm=iso

AND

http://dspace.nwu.ac.za/handle/10394/5126

Two peer-reviewed issues are annually published.

Journal focus and vision

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

History teaching: Refers to research reports dealing with the methodology (didactics) and practice of History teaching.

Educational history: The history of any education-related theme is reported.

History research: Relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in the History curricula of Southern Africa. It is recommended that all the contributions should reference to either the GET or the FET or HET curriculum content. A theme of choice should also be linked to ways of HOW to educationally utilise the latter in teaching History in general, and or the classroom in particular.

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

Hands-on reports: Are articles based on authors' personal experiences/opinions with history within or outside the classroom.

Notes to contributors (see template style sheet and reference guidelines on the last pages of this issue)

Manuscripts, in English, not exceeding 15 pages (8000 to 10 000 words) in 1.5 spacing and 12pt font should be submitted electronically to the editor as a Microsoft Word attachment. Images (such as photographs, graphics, figures and diagrams) are welcome. A summary/ abstract in anyone of the official South African languages must be included. Contributors are encouraged to submit articles written in a clear, reader-friendly style.

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

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

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

Layout and Publishing

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

Printers
Bontshi Business Services Pty (Ltd), Wierda Park, Centurion, Pretoria
Tel: +27 (0)12 653 7263

Postal address – Yesterday&Today

Dr Pieter Warnich
Faculty of Education Sciences, School of Human and Social Sciences for Education
North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus
Private Bag X6001, Potchefstroom, 2520

Telephone: (018) 299 4728
Email: pieter.warnich@nwu.ac.za

Ronelle van Staden (Admin assistant)
Email: 20505957@nwu.ac.za

Lebo Serobane (Journal distributor & subscriptions)
E-mail: 22391282@nwu.ac.za

Local subscriptions
R 400.00 for institutions
R200.00 for individual members

Overseas subscribers
US $60 or GB £40

ISSN 2223-0386 (Print version)
ISSN 2309-9003 (Online version)

Contents

EDITORIAL

In the 2016 December edition of *Yesterday&Today* educators of history can look forward to a variety of thought-provoking and insightful research articles on history theory and critical pedagogy. The scientific research section contains topics such as the need for multi-perspectives, oral history and historiography in a history course for preservice teachers; the politics of gendering decolonisation and decolonising gender within the framework of the South African history curriculum; an analysis of the depiction of women in a Malawian history textbook; utilising the Stone Age for sport historical teaching; and a historical survey of the development of Afrocentricity. The two articles in the hands-on section refer to valuing heritage and teaching good citizenship in schools in a post-colonial, post-apartheid era, followed by possible methodological approaches in the teaching and assessment of Holocaust history and the theories of race.

In the first scientific research article entitled, *A history teacher educator's reflections after classroom observations: the need for multi-perspectives, oral history and historiography in a history methodology course,* Reville Nussey argues that with South Africa's contested past it is important for preservice teachers' historical consciousness to develop in order to present a multi-perspective view of history in their classrooms once they become practising teachers. For this to happened Nussey believes a shift is necessary in history teachers' teaching and learning from a one-dimensional approach that splits "fact" and interpretation to a multi-perspective view which allows for the interrelationship of interpretations and "facts". After observing practising teachers - who were former preservice teachers - teaching a history oral task, Nussey decided to recommend changes to an existing history methodology course. He suggests that for preservice teachers to understand the different interpretations of the past, it is necessary to link their oral history narratives to an understanding of aspects of historiography.

In the first of the two articles relating to woman and gender, *The South African high school history curriculum and the politics of gendering decolonisation and decolonising gender,* Lindsay Wills argues that gender and gender theory should form an integral part of a decolonised history curriculum. She critically analyses to what extent the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) satisfies the basic requirements put forward by feminist historians and gender activists, finding the current curriculum lacking in

expectation. She convincingly claims that the curriculum fails to effectively capture the deeper complexities of women's experiences and contributions within a historical context of race interacting with class and gender. Wills concludes that gendering history in a decolonised South African curriculum would require the revisiting of many of the topics to analytically explore and establish how gender has functioned as a significant axis of power.

Annie Chiponda and Johan Wassermann in their article entitled, *The depiction of women in the verbal text of a junior secondary Malawian history textbook – an analysis,* explore ways in which women are depicted in the textbook studied and also seek for reasons why they are depicted in this way. Drawn on the feminist theory, the verbal text of the book under discussion was qualitatively analysed. Their research findings show – as is also the case globally – that women are under-represented, marginalised, subordinated, oppressed and stereotyped in various ways. Due to teachers and learners often considering textbooks to be authoritative and accurate, Chiponda and Wassermann caution that these portrayals will send out negative and distorted messages about women. In conclusion the authors recommend that the junior history syllabus and textbooks be revised and updated to be aligned with the Malawian constitution and legal policies aimed at promoting gender equality.

In his article, *Utilising the Stone Age for sport historical teaching,* Francois Cleophas maintains that students are generally resentful when they are expected to study sport practices of ancient civilisations, such as the Stone Age period. He succeeds in converting historical knowledge into pedagogical communication by combining the Canadian Benchmarking project with the revised Bloom's taxonomy for teaching ancient culture to undergraduate students of sport history. Students were requested to utilise various activities that involve their cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains to compile a narrative of ancient sport practices in pre-colonial "Stellenbosch". The article concludes with the students' reflection on their experiences in the creation of their narratives. In the process some interesting suggestions for future pedagogical activities of this nature were also made.

In his article, *The development of Afrocentricity: A historical survey,* Midas Chawane maintains that although the origin of Afrocentricity as an idea and philosophy cannot be established with certainty, it is nevertheless clear that the ideology emerged in reaction from African scholars challenging the traditional Eurocentric perspective that places Europeans' contributions at the epicentre and downplays or excludes the role played by Africans in world

history. Although admitting that Afrocentricity is a controversial issue and investigating the criticism levelled against it, Chawane believes it should become part of an on-going academic debate. He argues that such a debate will help to seek solutions for the current problems and demands at some universities where the call for a decolonised curriculum are made.

In the first hands-on article entitled, *Some considerations for History teachers in acknowledging and valuing heritage and teaching good citizenship at schools in a post-colonial, post-apartheid era,* Paul Haupt emphasises the importance of taking cognisance of the multi-faced perspectives of heritage within the school community. He argues that educators, and especially History teachers, have an important role to play to reflect in their writing and teaching the pride that the preservation of local history instils in communities. He believes that a healthy debate between the various segments of society (of which the school is but a microcosm) regarding differing perspectives on heritage is essential. When tolerance and mutual respect and recognition for different opinions are acknowledged and consensus can be reached on a common humanity, Haupt believes it will cultivate a sense of belonging that will ultimately foster good citizenship.

In the second hands-on article, *Assessment in the teaching of Holocaust history and theories of race,* Lesley Cushman draws on the contributions of various scholars and bodies when teaching difficult and controversial histories. She argues that when teaching and assessing this particular kind of content, it has to be well thought out and cannot merely be seen as just another academic exercise. She examines four Grade 11 History textbooks by performing a rigorous analysis of sample questions to illustrate the difficulties commonly encountered in the teaching and assessment of the topic "Theories of race". In the process, Cushman provides insightful suggestions on assessment strategies and aspects such as the interpretation and phrasing of assessment questions, impartiality and neutrality. Cushman's contribution will undoubtedly be of value to teachers teaching and assessing content within the context of the human rights History classroom.

In the book review section, Leevina Iyer critically reviews Michael Morris's, *Every step of the way: The journey to freedom in South Africa.* This is followed by Bafana Mpanza's review of Phillip Kgosana's autobiography, entitled, *Lest we forget: An autobiography.*

Apart from the above contributions, this edition of *Yesterday&Today* also includes information on the South African Society for History Teaching's

(SASHT's) conference programme. This conference was held from 6 to 7 October 2016 at Pine Lodge in Port Elizabeth. The presidential speech of the chairperson of the SASHT, Prof. Elize van Eeden, is also included. Furthermore, a photo collage can be seen that was compiled of those who attended the conference. This edition concludes with a SASHT regional report which elaborates on the activities of the regional representatives in the different provinces of South Africa.

Finally, the International Society for History Didactics (ISHD) in conjunction with, the SASHT: as host, is pleased to announce that the annual conference in 2017 will be an international conference, and will take place from 13-15 September 2017 at the Riverside Sun Hotel, cor. Wenning and Emfuleni Drive, Vanderbijlpark. See included on the last pages the conference... The conference theme and call for papers will be announced during January. Also consult the SASHT website for updated information on this conference.

A History teacher educator's reflections after classroom observations: The need for multi-perspectives, oral history and historiography in a history methodology course

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2016/n16a1

Reville Nussey
Muckleneuk campus, University of South Africa
rnussey@gmail.com

Abstract

Given current debates about South Africa's contested past, how could teacher educators address this issue with preservice teachers so that their historical understanding develops and they present a multi-perspective view of history in practice? The underlying problem this question raises is how to shift teachers' approaches to history teaching from one that splits "fact" and interpretation in a one-dimensional account, to a multi-perspective view which acknowledges the interrelationship of interpretations and "facts". This article's purpose is to reflect on what I learnt for my own practice as a teacher educator after I observed eight practising teachers, who were former preservice teachers, teach an oral history task. The results of this research led me to propose changes to a history methodology course. I suggest firstly that preservice teachers scrutinise claims to "the truth" in oral history accounts through the "sins" of memory, which they use to re-examine "the truth" claims in their personal oral history tasks. Secondly, by exploring major developments in South African historiography, this provides a framework that shows how multi-perspectives arise and how the "politics of interpretation" informs the different "schools" of historiography. This process helps the preservice teachers examine the interrelationship between some of the "big" ideas found in historiography with the "small" ideas in their oral history tasks. It also aims to plant the seeds of doubt about history being a fixed body of knowledge, so that the preservice teachers might present a multi-perspective view of history once they become practising teachers. Adapting this process to their own context could provide a way for teacher educators in other countries to address similar issues with preservice history teachers.

Keywords: History teacher educator; Historiography; Multi-perspective past; Memory; Oral history; Preservice History teachers; Practising History teachers.

Introduction

In 2015 a newspaper letter and a report called for different historical perspectives to be taught at South African schools. The former, from a post-colonial perspective, stressed "Africans as the subject, not the object" (Mosalakae, 2015); the latter, from an Afrikaner perspective, claimed that Afrikaner history was being ignored in favour of a history of "the struggle" (Nel, 2015). The context for these different views was one of the calls to make history a compulsory school subject for the Further Education and Training (FET) phase (Grades 10-12) in May 2015.[1] These differing views about what history should be taught in schools shows how contested the South African past is in the public domain of a post-conflict country.

A problem that underpins the above debate is the way that history is frequently taught in South African schools, where many history teachers present the subject as a fixed body of knowledge, where there is a split between "fact" and interpretation. I observed this split in some primary school history classrooms[2] with the way that many teachers focused on the "facts" from their pupils' oral history tasks based on themes related to apartheid. There was no acknowledgement by the teachers of the interpretative framework that underpinned the establishment of these "facts", or that alternative interpretations were possible. This means that there is a need to include multi-perspectives, defined as "a notion of a plurality of perspectives [which] may refer to both diversity of past historical perspectives as well as diversity of present understandings of the past" (Klein, 2010:615) in the history classroom. There is support for a multi-perspective approach in the current curriculum (Department of Education (DBE), 2011:12), but the difficulty lies in translating this approach into practice. This led me to pose the following research question: how could teacher educators address these competing claims about a multi-perspective South African past with preservice history teachers in a manner that develops their historical understanding and affects their practice in history classrooms?

The above question raises issues regarding history education that are broader than the South African context. Some historians and teacher educators in other countries have suggested that part of the answer lies in exposing

1 The call for history to be made compulsory for the FET phase has led to the establishment of a History Ministerial Task Team to investigate this possibility as well as other issues related to history in the curriculum (Government Gazette no 39267, 9 October 2015).

2 The classroom observations were conducted in two public primary schools and one independent school in Johannesburg between 2009 and 2011. Eight teachers who taught from Grades 4 to 7 were observed.

preservice teachers to the disciplinary underpinnings of history (Yilmaz, 2008; Fellace, 2009; Parkes, 2011). In this article, I argue that reviewing an oral history assignment, based on a topic such as "Life before and after 1994 in South Africa", has the potential to develop a more in-depth understanding of the discipline with preservice teachers. But there is a need to make the disciplinary connections explicit by exploring some of the issues that affect the claims to knowledge that oral history makes within the discipline, and by linking the preservice teachers' oral history narratives to an understanding of aspects of historiography. Yilmaz (2008:167) both defines and gives a reason for doing historiography with teachers in the following way: "Because historiography deals critically with historical accounts of the past or modes of historical writing over time through philosophical, methodological, and epistemological questions, it can help teachers develop a sophisticated conception of history". This can also apply to preservice teachers.

The importance of historiography is acknowledged in the discipline of history, but it is part of an ongoing, highly contentious debate, which is beyond the scope of this article to discuss in detail (Evans, 1997; Eley, 2005; Jenkins, 2009; Munslow, 2012; Van Eeden, 2016). But linking some of the debates in historiography to the preservice teachers' oral history tasks, presents an opportunity to contextualise these debates and to explore the possible ramifications for teaching history in the classroom.

The purpose of this article is to reflect on the final part of my narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connolly, 2000), as to what I learnt as a result of this research for my own practice as a history teacher educator, and to explore the broader implications of addressing a multi-perspective past with preservice teachers via historiography and oral history

Background

Some teacher educators (McCardle & Edwards, 2006; Johnson, 2007) claim that the doing of oral history in social sciences courses helps to position preservice teachers as historians. But this is done in the sense that they begin to understand the way that oral history interviews become, in Field's (2008a:1) definition, "dialogues about memory … [and that] … there are multiple ways of interpreting memories and stories that reveal the nuances of subjectivity, agency and identity formation". There is an additional claim. McCardle and Edwards (2006:232) found that using oral history provided an experience

of learning how "to be effective educators by being engaged in learning and teaching experiences originating in effective practices". They also suggested that it would be important to do further investigation as to whether the doing of oral history tasks with preservice teachers had any effect on these teachers once they became practising history teachers.

There is research that has followed preservice teachers into the history classroom in order to examine the effects of history methodology courses on their practice (Martell, 2013; Barton & Levstik, 2015), but there is little evidence of research into how the doing of oral history assignments with preservice teachers has affected their practice once they became teachers at schools. This was one of the reasons why I followed eight former preservice primary school teachers into their history classrooms at three primary schools in Johannesburg once they became practising teachers. I observed these teachers teaching oral history tasks that they devised themselves on topics of their choice, and interviewed them after their lessons. One of the results of these observations was the finding that the doing of oral history tasks during their history methodology courses at university had mixed results on these teachers' teaching practice once they became in-service teachers (Nussey, 2013). This led me to consider alternative ways to shift history teachers' practice, and in the next section, I consider the implications of the proposal to incorporate historiography in history education.

Historiography in history education

The proposal to use historiography in history education elicits views both in favour and against this idea. In the South African context, Kallaway (2012) has suggested that historiography should be included in the school curriculum. Ludlow (2012) has argued that the omission of historiography in the current curriculum is problematic, and demonstrated how historiography could be introduced in practice by applying it to sections on Ghana with secondary school learners. Internationally, there are those who favour including historiography in history education, like the historian Parkes (2011:102), who has argued that the "historiographer's gaze" be included in the teaching and learning of history. The reason he gives is that "historiography as a metatheoretical discourse … extends the gaze of the historian to everything, even themselves, revealing the historical specificity of all forms of historical knowledge and practice". In the American context, Fellace (2009) described the ongoing development of a course with preservice history teachers, which showed some of the challenges and successes of

making explicit the links between historiography and pedagogy. He argued that this application showed how Shulman's idea of pedagogical content knowledge could be implemented with some preservice history teachers. But fellow Americans Barton and Levstik (2004) have questioned the idea that the more preservice or practising teachers know about the discipline of history, the better teachers they will make. On the basis of their own classroom observations and other research with preservice and practising history teachers, Barton and Levstik (2004) present a counter-argument which suggests that what history teachers do in the classroom is very different to the practice of historians. Despite a few exceptions, irrespective of exposure to ideas concerning the interpretative nature of history in their methodology courses, Barton and Levstik (2004:252-253) found that in practice most teachers focus on "coverage" of the history curriculum and "classroom control" over their students. This means that these teachers usually adopt a "facts only" approach to the teaching and learning of history.

One of the results of my observations of the use of various oral history tasks in the primary school classroom supported Barton and Levstik's view that teachers' practice emphasises the "facts" that the pupils found out about the past. The teachers did not discuss possible interpretations of the oral evidence during their classes that I observed. In some cases, the results of the various oral history tasks devised by the different teachers were dealt with extremely superficially. In addition, many of the teachers hardly addressed the emotional impact on the pupils of having heard stories that they did not know previously about their families or community, especially when controversial issues were raised about apartheid. Another concern was that many of the pupils seemed to accept the results of their oral history interviews as "the truth", and some of the teachers revealed a limited ability to contextualise or help the pupils to interrogate their respective oral history tasks in any depth.

Implications for a history methodology course

After reflecting on my classroom observations, I realised that this research in primary school history classrooms indicated that there were gaps in my approach towards doing various oral history tasks with the practising teachers when they were preservice teachers doing a methodology course. The debate in the literature concerning changing teachers' practice in the history classroom suggested an approach which included more disciplinary knowledge (Yilmaz, 2008; Fellace, 2009; Parkes, 2011) and one which encompassed a bigger purpose to the teaching history in the classroom, where "students should

learn history to contribute to a participatory, pluralistic democracy" (Barton & Levstik, 2004:259). There are merits to both approaches, but I wondered whether an alternative way might also be possible. It would start with some "big" ideas, such as the question of claims to "the truth", using examples from other disciplines, then, specifically in relation to oral history and a few examples in the South African context. Next, it would use these ideas as a way of debriefing the preservice teachers' oral history tasks, which had been completed during their history methodology course. Applying these ideas to a "smaller", more personal sphere could encourage the preservice teachers to reflect on the claims to "the truth" in their own and their peers' oral history assignments. Finally, engaging with some issues related to South African historiography could enable the preservice teachers to examine to what extent their oral histories challenged or fitted into the broader narratives within the South African context.

As a teacher educator, my main aim in these discussions and activities is to destabilise the notion that history is a fixed body of knowledge by exploring the interrelationship between "the truth" and oral history, interpretation and "fact", and then to discuss the implications of these ideas for history teaching in the classroom. I suggest that by linking some of these complex ideas within the discipline to the preservice teachers' oral histories, that is, by relating "big" ideas to the "smaller" personal sphere and vice versa, there is a greater chance of changing the way preservice teachers approach history teaching in the classroom. In the next section, I start with a discussion of some of the issues concerning "the truth" and its relationship to oral history as examples to show how I would approach these topics with preservice teachers.

"The truth" and oral history

To illustrate some of the concerns about the relationship between "the truth" and oral history, I will use two examples found in other fields, namely, philosophy and fiction, with the preservice teachers. This provides a breadth to this process as it shows that questions about "the truth" cut across disciplines in terms of claims to knowledge, and that this is not only a concern within the discipline of history. But I will relate the issues raised by these examples from other fields to examples within the South African context, and then encourage the preservice teachers to re-examine their own oral histories and their peers' oral histories by engaging with these ideas.

Eyewitness accounts

The first example concerns an encounter between two eminent twentieth century philosophers, namely Ludwig Wittgenstein and Karl Popper. The latter had been invited to give a presentation at a meeting of a group of philosophers at Cambridge in October 1946, and Wittgenstein was in the audience. The conversation about philosophical issues became heated between the two men. According to Edmonds and Edinow (2001:2), in Popper's autobiography (published in 1974), he "recalled that Wittgenstein 'had been nervously playing with the poker', which he used 'like a conductor's baton to emphasize his assertions', and when a question came up about the status of ethics, Wittgenstein challenged him to give an example of a moral rule. [Popper] replied, 'Not to threaten visiting lecturers with pokers.' Whereupon Wittgenstein, in a rage, threw the poker down and stormed out of the room, banging the door behind him". However, Popper's version of what happened was dismissed as false by supporters of Wittgenstein who were present at the meeting in 1946. Edmonds and Eidinow (2001:3) observed: "There was a delightful irony in the conflicting testimonies. They had arisen between people all professionally concerned with theories of epistemology (the grounds of knowledge), understanding and truth. Yet they concerned a sequence of events where those who disagreed were eyewitnesses on crucial questions of fact". This example showed how what happened at an event many years ago continues to be contested in the present by a protagonist and eyewitnesses. It also showed how whether you were a supporter of Popper or Wittgenstein led to differing perspectives concerning the "facts" of what happened. This incident demonstrates how multi-perspectives can arise, as well as how difficult it is to establish "the truth" of what happened based on the memories of eyewitnesses who were present at an event.

According to Daniel Schacter (2001:4-5), a professor of psychology, there are "seven 'sins' of memory", which include the sins of omission, such as "transience [which] refers to a weakening or loss of memory over time", and the sins of commission, for example "bias reflects the powerful influence of our current knowledge and beliefs on how we remember our past". Judging from the above incident, it appears that the nature of the event was so significant that "transience" might or might not be at play. Popper's opinion revealed a strong possibility of "bias", as is the case with both his and Wittgenstein's supporters. But to what degree does "the truth" matter regarding these different memories about this incident? To the people involved in the dispute, it clearly did, but

there was more at stake than "the truth" of the differing memories, because it was part of a broader dispute about the meaning of philosophy. How does this relate to the challenges of "the truth" in oral history in the South African context?

There are similar issues regarding the disagreement of eyewitness accounts found in South African history, such as the oral testimony given during the hearings at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). For example, there were conflicting testimonies at the TRC between the security police and the *askaris* (ANC operative "turned" by the South African security forces) as to how the men known as the PEBCO Three were killed in 1985 (Cherry, 2000:137-138). As a result the TRC did not grant amnesty for the applicants. As Cherry (2000:143) commented about this example from the TRC, "it may be more valuable to see historical truth as a continually unfolding process – not something that is past but something that is still part of the present, still contested and under construction". It is unclear to what extent the differing views on how the PEBCO Three died are an example of the sins of transience and/or bias in memory, where the fear of blame in the present might have blurred some of the participants' recollections.

Memory

The second example concerning the challenges of memory and "the truth" in oral history, comes from a novel by Donna Leon (2011:65-66). Guido Brunetti, Commissario di Polizia of the city of Venice, and his colleague and friend, Inspector Vianello are walking through Venice on their way to interview a witness after a murder:

> *As they reached the top of Ponte San Antonin, Brunetti pointed with his chin at the church and said, 'My mother always used to tell me, whenever we passed here, about some time in the nineteenth century – I think it was – that a rhinoceros – or maybe it was an elephant – she told me both versions – somehow ended up trapped inside the church.'*
>
> *Vianello stopped and stared at the façade. 'I never heard anything about that, but what could a rhinoceros have been doing, walking around the city? Or an elephant, for that matter.' He shook his head, as if at yet another tale of the strange behaviour of tourists, and started down the steps on the other side. 'I was at a funeral there once, years ago.' Vianello stopped walking and looked at the façade with open surprise. 'Isn't that strange? I don't even remember* whose funeral it was.'

> *They continued, following the curve to the right, and Vianello said, returning to what Brunetti had told him, 'It makes you understand why nothing's ever clear, a story like that.'*
>
> *'You mean the rhinoceros? That was or wasn't there? And that was or wasn't a rhinoceros?'*
>
> *'Yes. Once it gets said, someone will believe it and repeat it, and then hundreds of years later, people are still repeating it.'*
>
> *'And it's become the truth?'*
>
> *'Sort of,' Vianello answered, sounding reluctant. They walked in silence for some time, and then he observed, 'It's pretty much the same today, isn't it?'*
>
> *'That stories aren't reliable?' Brunetti asked.*
>
> *'That people invent stories, and then after a time there's no telling what's true and what isn't.'*

This extract clearly illustrates some of the problematic issues associated with memory and oral history, such as the sin of "absent mindedness [which] involves a breakdown at the interface between attention and memory" (Schacter, 2001:4), when Vianello cannot remember whose funeral he attended at the church. This passage also shows the creative interaction between individual memory and the community's collective memory as to whether the animal in the cathedral was an elephant or a rhinoceros, and the inventiveness and mutability of stories in the present and past, which help to create a mythical past. This means, like Vianello, we are left to wonder how to distinguish between "what's true and what isn't".

A well-known Italian oral historian, Portelli (quoted in Field, 2008b:8), has offered the following defence of oral history in relation to truth: "Oral history approaches truth as much when it departs from the 'facts' as when it records them carefully, because the errors and even the lies reveal, under scrutiny, the creative processes of memory, imagination, symbolism and interpretation that endow events with cultural significance". Portelli appears to accept that it is possible to distinguish between "the truth" and "errors" in oral history, but his notion of "truth" is qualified by his verb "approaches" which suggests that it is never possible to reach an absolute truth. In a similar way, the example of the rhinoceros/elephant in the Venetian cathedral shows the creative interaction between individual and collective memory, and the impossibility of establishing an absolute truth about either the animal or whether the event even occurred.

In the South African context, an example of the creative interaction between individual and collective memory was shown in an oral history project conducted in Mamre in the Western Cape. According to Ward and Worden (1998:209-211), Mamre was originally a Moravian mission station where Khoisan soldiers and their families were based under the British government in the early 19th century. However, after the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, the town grew as former slaves flocked to the mission station. By the end of the 19th century, the descendants of the Khoisan and Slaves had intermarried, but when present-day residents were questioned about their ancestors in an oral history project, there was either denial or amnesia about their slave heritage. This might be another example of "bias" in memory, because of the present attempt to rewrite history, either consciously or unconsciously, in an attempt to eradicate a "shameful" past. It is possible to establish the truth concerning the slave heritage of this community by examining birth and marriage registers (Ludlow, 1992).

However, according to Abrams (2014), there has been a shift in oral history away from a focus on establishing only the veracity of the account in an oral history interview. This change makes oral history less of a "memory test" for the interviewee, and it is not only about an interest in "'what' is said but 'how' and 'why' it is said" [italics in the original] (Abrams, 2014:90). Thus there is a shift in understanding towards the importance of subjectivity in oral history. Put another way, "[t]he focus of historical analysis shifts from the notion of memory as either 'true' or 'mistaken', to an emphasis on memory as process, and how to understand its motivation and meaning" (Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003:4). Using the example of the Mamre oral history project, this could mean that it is not so important that members of this community are in denial that some of their ancestors were slaves. Instead, what counts is an exploration of the reasons for this amnesia in the present. According to Portelli (quoted in Field, 2008:8), the oral historian's role is to subject the entire process of an oral history interview to "scrutiny", although he did not explain exactly what he meant by this term. But when applied to the Mamre example, the oral historian's scrutiny not only includes identifying the omission of the slave heritage from the oral history interviews, but also the reasons that underpin this omission from the community's collective memory.

Implications of the above discussion for an oral history task

The application of the oral historian's role of "scrutiny" encourages a

sceptical attitude towards the claims to truth made in oral histories, both in the preservice teachers' own accounts as well as those of their peers. This approach enables the preservice teachers to question what their interviewees said during the oral history interviews, and not to accept something simply because a trusted adult was an eyewitness to events. Yet "what" is said remains important in an oral history interview, especially in the South African context, where more research is required to address the many gaps in the historical record. Another reason why "the truth" matters in South Africa is the claim that it was "a society founded on the lies of the privileged" (Walker, 2001:61). There is also the need to compare and contrast oral histories with other sources too in order to identify the "sins of omission and commission" in memories of the past which are found in many oral history interviews.

The shift to the subjective nature of memory, which focuses on the creative interaction between individual and collective memory means "rather than accepting all memory as true, oral history considers what people remember, what they forget, and what they get wrong" (Ritchie, 2015:124). Yet this change in favour of a focus on subjectivity in oral history reveals another layer of complexity regarding "the truth", which needs to be carefully unpacked with preservice teachers. A difficulty with this latter approach is that it might lead to a view of "the truth" in oral history that supports a view that "anything goes". This is problematic, because this path could lead, for example, to Holocaust denial, and possibly a denial of the effects of apartheid too. An example of Holocaust denial was shown in the trial of David Irving when he sued Deborah Lipstadt for libel, because "[i]n her book *Denying the Holocaust,* Lipstadt had accused Irving of twisting historical evidence 'until it conform[ed] with his ideological leanings and political agenda'" (Guttenplan, 2002). I observed an example of apartheid denialism in a classroom when a boy reported that his interviewee stated, "but during apartheid … the transport system was better, the level of education was higher … certain things about apartheid were good actually". The qualification was not made that this statement may have applied to white people under apartheid, but it was certainly not the experience of the majority of black people who suffered under apartheid laws. This example is not an isolated one, as this kind of discourse is sometimes heard among some members of the broader community.

The issues raised by establishing "the truth" in oral history highlight aspects of the complex relationship between interpretation and facts. But the depth of this complexity becomes clearer when placed in the broader context of

some of the debates within South African historiography (Van Eeden, 2016). In the following section, I begin with a personal reflection to show the value of understanding key issues within historiography for a practising teacher. Next, I turn to a broader discussion of the implications of aspects of these debates within South African historiography for preservice teachers and their future classroom practice.

South African historiography: Reflections by a teacher educator

As a practising high school history teacher during the apartheid years of the mid-1980s to early 1990s, at a public high school and then at an independent school, I tried to present differing interpretations of the past in my lessons. My aim was to expose the pupils to multiple perspectives, instead of an Afrikaner nationalist perspective, which was the one that was dominant in the history curriculum at the time. But I was haunted throughout my teaching by the following question: how do I know that what I am teaching is "the truth"? This question led me to return to university in the late 1980s to do a Master of Education, where I explored the assumptions that underpinned the various "schools"[3] of South African history in a research report.

In this research report, I used aspects of Hayden White's (1978) work, where he argued that every historical account was influenced by narrative conventions, such as farce and tragedy, and these conventions affected the way an account was structured. Another key idea found in White's (1987) work was "the politics of interpretation". This concept "does not refer directly to the interpretative practices of politics itself. Instead, he uses the politics of interpretation to suggest that certain assumptions, concerning the way historical knowledge is constituted, are part of a political position" (Nussey, 1992:25). I used the politics of interpretation as a way of understanding the South African schools of history, namely the Afrikaner nationalist, Liberal and Revisionist (Marxist and Social historians) schools. By applying the politics of interpretation to these schools, I tried to identify who the favoured agent was in each account, as well as the conception of the good and just society that informed them.

The results of this research helped me to understand that there were many "truths" to be found in the differing historical accounts. It depended on where

3 The identification of "schools" of history did not imply that there was a homogeneous approach in each "school", but that there were some core assumptions that loosely united the historians who could be considered as belonging to a "school".

a school considered South African history to start, who was identified as the main agent in the narrative, as well as the *telos* or goal of history. Each school offered a coherent, although different, account of the South African past. The question of how convincing each school's account was, raised another issue, as this depended on accepting a particular starting point, agent, *telos* and the politics of interpretation within the school. Furthermore, this did not imply that there was no agreement among these schools about the occurrence of certain key events, but there were disagreements concerning the significance of these events. For example, the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 to establish a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company at the Cape was perceived by the Afrikaner nationalist school as the start of South African history. In contrast, for the Revisionists, South African history started in pre-colonial times, and the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck signified the start of the colonial period.

This research into South African historiography provided powerful insights for my own teaching of history in the high school classroom in the early 1990s, as it helped to challenge particular myths within the Afrikaner nationalist interpretation, such as that South Africa was an empty land before the colonists arrived. I was able to highlight and discuss some of the reasons for the competing interpretations of the South African past with my pupils, but more importantly, it affected the way I taught in the classroom (I will discuss some of the implications for practice of these ideas later in the article.) This reflection on my own experience shows some of the positive effects of understanding historiography for a practising teacher.

Developments in South African historiography since 1994

The above ideas are important for preservice teachers to understand, but even more important, are the further developments in South African historiography. These shifts took place with the transition from an apartheid government to a democratic one in South Africa in 1994. This political development challenged the assumptions that informed many of the schools of historiography in a profound manner. For example, the Afrikaner nationalist *telos* of the rise to power and dominance of the Afrikaner "volk" was no longer coherent after 1994. Furthermore, "the TRC's unveiling of the apartheid government's cruelty dealt a virtual death blow to the paradigm" (Verbuyst 2013:23). Paradoxically, these events have led to the re-storying of the Afrikaner nationalist paradigm, as was shown, for example, by the inclusion of

Krotoã's history. She was a Khoikhoi woman, who married a Danish surgeon, Pieter van Meerhof, and was renamed Eva. This marriage occurred during the early days of Dutch colonisation at the Cape, and their children became the ancestors of many Afrikaner families. But this past was denied and omitted in the Afrikaner nationalist account until recently. Reclaiming this history meant that this school now "owned" an African matriarch (Coetzee, 1998).

Another important idea for preservice teachers to engage with is the call for a "reconciliation history" by Etherington (cited in Stolten, 2007:40), who argued that "historians will tell their stories better if they hold the ideal of a shared history constantly in mind". Events since 1994 have allowed for a more inclusive approach to the writing of history, and when reflecting on the TRC, former Constitutional Court judge, Albie Sachs (2009:87) argued that the TRC helped to establish "a single, broad, commonly accepted narrative of the country's history" instead of a division between black and white history.

At one level the TRC has helped to establish what happened in the recent past by clarifying "who did what to whom" (in many cases), and Sachs is correct that isolated, stereotypical divisions in historical narratives are problematic. But it would be an exaggeration to refer to the TRC as achieving, as Sachs (2009:87) claimed, a "single, broad, commonly accepted narrative of the country's history". This does not take into account the politics of interpretation found in the different schools of South African historiography, nor does it acknowledge the difficulties that these competing approaches to South Africa's past are grappling with after 1994. According to Verbuyst (2013:20), "once the struggle was over, radical historians were at an ironic paradigmatic loss because the praxis linked to their discipline had lost its purpose". As Shula Marks, a well-known historian of South African history, said at a book launch of the second volume of the Cambridge University Press's *History of South Africa*: "South African historians now have an abundance of sources, but no agreed roadmap, or destination" (Davis, 2012). Given recent events, such as the removal of Rhodes's statue from the University of Cape Town, and the calls for the decolonisation of South African curricula at universities (Price & Ally, 2016), there are bound to be more developments from a decolonial perspective in South African historiography (Ndlovu, 2013).

Implications of historiography for preservice teachers and methodology course

It is important for prospective teachers to be exposed to the different schools in South African historiography, and the politics of interpretation which affected these schools in the past and continue to affect them in the present. This exposure will help the preservice teachers to understand why there are multi-perspectives about the past, how different interpretations developed in the discipline and the ways this process is influenced by (and influences) events in the broader society. But for this approach to make an impact on the preservice teachers, an explicit link needs to be made between their own oral history tasks and the different schools of historiography during the methodology course. The preservice teachers need to explore the creative interaction between an individual and community's memories, and how these oral history interviews both challenge and affirm the broader narratives found in the different schools. Linking a study of historiography to the more personal topics that an oral history task invariably covers could be a successful approach to use with preservice teachers. This process acts as a way to highlight some of these difficult issues concerning claims to knowledge, such as "the truth" within the discipline, and the omissions and commissions of memory. These abstract ideas would be contextualised and made more meaningful for preservice teachers when they relate these ideas to their own oral histories, and in turn, use the ideas found in their oral histories to interrogate the narratives found in the different schools of South African historiography.

This approach of inter-relating oral histories to historiography opens up a conversation about the relationship between interpretation and evidence. While evidence and interpretation are logically distinct, they interweave with one another: as new evidence emerges, or an event challenges a particular interpretation, then it has to shift to accommodate these changes. In addition, when a new interpretation develops, it establishes a different perspective which creates new "facts". An example of the former is the way that evidence from oral histories could challenge aspects of the broad narratives found within the different schools of historiography. While an example of the latter is the development of a post-colonial school of interpretation, which emphasises the agency of those who were colonised. This perspective leads to different "facts" about the process of colonisation being established. The importance of this process for preservice teachers is that it disrupts a conception of history as a fixed body of knowledge, where it is possible to identify the "facts" independent of interpretation.

Implications for practice in history classrooms

It is a truism that many preservice teachers tend to teach the way they were taught at school when they become practising teachers, and "[b]y default, many conform to traditional expectations, entering the classroom as professionals who present history just as their predecessors did; as a grand narrative or a series of 'facts' to be memorized" (Lovorn, 2012:570). But by exposing preservice teachers to ideas such as the contested nature of "the truth" as found in oral history, and by encouraging them to scrutinise their own oral history tasks (and others) during the methodology course, this helps to disrupt these preconceptions and develops their critical thinking. Furthermore, exploring the changes in historiography over time and how their oral histories both fit into and challenge some of the ideas found in South African historiography, could help to change their practice when they are full-time teachers. These ideas provide part of a preservice and practising teacher's developing toolkit. The more you teach and reflect on your teaching, the more you realise the importance of questioning the truth claims to knowledge and the value of understanding historiography for your own practice.

However, this does not necessarily mean that in the history classroom a teacher teaches ideas regarding problems of "the truth" and the different interpretations in historiography directly to pupils. Instead, these ideas inform an approach to teaching history where they affect the following: a teacher's choice of texts and/or textbooks in the classroom; how a teacher develops pupils' understanding about multiple perspectives about the South African past, which could be done through oral history tasks; the kinds of questions that a teacher asks in the classroom; and how a teacher fosters critical thinking in the classroom. An example of the latter is that while discussing an oral history task, a teacher's question shifts from a simple identification of who an interviewee is to why an interviewee holds a particular view of an event. By comparing and contrasting pupils' oral histories in the classroom, this process raises further questions as to how reliable or trustworthy the narrators are in these accounts. These open questions also affect the way that answers are assessed in the classroom both verbally and in writing by the teacher and pupils. It shifts the expectation that there is only one right answer to a question in class or in a teacher's memorandum for a test. However, the issue of assessment in history education is part of another, broader discussion.

The above examples are not an exhaustive list of the possible implications of adopting this approach for history teachers. But further research is necessary

to establish whether the suggested approach with preservice teachers, as discussed in this article, would have these outcomes in practice for both primary and high school teachers.

Conclusion

South Africa, like many post-conflict countries, has a contested past which continues to affect the present, as was shown by the recent calls for different perspectives to be taught in the school curriculum. Despite support for a multi-perspective approach in the current curriculum, the absence of historiography is a grave omission for both teachers and pupils, especially given the recent call to make history compulsory at FET level. One of the recommendations based on this research is for the inclusion of historiography in an appropriate way at all levels of history education.

Preservice history teachers need to work with multi-perspectives during a history methodology course, otherwise there is a limited chance that they will incorporate this approach in their own teaching of history. But the disciplinary connections must be made explicit: by exploring some of the issues that affect the claims to knowledge that oral history makes within the discipline, such as "the truth", teacher educators can start the conversation with the preservice teachers. Thus encouraging the preservice teachers to subject the truth claims made by their own interviewees to scrutiny, enables them to further reflect and internalise the results of this historical enquiry in a manner that could affect their own understanding and future practice.

It is also vital that the preservice teachers understand the key ideas in the different interpretations of South Africa's past by linking their oral history narratives to an understanding of aspects of historiography. They should understand, for example, the reasons for the shifts in the Afrikaner nationalist interpretation as well as the development of a post-colonial interpretation. Relating some of the "big" ideas found in historiography to the "small", more personal, ideas found in their own oral history tasks would assist the preservice teachers to contextualise their own oral histories as well as to interrogate the broad narratives found in history. This approach could help to destabilise the conception of history as a fixed body of knowledge.

Going through the above process helps to develop the preservice teachers' critical thinking and reflection, so that it becomes part of their toolkit for history teaching in the classroom. The main aim of this kind of history teaching

is to affect the pupils' learning of history in the classroom, and this approach could also help to develop the pupils' critical thinking too. Further research is needed as to whether this suggested approach would have these effects in practice, not only in the South African context, but in different contexts too. Adapting this process to their own context could provide a way for teacher educators in other countries to address similar issues with preservice history teachers. I do not claim that this approach alone will be able to change all history teachers' practice in the classroom, but it is a possible way for a teacher educator to attempt to do so. Overall, this process might make it less easy for preservice teachers to teach history the way they themselves were taught at school.

Reference List

Abrams, L 2014. Memory as both source and subject of study: The transformations of oral history. In: S Berger & B Niven (eds.). *Writing the history of memory*. London: Bloomsbury.

Barton, KC & Levstik, LS 2004. *Teaching history for the common good*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Barton, KC & Levstik, LS 2015. Doing history: Investigating with children in elementary and middle school. 5th ed. New York: Routledge.

Cherry, J 2000. Historical truth: Something to fight for. In: C Villa Vincencio & W Verwoerd (eds.). *Looking back, reaching forward*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Department of Basic Education (DBE) 2011. National Curriculum Statement: Curriculum and Policy Assessment Statement. Available at http://www.education.gov.za/Curriculum/CurriculumAssessmentPolicyStatements/tabid/419/Default.aspx. Accessed on 1 April 2012.

Clandinin, DL & Connelly, FM 2000. *Narrative inquiry*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Coetzee, C 1998. Krotoä remembered: A mother of unity, a mother of sorrows? In: S Nuttall & C Coetzee (eds.). *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Davis, R 2012. Writing South Africa's history: only for the brave. *The Daily Maverick*, March. Available at http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-03-14-writing-sas-history-only-for-the-brave#.Vzr8R_l955c. Accessed on 1 August 2015.

Edmonds, D & Eidinow, J 2001. *Wittgenstein's poker*. London: Faber and Faber.

Eley, G 2005. *A crooked line*. Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press.

Evans, RJ 1997. *In defence of history*. London: Granta.

Fellace, TD 2009. History and teacher education: Reflections on an experimental course. *The History Teacher,* 42(2):205-222.

Field, S 2008a. Introduction: Approaching oral history at the Centre for Popular Memory. *South African Historical Journal,* 60(2):1-6.

Field, S 2008b.Turning up the volume: Dialogues about memory create oral history. *South African Historical Journal,* 60(2), 2008b:7-26.

Guttenplan, D 2002. "I shall tear him to shreds". The historian Richard Evans has finally found a publisher for his book about David Irving. *New Statesman*, July. Available at http://www.newstatesman.com/node/155988. Accessed on 15 March 2016.

Hodgkin, K & Radstone, S 2003. Introduction. In: K Hodgkin & S Radstone (eds.). *Contested pasts: The politics of memory*. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, K. 2009. *At the limits of history: Essays on theory and practice*. London: Routledge.

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

Klein, S 2010. Teaching history in The Netherlands: Teachers' experiences of a plurality of perspectives. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 40(5):614-634.

Leon, D 2011. *Drawing conclusions.* London: Random House.

Lovorn, M 2012. Historiography in the methods course: Training preservice history teachers to evaluate local historical commemorations. *The History Teacher,* 45(4):569-579.

Ludlow, EH 1992. Missions and emancipation in the South Western Cape: A case study of Groenekloof (Mamre), 1838-1852. Unpublished MA thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Ludlow, H 2012. Ghana, cocoa, colonialism and globalisation: Introducing historiography. *Yesterday & Today,* 8:1-21.

Martell, CC 2013. Learning to teach history as interpretation: A longitudinal study of beginning teachers. *The Journal of Social Studies Research,* 37:17-31.

McCardle, LW & Edwards, CL 2006. Practising to teach: Oral history in education. *Academic Exchange Quarterly,* 10(2):231-236.

Mosalakae, K 2015.Teach history through African eyes. *Business Day*, July. Available at http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/letters/2015/07/23/letter-teach-history-through-african-eyes. Accessed on 25 July 2015.

Munslow, A 2012. *A history of history*. London: Routledge.

Ndlovu, M 2013. Mobilising history for nation-building in South Africa: A decolonial perspective. *Yesterday & Today*, 9:1-12.

Nel, C-A 2015. Vertel die Afrikaner se geskiedenis ook billik? *Nuus 24,* Julie. Available at http://www.netwerk24.com/Nuus/Onderwys/Vertel-die-Afrikaner-se-geskiedenis-ook-billik-20150725. Accessed on 25 July 2015.

Nussey, RJ 1992. Philosophical assumptions that inform history teaching in South Africa. Unpublished MEd research report. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Nussey, RJ 2013. The challenges and limitations of developing a conception of a 'reconciliatory pedagogy' using oral history with South African pre-service and in-service history teachers. Unpublished PhD thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Parkes, RJ 2011. *Interrupting history*. New York: Peter Lang.

Price, M & Ally, R 2016. Decolonisation must not be a black and white issue. *Business Day,* April. Available at http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2016/04/04/decolonisation-must-not-be-a-black-and-white-issue. Accessed on 4 April 2016.

Ritchie, DA 2015. *Doing oral history*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sachs, A 2009. *The strange alchemy of life and law* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schacter, DL 2001. *The seven sins of memory*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Stolten, H 2007. *History making and present day politics*. Uppsala: Nordiska, afrikaininstitutet.

Van Eeden, ES 2016. Thoughts about the historiography of veracity or „truthfulness" in understanding and teaching history in South Africa. *Yesterday & Today*, 15:37-65.

Verbuyst, R 2013. History, historians and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *New Contree,* 66:1-26.

Walker, M 2001. Making better knowledge: Little stories, truth-telling and social justice effects. *The School Field,* 12(1/2):55-68.

Ward, K & Worden, N 1998. Commemorating, suppressing, and invoking Cape slavery. In: S Nuttall & C Coetzee (eds.). *Negotiating the past*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

White, H 1978. *Tropics of discourse*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University.

White, H 1987. *The content of the form.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University.

Yilmaz, K 2008. Social Studies teachers' conceptions of history: Calling on historiography. *The Journal of Educational Research,* 101(3):158-176.

The South African high school history curriculum and the politics of gendering decolonisation and decolonising gender

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2016/n16a2

Lindsay Wills
Centre for Women's Studies, University of York
lwills@wynghs.co.za

Abstract

In this article, I argue that the category of gender should be an essential consideration for a decolonised curriculum, and that gender theory should be included in its analytical toolbox for two reasons: firstly, because transformation of the curriculum has to foreground women's liberation by validating their experiences of, and contributions to, the past, and secondly, because gender has functioned as a key axis of power between men and women in the past. This study undertakes a critical analysis of the knowledge about women and gender forwarded by the current CAPS curriculum statement. Part of my objective is to reflect on what kinds of historical knowledge about women are considered "legitimate" by the curriculum, and to evaluate the ways in which this knowledge sustains or challenges an otherwise androcentric or masculinist history. In the main, however, I aim to show the ways in which the existing framework governing the South African history curriculum is unable to accommodate the kinds of knowledge and conceptual thinking required to give depth and meaning to women's experiences, and to examine how race and gender interact to produce and reproduce hierarchies and highly complex social relations. Feminist historians of empire and post-colonialism have long argued that race and class are gendered categories, and that gendered meanings therefore fundamentally shaped the imperial and colonial project. Gendering history in the South African curriculum would therefore entail revisiting many topics currently included in the curriculum and explicitly foregrounding the ways in which gender has functioned as a significant axis of power. This will not be a comfortable experience, especially given its implication in colonial violence, apartheid and the liberation struggle. Nonetheless, a number of FET topics deeply transformed by inclusion of this scholarship would open up new paradigms for negotiating the relationship between the past and the present.

Keywords: Gender; Women; History Curriculum; Transformation; Decolonisation; Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement.

Introduction

Feminist research has long established the fact that, in the main, women continue to be significantly underrepresented in high school history curricula and that these accounts of the past are more accurately described as "men's history". A central philosophical principle to this position is that a history which ignores the experiences of one-half of the world's population is, in fact, bad history (Adams, 1983). This field of research proposes that far from being the consequence of a heavy-handed conspiracy to deliberately exclude women, the continued underrepresentation of women is rather the product of a complex system of fallacies and unconscious bias. As Trecker (1971:260) argues, whilst this is a bias which broadly privileges an androcentric representation of the past, this is nonetheless a bias "so smooth, seamless and pervasive that it is hard to even begin to take a hold of it and bring it into clear view". It is for this reason that the inclusion of women into historical narratives needs to remain under close scrutiny.

Secondly, the theoretical challenges posed by women's and gender history to the discipline's very foundations involves, in no small way, getting to grip with the politics of the production of knowledge. History curricula are particularly potent sites for the construction and diffusion of knowledge and interpretations of how the past relates to the present. As such, national history curricula can be seen as extensions and vehicles of wider ideological and socio-cultural (im)balances of power and are thus often sites of political socialisation. Indeed, these were arguments forwarded by a large and diverse group of academics, curriculum advisors and educators pressing for a radically transformed history curriculum for a newly democratic South Africa in 1994 (see Siebörger, 1993). It is within a similar milieu of calls for transformation that I argue we need to see women's history as raising the ultimate challenge to decolonisation of the curriculum in two important ways. Firstly, like decolonisation, it demands that those previously marginalised be moved from the sidelines to the centre. Women's history has convincingly demonstrated the legitimacy of women's experiences as historical topics in and of themselves. Secondly, like decolonisation, it argues that radical re-imagining is required to account for multiple standpoints and perspectives, without which one hegemonic version of events is simply replaced by another. As argued by Joan Scott, women's history has shown itself to be more than an "innocuous supplement" (1993:241), but one which surfeits and therefore calls into question the traditional contours of what constitutes historical knowledge.

I therefore suggest in the following discussion that short of a radical re-orientation of themes and topics of history which can adequately account for the multiple identities and experiences women in the past have had, the current National Curriculum Statement (NCS) and Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) will continue to privilege "masculinist" interpretations of the past which contributes not only to the general marginalisation of women as subjects of history but more importantly reinforces, or ignores, oppressive gendered ideas. In the current climate of transformation, where renewed attention is being paid to narratives long silenced and de-legitimised in South African higher education institutes, it is surely an imperative that the voices of women from the past are recovered and restored to the history taught to South African high school students. Decolonising gender in the history curriculum therefore means no longer accepting that accounts of the past which either gloss over or obscure women's experiences – especially Black women's experiences – are "true", "objective" and "universal". As Akhona Nkenkana urges, "The re-writing of African history that continues to disregard women is something that Africa's pursuit of its future should guard against" (Nkenkana, 2015:50).

A second and related argument for decolonising gender in the history curriculum seeks to problematise the ways in which gender is currently included in the curriculum. In this sense, I argue that it is not sufficient to simply add women into existing narratives. Indeed, a truly decolonised history curriculum is concerned with examining the gendered systems which historically gave rise to women's varying experiences of oppression in the first place. As Nkenkana also writes, "Decolonial history, as far as gender is concerned, must move beyond the use of males as the subject of humanity against which women are measured. Gender must be looked at as a system and as structures which deprived both men and women of humanity" (Nkenkana, 2015:53).

The following discussion is organised around a critique of a selection of CAPS FET history topics and units. These are organised around three key themes: the question of women's differing experiences, the concept of intersectionality, and nationalism, race and gender. As they show, there is enough evidence of the inclusion of women's experiences, and scholarship in women's history, to suggest that the current CAPS document is not an entirely male-dominated curriculum. Nonetheless, as it stands, if we are to pursue decolonisation of the curriculum at all, "mentioning" women is not a radical enough move towards

conceptualising women and representing gendered historical concepts in ways which do not re-inscribe a practice of epistemic erasure or the textual inscription of damaging stereotypes and ideologies.

Decolonising claims about women's political consciousness

I am interested in analysing the extent to which the curriculum provides room to engage with what Offen suggests is "the difference difference makes" when representing women's particular "consciousness of their own distinct role in society" (1988:226). This requires engaging with the idea that gender is an axis cross-cut by race, class and sexuality, and that "woman" is not a universal sign but the embodiment of inter-locking and shifting categories of identity. I would like to propose here that whilst CAPS goes some way towards including women in this way, it is nonetheless a contested accommodation, and that likewise, the representation of women especially within these topics has acute consequences for the extent to which hegemonic gender ideologies are sustained.

It seems that the notion that differences shape not only women's experiences, but their relations with one another, is unevenly - perhaps even precariously - broached by the CAPS document. This is most obvious in the outline of content relating to the role of women in civil society protests of the 1960s and 1970s, where the reference to "difference" is in effect little more than a token gesture and works to re-inscribe the hierarchies of power it attempts to destabilise. As I approach it in my discussion, this is to ask of each claim about women's experiences, "does this apply as equally to some women as it does to others?"

I start first with an analysis of the claims made by the curriculum to "know" different women's consciousness of their differing socio-political locations to one another, or of claims about what constituted women's historical "identities" and how women historically "saw themselves". The following is therefore an analysis of the discourse nestled within the Grade 12 unit, "Women's liberation and feminist movements in the 1960s and 1970s: a middle class movement in industrialised countries" (DBE, 2011:28). I argue here that the problem is not just that the curriculum's language pivots on a particular definition of feminism, but also that even as the unit title seems to want to reject ethnocentrism, the two remain ideologically wed, resulting in a textual legitimisation of the very discourse it claims to critique. I argue

that this amounts to something of a textual erasure of black or so-called Third World women, who end up, in the Spivakian sense, unable to speak (1988:76) and are instead spoken for in terms set by a reactionary, masculinist definition of anti-racism and anti-imperialism.

It has become axiomatic that aspects of the second wave feminist movement were at times antithetical, even hostile, to other women's struggles which did not regard the dismantling of so-called patriarchy as their primary goal; the deep cleavages between feminism and anti-racism, for example, have been documented by a large body of scholarship (see Davis, 1981; hooks,[1] 1981; Spelman, 1989; Hill Collins, 1990). Therefore taken at its strongest arguments, the curriculum reflects a partially accurate history of second wave feminism. Here, feminism is arguably being given here to students in the vocabulary of "rights", a version of feminism largely defined by its ideological ties to the values of liberal equality and freedom of the individual (a notion not technically wrong nor anachronistic to the historical period under examination). Nonetheless, what the curriculum and textbooks would also require remain central to this unit is presumably the critique the women's liberation movement was classist and Eurocentric. Again, given the definition of feminism implied by this unit of the curriculum, this internal logic makes sense. However, shoring up – indeed, implying that – the essence of feminism is primarily concerned with a liberal and rights-based ideology is what enables this discourse to sidestep other feminisms which have historically taken exposure of the constructed, and therefore social, nature of gender roles as their political objective. Furthermore, testing the internal logic of the unit reveals how its message seems to be haphazardly applied. In the following I argue that suggesting a woman's experience of racism was somehow more pressing and distinct from her experience of sexism pursues a false binary which works to erase the subjectivity of Black women.

In the first instance, if, as implied by the curriculum, the struggle for race equality was indeed more important to black women than gaining gender equality, the obvious question to be asked is why black women do not therefore feature more predominantly in the sections devoted to these topics, or, at the very least, are consistently mainstreamed into topics like the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power. Secondly, it is historically misleading to suggest that second-wave feminism was a movement isolated in the manner framed by the curriculum. For example, in 1977, the Combahee River Collective Statement laid out the genesis and theory of a black feminism,

1 At request of the author the surname of Hooks is referenced in lower case.

stating that "…we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking", and that black feminism sought to "develop a politics that was anti-racist, unlike those of white women, and antisexist, unlike those of Black and white men" (Eisenstein, 1978:210-211). Indeed, bell hooks suggests that it is in fact symptomatic of a racist narrative of the women's movements to assume that the absence of black women from women's liberation movements is a sign of their disinterest in feminist struggles (1981: 161). The ultimate irony is therefore that it was in fact black women identifying as feminists who exposed the racism of second wave feminism, and who have emphasised the inseparability of race, gender and class from a woman's thoughts and experience (Hill Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991; Higginbotham, 1992). There is a clear political injustice to this claim, not the least of which, as Amos & Parmar suggest, is that it ends up "appropriating feminism for white women" (1984:8).

Finally, the categorical errors I have outlined above have particular consequences for how women's consciousness of their role in South African society, and their contributions to anti-apartheid struggles, are described in the curriculum statement. Given that the myth of sisterhood in the South African struggle against apartheid has been squarely laid to rest (see Hassim, 1991; Fouche, 1994), it is not wrong to suggest that in a nation so deeply stratified by race, black and white women rarely shared the same struggles. What is problematic however are the claims made about women's identity politics: that "black women see themselves first as black, and white women see themselves first as white" (DBE, 2011:28). I have outlined above how contentious it is to suggest that women are able, and somehow willing, to extract one aspect of their identity from another, but it is still worth exploring some of the subtext of this textual posture as it relates to representations of whiteness, blackness and gendered consciousness in the politically fraught South African context. Not only are claims like the above a drastic simplification of the complexities of women's consciousness – almost to the extent of epistemic violence (Spivak, 1988) – but it also works to conceptually let white women off the proverbial hook because, by the curriculum's own logic, the idea of foregoing "gender" when issues of "race" were more pressing in practice only actually applied to black women. Furthermore, as Elsa Brown (1992:298) argues, asymmetrical relationships of power between women are not abstract, but relational and contingent. Brown argues, it is not enough to mention

differences between women, what has to be explicated instead is the fact that "[w]hite women and women of color not only live different lives but white women live the lives they do in large part because women of color live the ones they do". The lost opportunity here, therefore, is to explicate how white and black South African women have historically interacted, and to offer the opportunity to explore how gendered historical contexts have shaped black and white women's identities as gendered and racial precisely because they are relational. Finally, such a claim goes some way towards encouraging what Maria Lugones terms "epistemological blinding" (2008:1) when categories like race and gender are separated from one another. The specificity of black South African women's experiences of racism, disempowerment and sexual violence becomes distorted and displaced when gender and race are not presented as intermeshing points of self-identity.

Nonetheless, there is still some tricky conceptual work to be done here with the questions of gender identity, feminist politics and the South African liberation struggle the authors of the NCS have clearly grappled with. As Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1983) write "… once we stop perceiving western white feminism as providing the ultimate criteria for defining the contents of feminism, we are faced with the problem of how to politically evaluate various women's struggles". I think that what is at the heart of my critique is a sense that what is at stake in this unit of South African women's history are not only speculations about the nature, and substance of women's contributions to the liberation struggle, but also the idea of women's rights, or women's issues, having an inherent value and relevance. These are no less politically charged questions in the present than they were during the liberation struggle itself (see for example, Hassim, 2009). I thus venture to suggest that in the absence of a more extensive analysis of the inter-workings of gender roles and nationalism a great intellectual price is paid at the expense of the powerful complexities of women's participation in nationalist struggles. As such, perhaps the curriculum ought to advance the idea that gender played a role in the demise of apartheid, and the subsequent process of decolonisation in South Africa, and, at least to my mind, what this requires is injecting gender into the larger tapestry of the curriculum as a whole.

Towards a gender-oriented history curriculum

The fact that women have demographically constituted half of humankind[2] poses an inescapable conceptual challenge to the notion of a "general history"; thus, as Gisela Bock (2006:106) writes, "it is no less problematic to separate the history of women from history in general than to separate the history of men – and even more so, truly general history – from the history of women. Women's history concerns not merely half of humankind, but all of it". Given this argument, it is therefore impossible to continue to represent the past in ways which bear no relevance to the experiences of women – as Laura Downes (2004: 4) points out, "to write a history without women was a foolhardy endeavour indeed, for it would be to tell barely half the story".

Gender theory, first finding its footing in the 1970s (see: Oakley, 1972; Rubin, 1975) came to be used by feminist historians as a means to describe how gender, defined as knowledge of sexual difference, has functioned as a dynamic force of social organisation: what is categorised and recognised as "female" is always in an orbital yet asymmetrical relation to what is categorised and recognised as "male", and acts to shape the meanings given to human behaviour. Gender theory thus brought to historiography a way to examine relations between men and women as the constitutive element of all historical social relations. Firstly, gender history ensures that for the first time, men as sexed bodies and socialised as masculine become visible in historical narratives; when men and masculinity become "categories" of analysis, it is no longer only women who appear to have a "gender", and whose presence in history has been premised on their sex/gender, largely determined by having a sexed body capable of reproduction. Secondly, "a truly general and unbiased account of the past has to abandon the pretext that the masculine represents a neutral and universal representation of the species" (Downs, 2004:4) and either draw constant and critical attention to the "the gendered constitution of their object of analysis" (Downs, 2004:4), or, as Helen Bradford points out, "remain flawed by the inapplicability of interpretations to the female majority" (1996:352). Finally, the extensive work of black, Chicana, Asian and queer feminist theorists has shown that knowledge of sexual difference is always-already knowledge of other differences. It is thus that gender offers both a good way of thinking about history, about the ways in which hierarchies of differences – inclusions and exclusions – have been constituted, and of

2 I am aware of the claims I am myself making about gender; the claim as I make it here rests on the a priori claim about what constitutes the category "woman", and therefore what constitutes the category of "man". As this is an immense theoretical field on its own, I can only apologise to (especially) Butler (1990) and Scott (1988).

theorising (feminist) politics (Scott, 1999:10). It is from this perspective that one might begin to evaluate to what extent gender is recognised by the curriculum as a crucial determinant of historical events. At the same time, discerning the ways in which the syllabus stresses gender in its selection of topic matter is also to begin questioning to what extent the syllabus itself "becomes part of the politics of the gender system" (Scott, 1988:15).

In the following discussion, I seek to argue that race and nationalism are the "big questions" (Bradford, 1996:355) which govern the South African history syllabus as a whole. This is a position which I borrow from Peter Callaway's (2012) suggestion that the curriculum is dominated by discourses of race and nationalism, which he argues, comes at the expensive of some historical complexity and context. I seek to suggest that the picture that begins to emerge from the syllabus is one where nationalism's gendered hierarchies are subsumed under discussions where a conceptual premium is placed on the discourse of democracy and civil rights, and, accordingly, the instrumental role played by race, all of which are, ironically, historical concepts themselves shaped by gender. I therefore propose that the deepest and most elusive layers of gender ideology embedded in the curriculum's subtext can be surfaced through a macro- and micro-analysis of narratives of colonialism, institutionalised racism and struggles of nationhood and/or democracy.

Stoler (1995:342) argues, for example, that if colonial control was predicated on distinguishing between racial differences, it has to follow that colonial control therefore rested on notions of gender. Control of sexual arrangements was paramount for the establishment of colonial categories of racial difference. Colonial authority depended on discerning and attributing femininity, masculinity and sexuality to racially marked bodies. Thus, where the concept of gender is inseparable from the concept of race, Scully (1995:342) argues that "sex in the colonies was a political act with repercussions", emanating especially from the categorical imperative of designating offspring as either "coloniser" or "colonised". However this is a significantly minimalised aspect of the colonial project as it is outlined by the CAPS document, especially absent, for example, in the Grade 10 topic, "European expansion and conquest during the 15th and 18th centuries" (Topic 2; DBE, 2011:14), which outlines teaching of how the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and British came to dominate trade and colonise large parts of the globe. The emphasis is instead on "the processes of colonisation", the "consequences on the colonised societies", and "ideas of racial superiority" (Topic 2; DBE, 2011:14),

Similarly, Tessie Lieu writes that, "we tend to think that race is a relevant social category only when we encounter racism as a social phenomenon, in the form of bigotry, for example…. As a result, scholars have let the ideologies of racism [Liu describes this as an obsession with skin colour, skull size and intelligence] set the agenda for discussion of racism within the academy" (1991:269). This, I would argue, is a helpful way of understanding the approach the syllabus generally takes towards structuring the historical theme of institutionalised racism. I also find myself relying here on Gisela Bock's argument that "…the language of racism is obsessed with the sexes and sexuality, and it contains a characteristic mixture of sexuality, blood and violence…. Racism cannot be understood without understanding its gender dimensions, which is one of its constituent factors". (2006:115).

By way of example, for instance, within the Grade 11 section, "Ideas of race in the late 19th and 20th centuries" (DBE, 2011:21), some of the crucial details of gender and sexuality seem to have become submerged under heavy emphasis on race, vis-à-vis Social Darwinism and eugenics. Thus, whilst some of the technologies of eugenics – "family planning," "selective breeding" etc. – are broached, the fact that these were profoundly gendered processes is subsumed under a heavy emphasis on the discourses of racism, i.e. hierarchies of racial superiority and inferiority, a fact firmly underscored by the use of the genocides as case studies (the Nama and Herero people in Namibia, the Aboriginal people of Australia and Tanzania, and the Holocaust).

Finally, given the literal codification not only of the illegality, but immorality, of sexual contact between races under the apartheid regime, the potent role played by ideas of race and sexuality to the construction of Afrikaner nationalism should form a crucial component of the topic on the whole. Rather, the topics included in the syllabus under the topic of the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism (Grade 11, Topics 4 and 5; DBE, 2011:22) show that this is intended to be content focused around describing economic affirmative action, the contestation over the franchise for black South African men, and job reservation. Ironically, of this, this actually does mean that the Grade 11 curriculum preserves precisely something McClintock describes as Afrikaner nationalism's fundamentally gendered origins, that is, "white male interests, white male aspirations and white male politics" (1993:68) and corresponds to Cynthia Enloe's argument that "nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope" (1990:45). In the meantime, what has nonetheless been rendered invisible

are the politics of obsessive patriarchal control of white female sexuality (see Klausen, 2010) before and during apartheid, and the nature of Afrikaner women's multi-fold contributions of domestic and ideological labour to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism by the mid-20th century.

It is precisely in these purportedly "gender-neutral" historical units that a feminist interpretation of the curriculum's claims to represent the universal condition involves asking the question, "did/ does this apply as equally to women as it did/does to men"? At stake is to what extent the syllabus has included topics which draw attention to the gendered dimensions of the political projects of nationalism and democratic citizenship. My deconstructive approach here is firstly informed by the work of feminist political scientists, who, like Carole Pateman (1989:210) have pointed out that, "[f]or feminists, democracy has never existed; women have never been and still are not admitted as full and equal members and citizens in any country known as a 'democracy", and who have written of their suspicion of liberal democracy's claims about gender. It is also indebted to the insights of feminist scholars of nationalism, interested in the nuances and complexities inherent to women's participation in mass liberation movements, especially in the so-called "Third World" (see Mohanty, *et. al.*, 1991; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983).

A liberal historiography, as is the one woven through the South African curriculum, considers a nation's struggle for self-determination "evidence of progressive realisation of an individualistic and cultural order and maintains that women eventually benefited from these advantages" (Kelly, 1984:3). This is a useful approach to unpacking the curriculum's overarching emphasis on nationalism. Firstly, in this narrative, attainment of full democratic citizenship and its accoutrement of universal equality before the law, is treated as the *sine qua non* of an individual's freedom. Secondly, even if the curriculum seeks to encourage a reflection on the inherently constructed and exclusionary practice of nationalism and nationhood, as evinced by the "key question" for the Grade 11 unit, "When is nationalism beneficial and when is it destructive?" (DBE, 2011: 22), this only goes so far as to posit it as a reductive binary of "good" and "bad" nationalism. A feminist critique of nationalism argues that this misses a crucial point: that is, that the conversation about nationalism should be one that starts by turning a critical eye to its fundamentally gendered practice.

Perhaps, in the first instance, this is of course because the foundations of the "modern democracy" which lie in the French Revolution, were in fact founded on ideas antithetical to the concept of gender equality, as is evinced by the

"fraternity" and "brotherhood" of the "Liberté, égalité, fraternité" phrase. However, this is not demarcated as an area of concern in the outline for the French Revolution in Grade 10, even though the key question here is "how did the French Revolution lay the foundations for modern democracies?" (DBE, 2011:15). This does not problematise the notion that, historically, women *qua* women were not considered to have inherent rights, and only goes so far as to explain that granting of such rights to women have happened as a product of changing historical contexts. Furthermore, this also does not problematise the idea that it is from "male" citizenship that "women's citizenship" is to be derived and measured either. Feminist citizenship theory has long argued that liberal citizenship conflates having rights with the ability to exercise rights. A student will be hard pressed to find an engagement with why it is because of hegemonic gender regimes that women continue to remain secondary citizens, even when rights have been "achieved". An overt conceptual preoccupation with the supposedly gender-blind concepts of political rights and public rights means that this is the extent to which "equality" is broached, rather than, as gender activists would argue, the ways in which citizenship has always been governed by sexual politics.

Feminist scholarship on nationalism has argued that the relationship between women and nationalism is one which resists simple explanations. It is often nationalism which, as Cynthia Enloe writes, "has provided millions of women with a space to be international actors… [which has] induced many women to feel confident enough to take part in public organising and public debate" (1990:61), even if its main values and organisations resist substantial changes in women's gender roles. It is therefore because the issue of South African women's participation in the anti-apartheid struggle pulls to itself a radioactive combination of notions of race, gender and the processes of nationalism that I argue this is delicate, complex terrain, and any syllabus outlines which sought to do it justice would need to be very finely tuned.

I want to return to my earlier analysis of content included under the Grade 12 unit, "Civil Society Protests" and the claim that "black women see themselves first as black, white women see themselves first as white" (DBE, 2011:28). This quite clearly advances the idea that women's issues as a priority of its own were at times considered irrelevant by black South African women, and by implication white and Western, and thus complicit with the very system the anti-racist liberation struggle fought to throw off. What is not made clear, however, is what Anthias & Yuval-Davis suggested with their question, "how

do we evaluate women's political struggles?" I would argue that this is where the history of women's participation in key moments of national history is at its most vulnerable. Thus, even though CAPS specifies the ways in which both black and white women used activities traditionally specified as "women's activities", such as trade union organisations, peaceful anti-pass campaigns, beer-brewing and boycotting municipal beer halls (DBE, 2011:28) as ways to resist apartheid, what gets lost in a narrative are two distinct, but inter-related aspects. The first is the fact that contested gender roles within the liberation movement itself were the key mechanisms shaping this paradigm as a whole. Secondly, suggesting that a black women's experience was first mediated by her black skin and not a consciousness of the specificity of her experience of women's issues within the movement, actually ends up sustaining two harmful narratives: it ensures the discursive stabilisation of the idea that black men's struggles were unrelated to their gender and sexuality, which moves the curriculum towards somewhat verging on complicity with what Enloe (1990:62) calls the "not now, later" narrative, or the idea "that the most dire problems facing the nascent national community are problems which can be explained and solved without reference to power relations between women and men". As such, what is left unexamined are the ways in which women's issues – as they are now, and were then – have historically faced constant struggles to resist segregation and marginalisation.

Finally, I would venture to argue that it is not only a false dilemma that women in South Africa were having to deliberately choose between "feminist and/or women's issues" or "mainstream anti-racism" approaches in their struggle against the apartheid state, but that it is the choice of topics about women's participation which gives rise to this. By doing so, I am borrowing from Nomboniso Gaza's retort, "why the Berlin Wall between blackness and liberation on one hand and feminism on the other?" (2007:214), and the essence of her wider argument, that binary thinking - trying to find distinctions between the two or attempt reconciliation of them in the South African context – is unnecessary and does not make sense of black women's experience of the struggle. In practice this is to argue that, as they stand, the approach to topics which do include women's involvement in the liberation struggle corresponds to an androcentric perspective of historical events. It is an unfortunate fact that women's varied and multiple contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle do not feature with the same predominance as South African men's do. The 1956 Women's March appears in both Grades 11 and 12 content, for example, but despite a chapter dedicated to the rise of

African nationalism in Grade 11, the dynamic history of the African National Congress Women's League is absent from topics relating to the diverging political stances of the ANC, ANCYL and PAC between 1912 and the late 1960s. And yet, historians of women in South African history have long been interested in the role played by the discourse of "motherisms" (see for example, Meintjies,1998ab; Kemp, 1995; Hassim, 2006) among black South African women in the liberation struggle. Whilst masculinist language often seeped through African National Congress nationalism, Meintjies writes, "women did not eschew the symbolism embedded in the idea of 'mothers of the nation', they used it to establish for themselves a secure public role" (1998a:104). This research underscores the notion that it is an imposed narrative that women in South Africa in general saw inconsistencies between the demands made of their gender, and demands made on them by the liberation struggle.

Themes like race and nationalism are as complex as they are radioactive. I would argue that it would be of absolute necessity that they appear in any history curriculum. Nonetheless, as I have shown in this discussion, it is an incomplete picture which emerges when the concepts of either race or nationalism are dealt with in a way which elides gender as a substantive element of their mechanisms. As I have also argued, it is even more so the case when race and nationalism are not considered bound by the politics of gender in history. Elizabeth Spelman agrees that this is a demanding exercise, pointing out that "it is not easy to think about gender, race and class in ways that don't obscure or underplay their effects on one another" (1989:115). As she continues, however, "the crucial question is how the links between them are conceived". In order for students to conceptualise these "big questions" of history in such a way that it is not flawed by androcentric diagnoses – and which therefore do not take into account the reciprocity of gender roles – this approach to history will by necessity need to discuss themes of sexualised violence, racially gendered violence, gendered citizenship and the idea of multiple feminisms and gender consciousness.

Whilst it is clear that the South African curriculum has, to some extent, responded to the demands that history taught to high school students must reflect women's historical experiences and identities, I have sought to argue that this does not yet amount to a real move towards a gender-balanced, nor gender-sensitive representation of the past. Indeed, I have argued that the very act of representing women in history textbooks strains the limits of existing frameworks. Either there must take place a radical reconceptualization of

topics and language deployed in representing the past, or "including" women in history will remain a practice not just conceptually inadequate, but susceptible, or worse, bound, to representations of women which re-inscribe harmful stereotypes and reproduce oppressive notions of gender. As I have shown, it is rare to come across a site of so-called "middle-ground".

Finally, the imperative of decolonisation gives this discussion a particular urgency. When women remain under-represented, and their experiences distorted through a largely androcentric account of the past, it is a naïve claim that the content of the South African FET history curriculum can help students answer its key question, "How do we understand our world today?" (DBE, 2011:10). Who, in the first instance, is included by such a term as "we"? Which "world" is it that ought to be understood? On the basis of which version of the "past"? My proposal has been that a school history that takes the experiences of women into serious consideration will look significantly different to how it appears now, and it will only be at this point that school history as it is taught in South Africa will enable students to imagine a multi-perspectival past.

References

Adams, C 1983. 'Off the Record', *Teaching History*, 36:3-6.

Amos, V & Parmar, P 1984. Challenging imperial feminism, *Feminist Review*, 17:3-19.

Anthias, F & Yuval-Davis, N 1983. Contextualizing feminism: Gender, ethnic and class divisions, *Feminist Review*, 15:62-75.

Bourdillon, H 1994. On the record: The importance of gender in teaching history. In: H Bourdillon (ed.). *Teaching History: a Reader*, London, New York: Routledge.

Bock, G 2006. Women's history and gender history: Aspects of an international debate. In: S Morgan (ed.). *The Feminist History Reader*, London: Routledge.

Bradford, H 1996. Women, gender and colonialism: Rethinking the history of the British Cape colony and its frontier zones, c. 1806-70. *The Journal of African History*, 37(3): 351-370.

Brown, EB 1992. "What has happened here?": The politics of difference in women's history and feminist politics. *Feminist Studies*, 18(2):295-312.

Butler, J 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*, New York: Routledge.

Callaway, P 2012. History in senior secondary school CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment. *Yesterday & Today,* 7:23-63.

Combahee River Collective 1978. A Black Feminist Statement – dated April 1977. In: Z Eisenstein (ed.). *Capitalist patriarchy and the case for socialist feminism*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Crenshaw, K 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6):1241-1299.

Davis, A 1981. *Women, Race & Class*, London: Women's Press.

Department of Basic Education (DBE) 2011. *National Curriculum Statement (NCS): Curriculum and Policy Statement (CAPS), History, FET Grades 10-12*. Pretoria: Government Printing Works.

Downs, L 2004. *Writing gender history*. London: Hodder Education.

Enloe, C 1990. *Bananas, beaches & bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*, 1st edition. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fouche, F 1994. Overcoming the sisterhood myth. *Transformation*, 23:78-97.

Gasa, N 2007. *Women in South African history: They remove boulders and cross rivers ('basus'imbokodo, bawel'imilambo).* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Hassim, S 1991. Gender, social location and feminist politics in South Africa. *Transformation,* 15:65-84.

Hassim, S 2006. Democracy's shadows: Sexual rights and gender politics in the rape trial of Jacob Zuma. *African Studies*, 68(1):57-77.

Higginbotham, EV 1992. African-American women's history and the metalanguage of race. *Signs*,17(2): 51-274.

Hill Collins, P 1990. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman Press.

hooks[3], b 1981. *Ain't I a Woman? Black women and feminism*, Boston: Southend Press.

Kelly, J 1984. *Women, history, and theory.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

3 At request of the author, the surname of Hooks is referenced in lower case.

Kemp, A, Madlala, N, Moodey, A & Salo, E 1995. The dawn of a new day: Redefining South African feminism. In: A Basu. *The challenge of local feminisms: Women's movements in a global perspective*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Klausen, S 2010. Reclaiming the white daughter's purity: Afrikaner nationalism, racialised sexuality, and the 1975 abortion and sterilisation act in apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Women's History*, 22(3):39-63.

Lieu, T 1991. Teaching the differences amongst women from a historical perspective: Rethinking race and gender as social categories. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 14(4):265-276.

Lugones, M 2008. The coloniality of gender. *Worlds and Knowledge Otherwise*, Spring: 4-17.

McClintock, A 1993. Family feuds: Gender, nationalism and the family. *Feminist Review*, 44:61-80.

Meintjies, S 1998a. Political violence and gender: A neglected relation in South Africa's struggle for democracy. *Politikon*, 25(2):95-109.

Meintjies, S 1998b. Winnie Madikizela Mandela: Tragic figure? Populist tribune? Township tough? *South African Report*, 13(4):14-22.

Mohanty, C, Russo, A & Torres, L 1991. *Third world women and the politics of feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Nkenkana, A 2015. No African futures without the liberation of women: A decolonial feminist perspective. *Africa Development*, 40(3):41-57.

Oakley, A 1972. *Sex, gender and society*. London: Maurice Templeton Smith.

Offen, K 1988. Defining feminism: A Comparative historical approach. *Signs*, 14(1):119-157.

Pateman, C 1989. *The disorder of women: Democracy, feminism and political theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Rubin, G 1975. The traffic in women: Notes on the political economy of sex. In: R Reiter (ed.). *Towards and anthropology of women*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Scott, JS 1988. The problem of invisibility. In: S Kleinberg (ed.). *Retrieving women's history: changing perceptions of the role of women in politics and society*. Berg: UNESCO.

Scott, JS 1993. Women's History. In: L Kaufman. *American feminist thought at century's end: A reader*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Scott, JS 1999. *Gender and the politics of history*. Revised edition. New York: Columbia University Press.

Spelman, E 1989. *Inessential women: problems of exclusion in feminist thought*. London: Women's Press.

Siebörger, R 1993. History and the emerging nation: The South African experience. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3(2):1-17.

Spivak, GC 1988. Can the subaltern speak? In: C Nelson & L Grossber (eds.). *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*. MacMillan: Basingstoke.

Stoler, AL 2002. *Carnal knowledge and imperial rule: Race and the intimate in colonial rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Trecker, L 1971. Women in United States History high school textbooks. *Social Education*, 35:429-260, as quoted in *AAUW report*, No. 62.

The depiction of women in the verbal text of a junior secondary Malawian history textbook – an analysis

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2016/n16a3

Annie F Chiponda
Chancellor College
University of Malawi, Malawi
bulalaann@gmail.com

Johan Wassermann
Faculty of Education
University of Pretoria, South Africa
Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za

Abstract

This article analyses the depiction of women in the verbal text of a history textbook used at junior secondary school level in Malawi. The focus falls on how women are depicted in the textbook and why they are depicted the way they are. The article is based on empirical research and utilised a feminist theoretical perspective. The verbal text was analysed quantitatively using open coding. Based on the analysis we argue that women, as historical characters, are generally subordinated and oppressed in a number of ways. This includes under-representation, marginalisation and omission. Since what is written in textbooks is regarded as authoritative depictions like these can send a negative message to learners and teachers as users of the textbooks about women as historical characters. We also argue that our findings from the Malawi context resonate with similar research done globally which for the most part can be attributed to the patriarchal societies women find themselves in. To change this situation we recommended that the junior secondary history syllabus and textbooks be updated and aligned to the Malawian constitution and gender equality policies.

Keywords: Feminism; History textbooks; Malawi; Patriarchy; Marginalisation; Omission; Under-representation; Verbal text; Women.

Introduction

Malawi is a land-locked country located in Sub-Saharan Africa, south of the equator, in the south-eastern region of the continent. The country has a total area of 118 484 square kilometres which includes both the land area and Lake Malawi, the third largest lake in Africa. Malawi is one of the most densely populated countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with a population of 13.6 million. Women make up 51% of the population (National Statistical Office (NSO) of Malawi, 2009). The country was formerly, during the period of British

colonial rule between 1891 and 1964, known as Nyasaland. Its name was changed to Malawi when it became independent in July 1964. For a period of 30 years after its independence Malawi was under a one-party dictatorship. This was only replaced by a multiparty democracy in 1994. As a democratic country, Malawi has a liberal constitution which recognises many human rights, including women's rights. The constitution also emphasises gender equality, women's empowerment and non-discrimination based on gender.

The school curriculum that is offered in Malawi was developed by the Ministry of Education through its curriculum development centre, the Malawi Institute of Education (MIE). With reference to this article, the history curriculum is composed of two syllabi, the junior secondary and the senior. The junior secondary school history syllabus was published by the Ministry of Education in December 1998 and introduced in the schools in January 1999. The senior syllabus, was published in February 2001 and implementation thereof began in the same year (Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2001; Ministry of Education Sports and Culture, 1998). In this article, we will focus on the history textbooks that were produced to implement the junior secondary school history syllabus.

According to LaSpina (1998) textbooks contain both verbal (words) and visual (images) text. Although in recent decades the world has taken a visual turn (Harrison, 2003), verbal text maintains its supremacy in textbooks as it is what is predominantly used in school to narrate past events. As such, history textbooks are the "central medium of information" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996:38) and are also an "important mode of communication" (Harrison, 2003:46). Learners could, therefore, in the context of this article, develop an understanding of the depiction of women as historical characters through engaging with the verbal text of the junior secondary Malawian history textbooks. Consequently, in the light of the aforementioned, this article seeks to answer two research questions: firstly, how are women depicted in the verbal text of a selected junior secondary Malawian history textbook and secondly, why are women depicted the way they are in the verbal text of the selected history textbook. Succinctly put, the focus of this article is on the depiction of women in Malawian junior secondary textbook.

This article is structured into six broad sections. In the first we introduce and provide an outline of the article. In the second we review the literature related to the topic. This is followed by a description of the research methodology employed and the presentation and discussion of the findings. In the conclusion, the argument proposed in the article is drawn together.

Literature review – depiction of women in the verbal text of history textbooks

Besides being important instructional materials, textbooks also signify particular constructions of reality and reflect the values and aspirations of the society they serve (Apple, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006). In the light of this, much has been written globally in the recent past about the depiction of women in textbooks in general and in history textbooks specifically (Cains & Inglis, 1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Ruthsdotter, 1996; Commeyras & Alvermann, 1996; Frederickson, 2004; Chick, 2006; Muravyeva, 2006; Su, 2007; Schoeman, 2009; Fardon & Schoeman, 2010; Schrader & Wotipka, 2011).

Drawing on the literature outlined above differences were noted in the way women were represented in relation to men in the verbal texts of history textbooks. In this regard Cains and Inglis (1989), in a study conducted in Scotland, noted the scanty representation of women in the verbal text. Their study revealed that of the ten textbooks analysed only three paid special attention to women's history and only one showed a marked emphasis on the history of women. In explaining the under-representation of women Cains and Inglis (1989) argued that early historians did not consider topics related to women as important subject matter and as a result matters which related to or involved women was downplayed. For instance, economic activities of women were almost completely ignored in nine of the ten textbooks analysed. Cains and Inglis (1989) deny the lack of historical sources as an excuse for the under-representation of women and attribute it to negligence on the part of writers and publishers who are overtly influence by the male dominated society they live in.

Other studies conducted showed similar results to that of Cains and Inglis (1989). For instance, Ruthsdotter (1996) paints a vivid picture of the marginalisation and under-representation of women in United States history textbooks. She cited two examples, *A History of the United States* (1992) published by Prentice-Hall and authored by Boorsten, Boorsten and Brookes which contained less than 3% of content about women and *World history: Traditions and New Directions* (1991) published by Addison-Wesley and edited by Stearns which allocated about 2% of its subject matter to women. Similarly, in a study conducted 15-years later Clark *et al.,* (2005) noted that only 853 names of females against 10 958 male names were included in the textbooks they had analysed. This represents a rough ratio of eight women

for every 100 men named as historical characters. A similar trend was found in the Grade 2 textbooks analysed by Chick (2006). She identified 58 female historical characters as opposed to 190 male ones. In a Grade 7-9 textbook 103 women and 483 men were identified while a Grade 9-12 textbook contained 113 female versus 726 male historical characters.

In the light of the above, based on the United States social studies textbooks they had analysed, Sleeter and Grant (1991), could report that women were both invisible and marginalised as their roles and contributions were not covered in sufficient detail. Women were also not usually discussed in sections related to major economic and political decisions. Commeyras and Alvermann (1996) referred to this as an androcentric view of history. That is a view that presents the past from a male perspective. In an attempt to remedy the situation, they found ghettoised attempts to include females by means of subsections on famous women, paragraphs about women's status and rights and sentences about their contributions as wives and mothers of famous men. Their results are not very different from that of Frederickson's (2004) who studied high school history textbooks and found that they hardly reflected women in the tables of contents. Where they did they were included in chapter sub-headings and not chapter titles. Likewise, Schrader and Wotipka (2011), noted that history textbooks published before the 1970's largely omitted women. They also noted that although women were included in post-1970 textbooks, only a few were made reference to in a compensatory manner (Schrader & Wotipka, 2011).

In studies conducted outside of Europe and the United States, Su (2007) in Taiwan, Schoeman (2009) and Fardon and Schoeman (2010) in South Africa and Muravyeva (2006) in Russia, reported similar results. Su (2007) reported that no space was devoted to Taiwanese women's experiences and perspectives as well as their past contributions in Taiwanese social studies' textbooks. In an African context Schoeman (2009) argued that the content in the three South African textbooks she studied under-represented women to the point that they were almost invisible. Additionally, Fardon and Schoeman (2010) observed a comparable pattern of under-representation of women in the exemplar South African school history textbook they analysed. Equally, Muravyeva (2006) in her study of 28 Russian history textbooks concluded that the narrative of the verbal text dealt with topics such as economy, revolutions, wars and international relations which were all described exclusively from a male perspective.

In addition, the literature also revealed the variety of roles and activities in which women were depicted in the verbal text of history textbooks. In this regard, most roles and activities attributed to women were stereotypically feminine such as being mothers and housewives. A point in case is the work by Schoeman (2009) in South Africa found that women were almost exclusively cast in passive traditional feminine roles typical of a patriarchal society. In a follow-up study Fardon and Schoeman (2010) noted that no reference was made to women's occupations and activities in the verbal text. However, 64 incidences of male occupations and activities were mentioned. In the United States the trend was similar and in mainstream American history textbooks, most black women were depicted as slaves with only a few shown as leaders of anti-slavery movements. However, in a series of African American history textbooks analysed it was refreshingly found that women were not only depicted as slaves but also as in more stereotypically masculine roles and activities such as being artists, business owners and politicians (Schocker & Woyshner, 2013). Showing women in stereotypically masculine roles and activities in the verbal text of history textbooks was a rare occurrence.

The literature also exposed instances where women as historical characters were depicted negatively. A point in case are the studies conducted by Commeyras and Alvermann (1996) and Muravyeva (2006) where women were depicted as having risen to power and were maintaining their positions through wicked ways. For instance, Commeyras and Alvermann (1996) noted that renowned women such as Catherine de Medici and Wu Chao were depicted as skilled mediators who based their power on their Eve-like characteristics such as sensuality, wilfulness and cupidity. This they purportedly used to achieve what they desired.

In the case of Russia, Muravyeva (2009) noted that almost all the powerful women mentioned in the textbooks she studied were included because they did something wrong. For example, Catherine the First, the wife of Peter the Great, was labelled as a prostitute and Princess Olga was mentioned because she annihilated the whole nation in revenge for her husband's death. Such misrepresentations, according to Muravyeva (2006), would lead history learners to conclude that once women are in power the nation succumbs to problems. Muravyeva also found evidence of women being depicted as victims and of being powerless. This was done by means of the personification of the country as "mother Russia" whenever it was in bad state such as being "conquered, ravished, devastated, economically ruined..." (Muravyeva, 2006:59). Russia then needed to be defended by men.

Based on the literature reviewed it can thus be concluded that women are under-represented, marginalised and sometimes even omitted altogether from the verbal text of history textbooks. At the same time, they are at times wilfully misrepresented as bad and, with the odd exception, portrayed as largely passive while pursuing stereotypically feminine roles and activities. A general explanation for these depictions of women is the patriarchal societies they find themselves in. And since history textbooks mirror the society they serve, the manner in which women are depicted signifies the reality, values and aspirations of the society from which the textbooks emanate (Apple, 1991; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006).

Considering the aforementioned we argue that the depiction of women in the verbal text of Malawian junior secondary history textbooks warrants a deeper theoretical understanding. We therefore drew on feminist theory to conceptually understand this better. Feminism is based on a strong belief that women in society are oppressed, subordinated, and treated unequally in comparison to men and that this situation is not legitimate, natural or justified in any way (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007; Hannam, 2007). However, feminism does not only stop at explaining the subordination and oppression of women but questions and challenges the origins of the unjust and unequal power relations between women and men. As such, feminists strongly believe that the condition women find themselves in is socially constructed and can therefore be changed (Hannam, 2007). An important goal of feminism therefore is to end the subordination and oppression of women and bring about a change in society. Hence, by using feminist theory we will not only explain how women are depicted in the verbal text in the history textbook studied and why they are depicted that way, but we will also suggest strategies needed to alter this depiction. In this regard, like Weedon (1987) we argue that feminism is both theory and politics and sits at the intersection of race, class and gender. In the process, we will be filling a gap in the literature for studies on the depiction of women in the verbal text of history textbooks in Africa are very rare.

Research methodology

The approach we adopted in this study was qualitative in nature while we adhered to the interpretivist paradigm that reality is socially constructed and that multiple truths exist (Creswell, 1998). The approach and paradigm adopted signals our intention namely to understand the depiction of women

in the selected Malawian junior secondary textbook.

The production of textbooks in Malawi is managed by the government through the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST). The latter controls the content, quality, production and availability of textbooks. Secondary school textbooks are produced by private publishers who commission individuals or teams of writers to act as authors (MoEST, 2006). However, according to the Malawian government's policy on textbook production, any commercial publisher who provides publishing services is regarded as the author of the textbook. Publishers, however, have the choice of including the names of authors or not in their publications. Once the textbooks have been produced, they are subjected to the MoEST approval process. Gender sensitivity is one of the criteria a textbook need to adhere to so as to pass the approval process. The textbook we analysed for this article was approved by the Malawian government which implies that it must have adhered to all the expected criteria.

The textbook we analysed, *New junior history course 1 & 2*, was published in 2000 by the Blantyre based Christian Literature Association in Malawi (CLAIM). As such it serves the junior secondary history syllabus implemented in 1999. Authorship was allocated to G. Chiunguzeni. Our decision to analyse the verbal text of this textbook for the depiction of women was based on multifarious reasons. The book was on the list as one of three approved history textbooks for the junior secondary phase, it is the most widely used junior secondary history book used in Malawian schools, and it was readily available in local bookstores. As such *New junior history course 1 & 2* can be viewed as a trustworthy example of the junior secondary history textbooks used in Malawi.

Textbooks are pre-existing data which we collected by purchasing the textbook from a bookshop. To concur with Nicholls (2003), we acknowledge that research in textbooks is not an easy task because methodologies for analysis are not always well described. Due to this we endeavoured to develop a workable qualitative research methodology for analysing the verbal text by means of open coding.

Analysing the textbooks by means of open coding meant initially reading the entire verbal text line by line. In this reading we focused on the table of content, topics and subtopics. This was done several times. In the process sections in which women appeared as historical characters were identified. We then proceeded to drill deeply into those sections of the verbal text which

included identifiable women. The aim was, as per the stated research questions, to discover how the women included in the verbal text were depicted and what it meant in terms of their depiction.

In coding, we used the first letters of the depictions as our codes - for example, q for queens and p for priestesses and so forth. After coding the verbal text in its entirety, we grouped all common codes together to form categories. Initially, these categories had names related to the depictions as found it the verbal text. This concurred with Leavy's (2007) argument that emergent categories can either be literal or specific before progressing to more conceptual groupings. For example, some of the categories identified based on their depictions were queens, priestesses and goddesses.

We then interpreted the meaning of each category in response to the first research question, "How are women depicted in a junior secondary school history textbook in Malawi?" After interpretation, we assigned new names to the categories. Thus, for example, the category of queens was renamed women as rulers, that of priestesses became women as religious leaders and the category of goddesses became known as women as spiritual leaders. Further interpretation led to the grouping of categories with similar traits or characteristics into themes which were broader and more encompassing. For example, all the categories that had a trait of leadership, such as religious leaders, spiritual leaders and rulers were grouped together into a theme known as women as leaders. We also elevated the interpretation of the emerging themes to a higher conceptual level whereby the themes with some similarities were further collated into a major theme. For example, themes such as women as leaders, women in traditional family roles and women depiction in domestic and reproductive roles were grouped under one general theme known as roles and activities in which women are depicted. This decision was made because all these themes dealt with roles and activities. We used these themes to present the findings of our study in the proceeding section.

Data presentation

The overall depiction of women as historical characters

Our analysis of *New junior history course 1 & 2* found that the book carried no topics or subtopics specifically dealing with women. In contrast the verbal text included topics and subtopics about men. In fact, coding the presence of men and women in the text revealed that 94% of the historical characters

in the verbal text were men. Furthermore, four out of the 17 chapters in this textbook did not include women in the verbal text at all. Those chapters that excluded any reference to women dealt with the following topics: the study of history; evolution of humans; the kingdoms of Western Sudan – Ghana and Mali and the partition of Africa.

When women did appear in the verbal text it was for the most part in passing by means of a single sentence as the following highlighted example form an exemplar paragraph illustrates:

> *The people of the Nile valley conducted trade with people of the Middle East. They exchanged wheat, barley and cotton with jewels, metal objects, spices, copper, glassware and wine. They also traded with people in the south of Egypt such as Axum and Nubia.* ***Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt once sent ships to Axum to buy ivory and ebony (hard wood)*** *(p. 15).*

In all we identified 22 instances in the verbal text where women as historical characters had but one sentence allocated to them.

However, in two instances women were referred to in more than one sentence. The citation below exemplifies this observation:

> *In Spain, Columbus persuaded the councillors of the deeply religious* ***Queen Isabella*** *to let him look for "lost Christians" believed to be living somewhere on an island of the Atlantic Ocean. After many delays, the* ***Queen*** *finally agreed to support Columbus in his voyage. Columbus was mandated to "discover and acquire islands and main lands (p. 148).*

Our analysis also revealed that only on three occasions (pp. 78, 79 and 116) women as historical characters were discussed in short paragraphs. Only in one instance in the entire book was a woman discussed in two paragraphs:

> *However, conflict with the Roman Catholic Church developed when King Henry VIII wanted the Pope to annul his marriage to* ***his wife Catherine*** *of Aragon. For a long time, King Henry had been thinking of marrying* ***a new wife*** *since he wanted a son to succeed him after death.*
>
> ***His wife Catherine*** *had only one* ***surviving daughter, Mary****, and she was already past child-bearing age. This problem was made more urgent by King Henry's deep love for* ***Anne Boleyn****. This love has important consequences for England. The Pope, Clement VII, refused to annul the marriage of King Henry* ***to Catherine****. King Henry defied the Pope and married* ***Anne Boleyn****. He also rules that the clergy in England should begin paying their allegiance to the king rather than the Pope (p. 88).*

It must, however, be pointed out that the subjects in these two paragraphs are not the three women mentioned, but rather King Henry VIII and

Pope Clement VII – in other words the men mentioned in the text were foregrounded. The three women are mentioned because of their submissive relationship to King Henry as husband and father. As such their voices are not heard and they appear in the text because of their relationship to the king and not because of their own agency. A similar trend was noticed in two of the single paragraphs (pp. 78 and 79) allocated to women. It was only in one instance, on page 116, where a woman was referred to in a paragraph because of her own agency. The woman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, was depicted as a leading abolitionist of slavery in the United States through the publication of her novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which compelled many people in to start campaigning against slavery.

The above analysis indicates that women as historical characters are not discussed in any real detail or depth in the verbal text of the textbook studied. They also do not feature in all chapters and in the chapters that do include women they appear in little historical depth and in a decontextualized manner. This clearly indicates that women as historical characters are depicted sparsely and in passing in the verbal text. Based on the fact that not all chapters feature women we argue that they are depicted as having no history in certain themes at all. In all of this, women are shunted to the margins of the content covered by the textbook under analysis. In so doing they were rendered practically invisible and generally voiceless.

What then, in this under-represented and marginalised state, were the roles attributed to women as historical characters? This will come under the lens in the next section.

Roles and activities in which women are depicted in the verbal text – wives and mothers

Despite being under-represented and marginalised our analysis of the verbal text revealed that women were depicted in different roles and activities. First and foremost, amongst these roles were traditional family roles as wives and mothers. At least nine such instances were identified and these are represented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Women depicted as wives

Name /Title of woman/ women depicted as wife/wives	Description of the husband
Isis (p. 15)	Wife of Osiris, Egyptian God of the underworld who judged the dead
The wife of Nebuchadnezzar (name not mentioned) (p. 47)	The King of Babylon
Khadija (p. 80)	Wife of Muhammad, the Prophet and founder of Islam
Laura (p. 84)	Wife of Petrach, a well-known humanist writer and poet of the Renaissance period
Catherine of Aragon (p. 88)	Wife of King Henry VIII of England during the time of the Reformation
Anne Boleyn (p. 88)	Wife of King Henry VIII of England
Hera (p. 52)	Wife of Zeus, the father of all gods and people in Ancient Greece who was also referred to as the God of the Sky
Agrippina (p. 69)	Wife of Claudius, Emperor of Rome
The wives of the Kabaka (p. 29)	Wives of the King of Buganda kingdom. The Kabaka was the title of the Kings of the Buganda kingdom

The women listed as wives in Table 1 must, however, be viewed in relation to the social status of their husbands. The latter were either famous men or gods meaning that all the women who are depicted as wives in the verbal text are not ordinary women. They had power and importance bestowed on them by dint of the fact that they were associated by marriage to famous men or gods. In depicting women as wives of important men or gods they were portrayed as passive, with little agency and dependent on men for their fame, position and status. This is the case because the women listed in Table 1 are mentioned because of the achievements of their husbands and not based on their own successes. They are therefore depicted as not necessarily being capable of attaining important positions or recognition in society on their own. Furthermore, portraying women as wives of important men and gods gives the impression that the only notable achievement of these women in history was marriage.

Related to the above, the analysis of the verbal text also revealed five instances in which women were depicted as mothers (pp. 54, 55, 69, 88 and 85). The

following two quotations are suitable examples of women depicted as mothers responsible for caring and raising children:

> *As a sculptor, he [Michelangelo] carved the figure of the* ***Virgin Mary with the baby Jesus Christ in her arms*** *(p. 54).*

And...

> *His [Raphael] most famous portrait is that of the* ***'Madonna and Child'*** *(p. 85).*

The other three women who were mentioned as mothers were Agrippina, mother of Emperor Nero (p.69); Catherine, wife of King Henry who was also depicted as the mother of Princess Mary (p.88) and ancient Greek girls who were expected to become strong mothers and bear healthy babies through playing tough games (p.54).

A close scrutiny of these women, and in the case of Catherine also her child, shows that all, except for the Greek girls, are mothers of important and famous people, particularly men. For example, Jesus Christ was the Messiah, Nero was the emperor of Rome and Mary was the princess, daughter of King Henry VIII and his wife Catherine. Therefore, almost all the women depicted in the verbal text as mothers are not only portrayed in traditional roles of motherhood, but also as mothers of people who were famous in either a religious or political sense.

Through the depiction of women as mothers of important people they were elevated to the status of significance. However, we argue that such a depiction renders women dependent on the achievements of their famous children for historical recognition. This is the case because none of the women were mentioned for achievements other than giving birth. Furthermore, since all the women bar one were mothers to boys, we would conclude that this portrays these women as being dependent on men for their fame.

Leadership positions

What the analysis also revealed was that many of the women referred to in the verbal text were depicted as leaders in various spheres of life. Some were depicted as political leaders while others were religious leaders.

The analysis of the verbal text revealed that seven women were depicted as queens. Some of the queens were mentioned by name while others were referred to only by title. Those mentioned by name were: Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt (p. 15), Queen Isabella of Spain (p. 104) and Queen Elizabeth I of

England (p. 108). However, on four occasions, women were merely referred to as queens without their names being mentioned or any historical detail being provided. The following quote illustrates this reduction to historical anonymity:

> *The federation brought together the three Central African British territories of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia under one central government which was referred to as the Federal Government. This was headed by a Governor General who represented the* ***Queen*** *(p. 134).*

In all instances in the verbal text where women were referred to as queens, they were depicted in their capacity as rulers of their kingdoms and subjects as can be gleaned from the following example:

> *On 6th July 1964, Nyasaland attained its independence and took the name Malawi. Dr Banda continued to be Prime Minister. The Governor became Governor General, representing the* ***Queen*** *(p. 138).*

What emerged from the verbal text was that queens were depicted as powerful women with agency, power and authority. Furthermore, none of them were depicted as being a queen because of being married to a king. In short, queens as hereditary leaders were revered and portrayed as active individuals that functioned independently of men.

Other than being state leaders as queens some women were also depicted as political leaders. For instance, Rose Chibambo was shown as one of the leaders of the Malawi Congress Party (M.C.P) during the struggle for independence:

> *The Malawi Congress Party (M.C.P) was formed to replace the banned Nyasaland African Congress … When Dr Banda was released from prison, he assumed leadership of the party. Other notable leaders were Henry Masauko Chipembere, Dunduzu Chisiza, Willie Chokani, Augustine Bwanausi,* ***Rose Chibambo*** *and Kanyama Chiume (p. 137).*

Likewise, Gertrude Mongella was also mentioned as the President of the Pan-African Parliament. (p. 148) Both Chibambo and Mongella were depicted not as mere participants but as important political leaders.

The analysis of the verbal text also revealed that nine women were shown as goddesses or divine historical beings each with a different responsibility. Table 2 below lists these goddesses, their responsibilities, as well as their countries.

Table 2: Goddesses and their responsibilities

Name of goddess	Responsibility	Country of origin
Nanna (p. 46)	The moon goddess	Ancient Sumeria
Ishtar (p. 47)	The goddess of love	Ancient Assyria
Assar (p. 47)	The goddess of war	Ancient Assyria
Hera (p. 52)	Wife of Zeus and goddess of marriage	Ancient Greece
Demeter (p. 52)	The goddess of earth and harvests	Ancient Greece
Athena (p. 52)	The goddess of wisdom and peace and special protector of Athens	Ancient Greece
Aphrodite (p. 52)	The goddess of love and beauty	Ancient Greece
Artemis (p. 52)	The goddess of the moon and hunting	Ancient Greece
Isis (p. 15)	The moon goddess and wife of Osiris and goddess of fertility	Ancient Egypt

As can be gleaned from Table 2, women as goddesses were religious leaders with different obligations. However, according to their duties, the goddesses, except for two, were also depicted in traditional roles with domestic feminine attributes such as being wives, carriers of fertility, nurturers, peacekeepers, overseers of beauty and love and being responsible for food. Assar and Nanna are the only deities not depicted with such dual roles.

The goddesses listed are also depicted with less power when compared to male gods. A point in case is goddess of the moon as opposed to the sun and goddess of the earth as opposed to heaven. The goddess Assar is again the only exception. Therefore, the goddesses, despite being powerful religious leaders, are for the most part also stereotyped in terms of their leadership roles and attributes. We therefore argue that although the goddesses are depicted as divine leaders, their positions are less powerful than those of male gods and they are stereotyped in a feminine manner in the roles and responsibilities they hold.

The verbal text also revealed other women who were depicted in religious roles. For instance, in the history of the Maravi kingdom Makewana was presented as a priestess in charge of a shrine at Msinja (p. 42), Sibyl, the priestess of the god Apollo in Ancient Greece had the duty of interpreting his oracles (p. 52) and nuns were portrayed as serving Christianity (p. 79). In all three instances the women associated with the diverse religions mentioned were portrayed as leaders in their own rights in their respective societies. However, both Sibyl and the nuns were still subservient in their roles to men.

Women in economically productive roles

Our analysis of the verbal text also identified women who were depicted as partaking in economic activities – both in a self-employ capacity and under wage employment. For instance, Khadija was depicted as a business woman. She was a successful trader who managed to employ other people, including the Prophet Muhammad, to help run her business:

> *Muhammad was an orphan … brought up by a grandfather and later on by his uncle … When he was twenty-five years old, he began working for a rich noble, twice widowed, forty-year-old* ***business lady, Khadija*** *and carried her caravans laden with goods to Syria and other distant places and returned with much profit (p. 80).*

The fact that Khadija managed her own business and employed people portrays her as a successful entrepreneur and as a woman who is economically self-reliant. However, she was still powerfully linked to the Prophet Muhammad.

Our analysis of the verbal text of *New junior history course 1 & 2* also recognised women as employed workers in the manufacturing industry in Britain before the advent of the Industrial Revolution. They were depicted as spinners in the textile industry who spun cotton by hand in their homes (p. 92) while being in the employment of big businessmen. However, the women were performing manual labour while the men worked as weavers using handlooms. In this, women were portrayed as technologically backward while men acted as the rightful users of technology.

A woman as an accomplice to a murder

Considering the variety roles and activities in which women were represented in the verbal text one woman stood out. Agrippina was shown as the one who organised the assassination of her husband: "Claudius was assassinated in AD 54 under the order of his wife Agrippina who wanted Nero, a son by her first husband, to become emperor" (p. 69). As such she is depicted as an evil woman. However, **Agrippina** clearly also had other virtues for she was also an innovative, powerful and authoritative individual who was able to influence the course of politics and history. In fact, she was so powerful that she could successfully give orders to have the emperor killed and replaced with her son.

Findings and discussion

Based on the analysis of the data on the depiction of women in the verbal text of the textbook analysed several findings emerged. Foremost was the fact that women were seriously under-represented as only 6% of the historical characters in the book were female. As a result they were excluded from the table of contents, topics and subtopics and appeared mostly in single sentences in the text. Consequently, women were under-represented and shunted to the margins of history which rendered them less visible which in turn created the impression that as people they did not contribute much in the past. At the same time the women who did make it into the text had their historical experiences discussed in little depth.

Who then were the women who made it into the verbal text? Almost without concession they can be described as exceptional and influential. Goddesses which are not real human beings, queens, political leaders and mothers and wives to famous and powerful men were the norm. Furthermore, apart from generally being from the upper class most of these women were also white. This meant that ordinary women, and especially ordinary Malawian and black women, were completely absent from the verbal text. However, most of these famous women had one thing in common - they were in some way or another subordinate to men for their position in history and not their own successes. Although portraying women in this way to a certain extent elevated their social status it also depicted them as incapable and lacking in agency. This gave the impression that women in history were dependent on the achievements of their husbands and male children.

The exception to the rule was a handful of women who were hereditary queens, a business person, political leaders, goddesses or an organiser of a murder. Their leadership roles in especially politics and religion meant that they were appreciated for their own virtues.

What also emerged from the data is that the very small percentage of women mentioned in the verbal text was subjected to stereotyping into traditional feminine roles. The roles attribute to them included that of wives and mothers who cared for children and families, preparers of food, passive peacemakers and users of female wiles, including wicked ones, to get their way. This stereotypical portrayal of women could be explained as a reflection of the patriarchal expectation of women in society, not only in Malawi, but also in other countries as was illustrated by the findings of other studies similar to ours. As Lerner (1993) argues, in a patriarchal society, women are expected

to marry and bear children as they are the nurturers and this is regarded as their primary role of all women regardless of race, class, nationality or continent. These are the roles in which women have primarily participated most historically and still continue to do so in the present.

Pitting the above findings against the literature reviewed revealed that the depiction of women in the Malawian junior secondary history textbook analysed was not unique or different from other parts of the world. Studies from other parts of the world, including the United Kingdom (Cain & Inglis, 1989), the United States (Chick, 2006; Schrader & Wotipka 2011), Taiwan (Su, 2007) and South Africa (Schoeman, 2009; Schoeman & Fardon, 2010), spoke of similar under-representation and marginalisation. Equally, the portrayal of women in traditional feminine roles and attributes concurred with studies conducted elsewhere (Cains & Inglis, 1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Commeyras & Alvermann, 1996; Su, 2007; Fardon and Schoeman, 2010; Schrader & Wotipka, 2011). Likewise, the general stereotyping of women as incapable of significant historical acts other than being mothers or wives of famous men resonate with the work done by Commeyras and Alvermann (1996). Even the depiction of Agrippina as being evil echoes a form of stereotyping observed elsewhere (Muravyeva, 2006). All-in-all the research from different geographical contexts as captured in the literature review, which showed similar results in terms of the depiction of women to our study, clearly indicate that women are marginalised, under-representation, and stereotyped in history textbooks on a global level.

This phenomenon must be understood in light of the feminist argument that pervasive patriarchal customs and traditions that exist in society generally prevent women from participating equally with men in the public sphere beyond the home environment (Beasley, 1999; Bryson, 1999). Consequently, women could be marginalised or omitted from the verbal text in history textbooks as the latter tend to be reflections of the society they serve (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006). In the case of this article the patriarchal nature and general culture of Malawian society, coupled with a junior secondary syllabus and textbook that originated 16-years ago that are still in use provides much of the answer. Like in other parts of wold the Malawian textbook studied is a reflection of society. And this is the major contribution of this article - it served to confirm that the depiction of women in history textbooks in Malawi, a poor densely populated country in central Africa, ties in with the global research on this topic. As such Malawi is part of

the global village still battling the subordination, oppression and stereotyping of women.

In terms of the Malawian context we would recommend that the junior secondary history syllabus, which stems for 1999, and the supporting textbooks which were published in 2000, be revised. This is necessary to bring it in line in with the constitution and other policies related to gender equality that is already in place. Since history textbooks are such powerful purveyors of societal norms and historical knowledge such a step would serve to strengthen attempts at gender equality and go some way to challenge the patriarchal nature of Malawian society and serve to present a fairer and more juts version of history.

Conclusion

We have shown in this article that women in the verbal text of the textbook studied, as well as other history textbooks worldwide, are under-represented, marginalised, subordinated, oppressed and stereotyped variously in the way they are depicted as historical characters. The most common form of marginalisation was under-representation while stereotyping largely happened through the portrayal of women in traditional feminine roles and activities. As textbooks are considered authoritative and accurate teachers and learners, who are the users thereof, can labour under the misconception that women did not contributed much to history and merely partook in stereotypically passive traditional feminine activities. We argue that this is not a true reflection of women in history as they have contributed much and variously in history beyond the traditional feminine sphere. However, this varied contribution by women has been subjugated by the pervasive nature of patriarchy. What this article did was to expose the way women are depicted in the history textbook studied as a manifestation of the enduring patriarchy present in Malawian society. Part of the solution is to develop a new junior secondary history syllabus and textbooks that are aligned to the constitution and the existing legal policies aimed at promoting gender equality.

References

Apple, MW & Christian-Smith, LK 1991. The politics of the textbook. In: MW Apple & LK Christian-Smith (eds.). *The politics of the textbook*. New York: Routledge.

Apple, MW 1991. The culture and commerce of the textbook. In: MW Apple & LK Christian-Smith (eds.). *The politics of the textbook*. New York: Routledge.

Beasley, C 1999. *What is feminism? An introduction to feminist theory*. London: Sage.

Boorstin, DJ, Boorstin, RF & Brooks, MK 1992. *A history of the United States.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Brooks, A & Hesse-Biber, SN 2007. An invitation to feminist research. In: SN Hesse-Biber & PL Leavy (eds.). *Feminist research practice; A primer*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Bryson, V 1999. *Feminist debates: Issues of theory and political practice*. London: MacMillan.

Cains, J & Inglis, B 1989. A content analysis of ten popular history textbooks for primary schools with particular emphasis on the role of women. *Education Review,* 41(3):221-226.

Chick, KA 2006. Gender balance in K-12 American history textbooks. *Social Studies Research and Practice,* 1(3):284-290.

Chiunguzeni, G 2000. *New junior history course 1 & 2*. Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi.

Clark, R, Ayton, K, Frechette, N & Keller, PJ 2005. Women of the world, re-write. *Social Education,* 69(1):41-45.

Commeyras, M & Alvermann, DE 1996. Reading about women in world history textbooks from one feminist perspective. *Gender and Education,* 8(1):31-48.

Cresswell, JW 1998. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishers.

Fardon, J & Schoeman, S 2010. A feminist post-structuralist analysis of an exemplar South African School history text. *South African Journal of Education,* 30:307-323.

Foster, S & Crawford, K 2006. The critical importance of history textbook research. In: S Foster & K Crawford (eds.). *What shall we tell the children? International perspectives on school history textbooks*. Raleigh: Information Age Publishing.

Frederickson, M 2004. Surveying gender: Another look at the way we teach United States history. *The History Teacher,* 37(4):476-484.

Hannam, J 2007. *Feminism*. London: Pearson.

Harrison, C 2003. Visual social semiotics: Understandig how still images make meaning. *Technical Communication,* 50(1):46-60.

Kress, G & Van Leeuwen T 1996. *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. London: Routledge.

LaSpina, JA 1998. *The visual turn and the transformation of the textbook*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Leavy, PL 2007. Feminist practice of content analysis. In: SN Hesse-Biber & PL Leavy (eds.). *Feminist research practice: A primer*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Lerner, G 1993. *The creation of feminist consciousness: From the middle ages to eighteen- seventy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ministry of Education Sports and Culture 1998. *Malawi junior secondary school teaching syllabus: history form 1 and 2*. Domasi: Malawi Institute of Education.

Muravyeva, MG 2006. Shaping gender and national identity through Russian history textbooks on world history. *Yearbook of the International Society for Didactics of History*, 2005:51-62.

National Statistical Office of Malawi 2009. Population and Housing Census 2008: Main report. Zomba: National Statistical Office.

Nicholls, J 2003. Methods in school textbook research. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research,* 3(2):1-17.

Ruthsdotter, M 1996. Writing women back into history. *Education Digest,* 61(7):13-16.

Schoeman, S 2009. The representation of women in a sample of post-1994 South African school history textbooks. *South African Journal of Education,* 29:541-556.

Schrader, CE & Wotipka, CM 2011. History transformed? Gender in World War II narratives in U.S. history textbooks, 1956-2007. *Feminist Formations,* 23(3):68-88.

Sleeter, CE & Grant, CA 1991. Race, class, gender and disability in current textbooks. In: MW Apple & LK Christian-Smith (eds.). *The politics of the textbook*. New York: Routledge.

Stearns, PN 1991. *World history: Traditions and new directions*. Boston: Addison-Wesley.

Su, Y 2007. Ideological representations of Taiwan's history: An analysis of elementary social studies textbooks, 1078-1995. *Curriculum Inquiry,* 37(3):205-237.

Weedon, C 1987. *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Utilising the Stone Age for sport historical teaching

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2016/n16a4

Francois Johannes Cleophas
Stellenbosch University
Sport Science Department
fcleophas@sun.ac.za

Abstract

In this article the author explored sport history pedagogy by combining the Canadian Benchmarking Project with the Revised Bloom's Taxonomy (RBT) for teaching ancient culture to undergraduate students of sport history. The article was introduced by presenting some common understanding of what constitutes the subject, sport history and explaining what pedagogical tools teachers can employ to counter the antagonism that students generally display towards the subject. It was argued that these tools are best utilised by identifying three domains of learning and teaching (cognitive, affective and physcomotor) in sport history. The researcher chose the Stone Age period as a topic of research and class presentation. Next, a narrative was created about this period, placing it within world context. Then the narrative was converted into pedagogical assessment experiences by using the RBT for use inside and outside the classroom but within the boundaries of the formal university sport history curriculum. Finally, the assessment experiences were summarised after a third year sport history class completed them.

Keywords: Bloom's Revised Taxonomy; Canadian Benchmarking Project; Stone Age; Sport history; Stellenbosch.

Introduction

Sport history as a subject discipline uses the term, "sport" relative to all physical activities of humankind (Van der Merwe, 1999:xi). The quest for survival during ancient times was in some ways facilitated by a desire to play. A Dutch philosopher who immersed himself in understanding the play element in human nature, Johan Huizinga, claimed that play is a cultural activity (Huizinga, 1933:5). It is arguable then that the human race evolved culturally because in part, the ability to adapt to our surrounding was facilitated by the playful characteristic manifest in human nature (Estes & Mechikoff, 2002:23). This knowledge is useful for lecturers of undergraduate sport history

students who generally display an antagonism towards the discipline and often demonstrate a general dislike in studying ancient civilisations (Hart, 1976: V-1; Van der Merwe, 1999:xi). The lack of interest is not only evident amongst undergraduate students but is also absent from the official school curriculum (Department of Basic Education, 2011a; Department of Basic Education, 2011b). This confirms Hamilton, et al.'s suggestion that "the ways in which indigenous societies *themselves* produced … knowledge, before the advent of literate recorders, is a topic little treated in its own right by historians…" (Hamilton, et al.: 4). Therefore there is a persistent practice of referring to the Bushmen[1] people as "the first people of the Cape" (Thompson & Wilson, 1982:41). This idea ignores the possibility of any human endeavour, before the arrival of Bushmen in the Western Cape, as worthy of historical enquiry.

In the lecture hall setting, this lack of interest may be ascribed to situations where students of sport history are usually only stimulated in the cognitive domain of learning. Very little attention is devoted to the stimulation of the affective (feeling) and physcomotor (movement) domains. The affective domain implies showing empathy for the concerns and limitations of fellow students (and human beings) and demonstrating a willingness to participate with them regardless of diversity or disability. Physcomotor domain development emphasise efficient movement by using a variety of activities that develop locomotor skills such as walking, running, skipping and hopping. It also refers to performing body management skills on various apparatus including climbing ropes, benches and balance beams (Beighe & Pangrazi, 2011:65). These activities imitate human movement patterns that Stone Age people used for daily living. This research utilised this information and created a narrative of ancient sport practices in pre-colonial "Stellenbosch" and then presented it as a teaching and learning experience at undergraduate level. The study therefore attempts to convert historical knowledge into pedagogical communication (Van Eeden, 2012:31). An attempted aim of such communication is two-fold: to provide context for exiting narratives on Stone Age sport history and to help students create new narratives about the past (Booth, 2005:202). A further aim of this work was to add to a growing interest in themes of decolonisation.

A way of describing the methodology for gathering teaching and learning materials for this research exercise is that it chose to recover a sport history of Stellenbosch that those in positions of power (past and present) removed

1 The term, Bushman, instead of San is used in this text in response to the growing rejection of the latter by political activists who prefer the Afrikaans reference of Boesman.

from public discourse. General works of this nature include the publications, *Stellenbosch Drie Eeue* (*Stellenbosch Three Centuries*) and *Stellenbosch, 1679* (Smuts, 1979:51; Anonymous, 1929:135). Both works honed in on human occupation of Stellenbosch from 1679 onwards but ignored any previous accounts of human habitation. Some historical accounts make brief reference about ancient inhabitants of "Stellenbosch" but ignores Stone Age people. In this respect the work, *Nog altyd hier gewees*, makes references to the ancient Bushmen and Khoi people in only eight lines (Giliomee, 2007:1). The research undertaken in this study attempted to interrupt this trend and place ancient sport historical accounts of "Stellenbosch" within a community and global context. Indeed, the practice of studying the cultural life of ancient societies in the South Western Cape through narrow nationalistic lenses has run its course. As such, this research may be seen as an extension of the work of Floris van der Merwe, who explored sport practices of Stone Age people (Van der Merwe, 1999: 1-8; Van der Merwe, 2007:1-4). In order to convert these texts into sport history teaching and learning material, the Canadian Benchmarks of Historical Thinking (CBHT) framework was utilised.

Benchmarking sport history through techniques and approaches

As a way for sport historians to proceed with teaching sport in the stone age period, it was necessary to explore questions about approaches and techniques to their subject (Booth, 2005:5). The technique employed by this research, was the manipulation of language. It is the conviction of this researcher that the core duty of the historian is to uncover, expose and re-interpret stories. In order to achieve this, the teacher of history should be able to provide students with pedagogic tools to make sense of stories. A history teacher should also recognise that the foundation of these pedagogic tools is the utilisation of language in historical texts. The America philosopher, Richard Rorty, alerted historians to the limitations of textual analysis as independent avenues to discovering the past. He urged historians [and by implication history teachers] to look beyond the textual in order to break the myth of language as a mirror of reality (Booth, 2005:202).

The approach this research utilised was to help students relate historical complexities and lesser known legacies of the distant past with modern day entanglements. By expanding the six concepts of historical thinking as outlined in *The Canadian Benchmarks of Historical Thinking* (CBHT) this research paper provided pedagogical tools for Higher Education practioners

who intend using sport history for facilitating historical discourse. The CBHT categorised Historical Thinking into six concepts: (a) historical significance, (b) evidence, (c) continuity and change, (d) cause and consequence, (e) historical perspectives, and (f) moral dimension (Peck & Seixas, 2008:1017, 1024). These categories, as pedagogic tools, are best used if there is a "good story". A "good story" is a narrative created with connections between facts that turn incoherent chronicles into meaningful discourses (Hammarlund, 2012:119). However, the CBHT has limitations in helping teachers of history with assessment. Therefore, Bloom's Revised Taxonomy (BRT) could be utilised to assist teachers to create assessment rubrics (See Appendix 1). All history teaching however, as mentioned previously, needs a story and therefore it is necessary to construct a sport historical narrative.

Creating a Stellenbosch stone age sport history narrative

Although there is a gap in the recorded sport history of Stellenbosch prior to colonial settlement, it does not mean an absence. There is evidence to suggest that the Western Cape was inhabited for many thousands of years, first by Stone Age humankind, later by Bushmen and still later by Khoisan tribes (McDonald, 1983:4). This presents historians with an opportunity of creating narratives that could be converted into teaching experiences.

Present day knowledge of Stone Age and 'sport' in Stellenbosch

The term, Stone Age, was coined in the late 19th century by the scholar Christian J Thomsen, who came up with a framework for the study of the human past, known as the Three Age System. This framing is not without polemical substance. The basis of this framework is technological since it revolves around the notion of three successive periods or ages: Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age, each age being technologically more complex than the one before it. This Three Age System has limitations for understanding sport history because it has little meaning when applied outside Europe. It formed a basis for anthropologists to conclude that sport development took place on levels from simple practices in the early stages of human development through to the last stage where features such as elaborate playing fields and equipment, professionalism, spectator sport and class distinctions between organisations determine participation (Bressan & Van der Merwe, 1992:10-11). The implications of this developmental model is that modern sport, with all it's controversies surrounding bribery, drug abuse and excessive violence,

is more advanced than primitive pastimes. Also, the concept of stones being the first sport implements in human history has not been left unchallenged by historians. The archaeologist, Åke Svahn also postulated that the branch of a tree and not a stone was man's first weapon (Van der Merwe, 2007:1). An inherent limitation of the Stone-Bronze and Iron Age continuum is the idea that these were levels of progression.

Despite these criticisms, this system is still largely used today and, although it has limitations, it can be helpful as long as we remember that it is a simplified framework. John Goodwin and Peter van Riet Lowe divided the Stone Age into three main stages in 1929:

- The **Earlier Stone Age** in Southern Africa dates from about 1.8 million years ago to about 250 000 years.
- The **Middle Stone Age** dates from about 250 000 to about 25 000 years ago.
- The **Later Stone Age** dates from about 25 000 years ago to within the last few hundred years of human existence (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:13).

Although not easily recognisable by modern day students, these periods hold opportunity for classroom pedagogy in sport history. Contemporary sport practices reflect certain positive assumptions made by historians regarding the Stone Age period. Stone Age people hunted for food as individuals but also found it effective to form groups and hunt as a team. Perhaps the individual that stood out as the best hunter was admired by those around him for his skill and bravery. It might also be that the activities that served to make one a better hunter were in all probability playful activities that emulated hunting. Over time, the desire to survive, to compete for honour and to claim victory has become a part of culture and is symbolised in many ways through games and sport (Estes & Mechikoff, 2002: 23-24). Lecturers of sport history can use this information for generating pedagogical experiences.

Exploring the Stone Age periods as ancient Stellenbosch sport culture

The Western Cape has a number of important Stone Age sites, stretching from Elands Bay on the West Coast to Cape St Francis on the South Coast (Mountain, 2003:16). Places with good quality rocks, such as the banks of the Eerste River in Stellenbosch, were used by Stone Age people as quarries for raw materials for stone tools (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:13). The removal of flakes from a stone core, called the Oldowan technology, was the minimum

requirement for the stone to function as a tool (Mountain, 2003:11).

According to Louis Péringuey, an archaeologist, there was human activity in the present Stellenbosch area, about 250 000 years ago during the Earlier Stone Age period. Péringuey's finds were made at a site, today called Bosman's Crossing, named after the railway station situated nearby. The site was located at:

> *... the foot of a steep hill called Pappegaaiberg (Parrot mountain) where a small rivulet - a tributary of the Eerste River, runs. The spur of the hill abuts on that rivulet and is intersected on one side by a cart road and by a railway cutting on the other. The space thus left has been used for a good many years as a brick field … the great accumulation of this brick clay is in itself a proof of great antiquity* (Seddon, 1966:133).

Péringuey's find led to the use of the term 'Stellenbosch Culture' to describe bifocal tools of the Earlier Stone Age period but has since been replaced by the international term, 'Acheulian', derived from the archaeological site of St Acheul in France (Mountain, 2003:12). Archaeologists under, J.D. Seddon, from the University of Cape Town, carried out excavation tests in Stellenbosch in 1965 and after finding artefacts resembling an early Stone Age assemblage, he reported that:

> *... the hills around there are littered with the artefactual remnants of the camping places of early man at almost all heights above the Plankenberg River … in very few places are these artefacts in any sort of context and dating … impossible. The only place where numerous artefacts are found… is opposite the… Bosman's Crossing site* (Seddon, 1966:133).

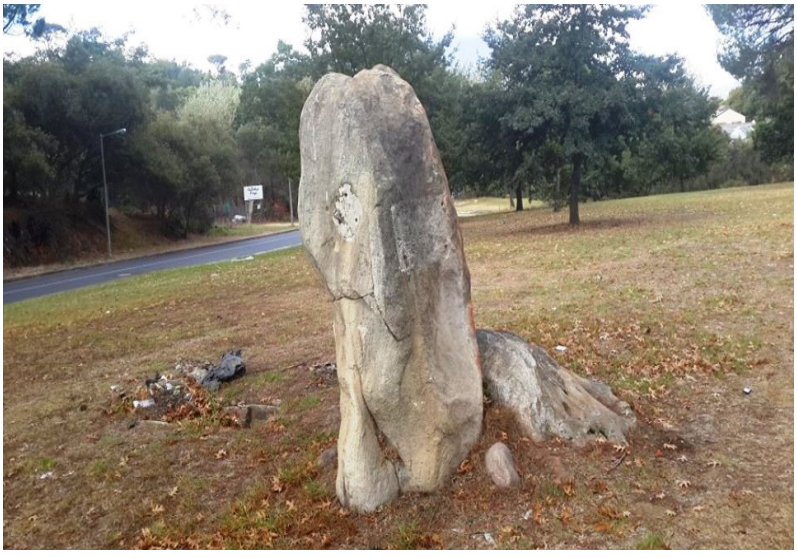
Image 1: The place where Louis Péringuey unearthed stone tools from the "Stone Age" period. It was declared a provincial heritage site and commemorated with copper plates of the National Monuments Council

Source: (Mountain, 2003:12).

The place where Louis Péringuey drew his conclusions was declared a provincial heritage site with a stone monument (Mountain, 2003:12). However, Simon Haw, a retired history subject advisor, asserts that "most monuments and statues tend to blend into the background and are seldom even noticed much less interrogated by the citisenry busily going about their daily rounds" (Haw, 2010:163). It has also not found a place in the social consciousness of the surrounding communities that happens to be poor. About three kilometres south is a sprawling informal settlement, Khayalitsha and about the same distance north is another, Khayamandi.

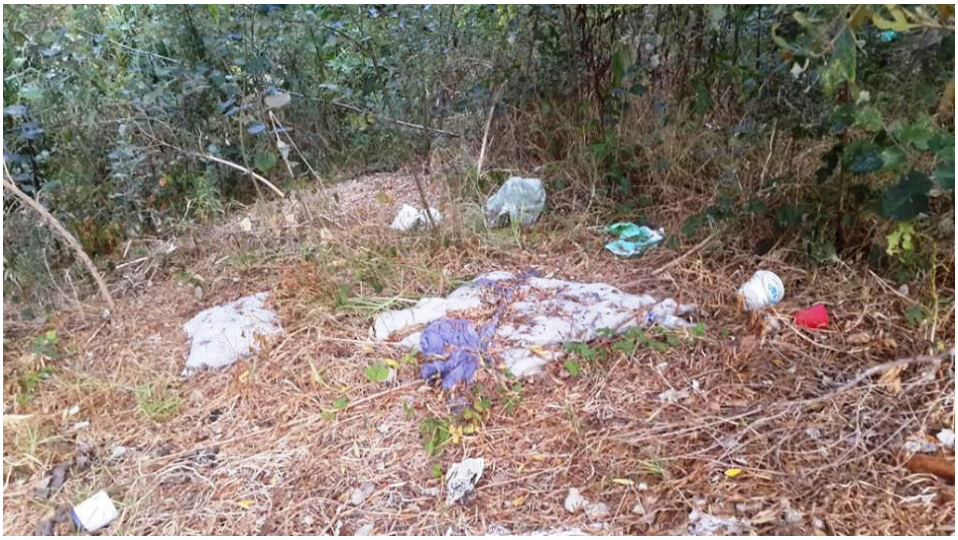
The place where Péringuey found stone tools is commemorated in a small archaeological reserve and is a provincial heritage site (Mountain, 2003:12). By 1965 this "brick clay' was gone and the grass of the Archaeological Reserve, which laid in a triangle between two roads and the Plankenberg River was level with the Main road that ran over the Adam Tas bridge into Stellenbosch (Seddon, 1966:133-134). This site has been vandalised and the plates to commemorate this finding has been removed. Today there is, due to human activity, very little, of the original flora in the valleys and districts of the Early Stone Age period (De Vos, 1979: 27). This makes it difficult to identify what kind of branches were used for weapons if researchers use Svahn's theory.

Image 2: Present day (2016) site where Louis Péringuey unearthed Stone Age tools, the Archaeological Reserve. The copper plates have been removed



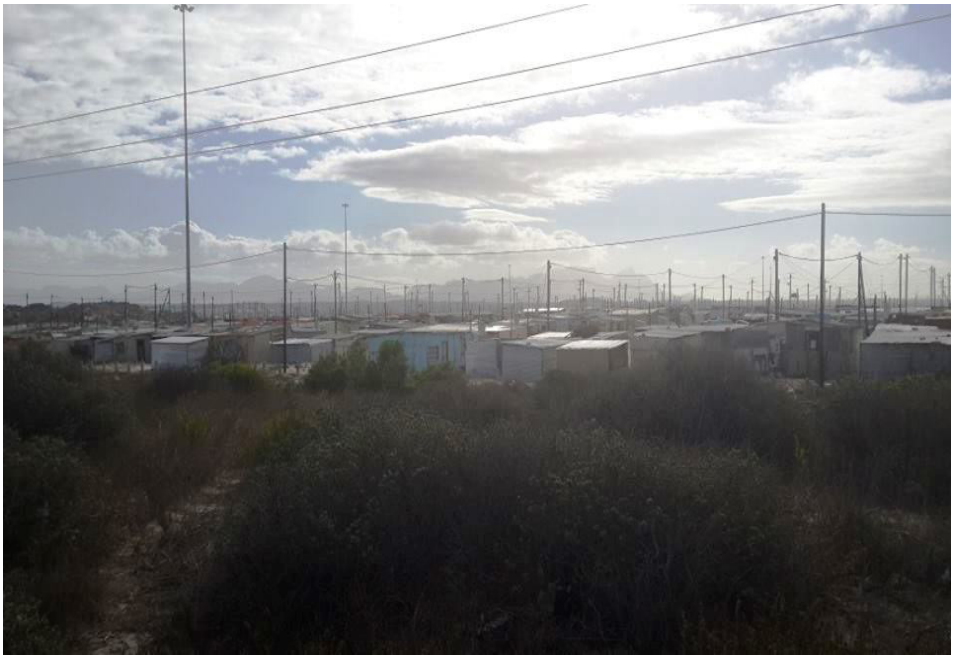
Source: Photo taken by author.

Image 3: Present day (2016) site of Bosman's Crossing with signs of neglect around flora



Source: Photo taken by author.

Image 4: The informal housing settlement of Khayelitsha about five kilometres to the south of Bosman's Crossing



Source: Photo taken by author.

Historians claim that many human movement activities at Bosman's Crossing were similar to those practiced elsewhere in the world. Hand-axes found in India, the Thames Valley in England and in Stellenbosch are almost identical (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:14).

Although no archaeological finds exist in the present day Stellenbosch about the Middle Stone Age (MSA) period, evidence of human existence was found on a farm, Elandsfontein near Hopefield in 1953, 120 kilometres North-West of the present town. This unearthing showed similarities with archaeological findings made in 1921 in Kabwe, Zambia (Tobias, 1986:22). Findings were also made at Fishoek, some 50 kilometres south-west of Stellenbosch (Tobias, 1986:15). Therefore generalisations about human movement (sport) activity in Stellenbosch, as representative of sport practices in the Western Cape, can be made with some certainty.

This period, (MSA) marked a fundamental change in the techniques of stone tool-making. Hand-axes were replaced with much smaller and thinner flakes that had been carefully shaped before they were struck from the core. It is believed that MSA people developed a lifestyle and level of human consciousness similar to that of modern people (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:14). Tools ranged between forty and a hundred millimetres in length. During this time people increasingly used caves and rock shelters for habitation. Although plants constituted the bulk of their diet, there is enough evidence to suggest that the hunting of game also took place (Mountain, 2003:13-14).

Research undertaken at various Later Stone Age (LSA) midden sites, including Matjies River Rock Shelter has revealed that the people who created them were ancestral Bushmen (Mountain, 2003:16). The LSA saw several innovations, including items that were still being made by Bushmen hunter gathers at the time of European contact and up to the 20th century (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007:16). Toolmakers produced smaller stone tools, called microcliths, as well as polished bone artefacts, engraved ostrich eggshell flasks, tortoise shell bowls, bows and arrows and bored stones used as weights for digging sticks (Mountain, 2003:16).

Pedagogical experiences for under graduate students of sport history

Activities

Activity 1 (Continuity and Change) (Physcomotor and cognitive)

Design a treasure hunt map, for tourists, starting at Bosman's Crossing and terminating at the banks of the Eerste River outside the Coetzenburg athletic stadium. The 'hunt' is to be completed within 90 minutes with at least 10 'treasures' to be found. Use visuals in your presentation. The assessment rubric for this activity follows below.

PRESENTATION	Product is marketable	Product is user friendly but not marketable	Product is completed but not very user friendly	Product is completed but sloppy
	5	4	3	1
CONTENT	Accurate, concise and detailed	A certain measure of accuracy in presentation of sites on map	Attempted but presentation of sites on map is inaccurate	Made some attempt to address the assignment
	5	4	3	1

Activity 2 (Moral dimension; Evidence) (Affective)

Compose a 1 000 word essay on the following theme: "Manipulating the space around Bosman's Crossing to create an awareness of the landscape through your knowledge of recreation activities". You must refer to sources outside the narrative but you must make use of at least one image in the text above. See assessment rubric below.

	Sophisticated (5)	Competent (3)	Not Yet Competent (1)
Explain why and how environmental degradation takes place at the site during the 20th century.			
Develop a recreation programme that include three activities.			
Explain how the space can be altered to make it environmental friendly for a sport event.			

Activity 3 (Continuity and Change; Historical significance) (cognitive)

Create a narrative of imaginary experiences in a 1 500 word essay on: "a week of sports in the life of Stone age" people. Use Van der Merwe, (2007: 1-4) as your primary source. Your essay will be marked using the rubric below.

	Excellent (16-20)	Good (12-15)	Average (8-11)	Poor (1-7)
Content: Historical research	Thorough, accurate, perceptive	Accurate and thorough	Largely accurate but some omissions	Too little research
Understanding of Stone Age sporthistory	Shows insightful, layered understanding of the issues	Shows understanding of the issues	Describes the issues but shows little or no understanding or insight	Is only able to identify a few or none of the relevant issues; no understanding shown
Expression and structure	Articulate, accurate and appropriate expression; logical, effective structure	Clear accurate expression (perhaps longwinded); written in paragraphs; shows some logical progression of ideas	Inaccurate or jumbled expression; written in paragraphs with some logical progression of ideas shown	Inaccurate or jumbled expression; no attempt at paragraphs or logical structure

Activity 4 (Historical perspectives) (Cognitive)

Construct a paragraph, of 500 words, on the historical significance of the Stone Age period as a sport history exercise by employing the **language of doubt**. Use the essay above as source material and extend with further research and use the Harvard method of referencing. See assessment rubric below.

	Consistent throughout (5)	Consistent with some deviations (3)	Inconsistent (2)	Irrelevant to task (1)
Language of doubt				
Harvard referencing				
Narrative style				
Grammatically correct				
Neatness in presentation				

Activity 5 (Affective) (Evidence and Moral dimension)

Defend and/or criticise in a 1000 word historical referenced essay that the space around the Peringuey commemoration stone needs to be preserved as a site of memory for sport history. Use Figure 1 – 4 as basis for your arguments and consult at least three different forms of evidence. See assessment rubric below.

	Consistent throughout	Consistent with deviations	Inconsistent	Irrelevant to task
Used three different sources.				
Arguments are source based.				
Identifiable central theme running throughout the narrative.				
Quoted sources relate to arguments				

Findings and summary

After students handed in their assignment, the author engaged them about the experience to gather information for future classroom practices. The activities were then modified and presented in this study. In some instances, suggestions for future pedagogical activities were made and recorded below.

Most students identified a need for tangible rewards when undertaking a project of this nature. In the case of Stellenbosch University, a suggestion was made that the project could be incorporated into a sportsday event as part of the annual Maties Community Service programme. Students could be rewarded with points on their Green Portfolio. The announcement of the Maties Green Award can be moved to the end of the year which could motivate students. Another suggestion made by a student, for future use, was to design an assessment activity that includes creating a walking trail, similar to snakes and ladders.

Many also relied on a dominant modern narrative that Stone Age people were "wild and barbaric". At the same time, many tend to agree that there are strong possibilities of Stone Age human activity corresponding to that of modern day sport practices. There also appears to be general agreement

amongst the students that the survival aspect of human activity excluded aspects of enjoyment and voluntary participation. The facilitator could thus raise ethical dimensions of modern sport that questions reasons for modern day professional participation that is characterised by financial corruption, substance abuse, expansive professionalism and performance orientated participation that overrides participation for enjoyment.

A large number of students presented narratives from an adult male perspective. There was no representation (imaginary or referenced) of the elderly, female, disabled or children. A word of caution is needed here, in that students may tend to wander off in a general direction, departing from a sport narrative, if they over-emphasise these groups. A considerable number of students also presented narratives that were historically inaccurate eg. spear throwing and archery as a stone age activity. The facilitator should encourage students not to expend themselves with the imagination at the expense of historical accuracy.

Final remarks

The narrative placed a local history of pre-colonial Stellenbosch in an ancient global context. It attempted to help the "independent-thinking (sport historians) academic to explore his or her local environment and region more intensively to use the local/ regional historical legacy as efficiently as possible in an educational environment" (Van Eeden, 2010:27). Further, this study also showed teaching Stone Age sport history can become "a subject of action and responsibility" (Den Heyer, 2015:9). A realisation of this could act as a stimulus for creating teachable moments with a topic that is otherwise considered meaningless by students. In order to attach meaning to sport during the Stone Age period, it is necessary to move outside normal practices of pedagogy. By combining Bloom's Revised Taxonomy with the Canadian Benchmarking Project students were coerced into moving from purely cognitive domains of functioning to psychomotor and affective levels of action and reasoning.

References

Anonymous 1929. *Stellenbosch 1679-1929*. Place unknown: Hortors Ltd.

Beighle, A & Pangrazi, RP 2011. *Dynamic physical education for elementary school children*. New York: Benjamin Cummings.

Booth, D 2005. *The field. Truth and fiction in sport history*. New York: Routledge.

Bressan, E & Van der Merwe, FJG 1992. An historical sketch of the development of games, sport, dance and physical education in sub-Saharan Africa. Research report for the Milwaukee public schools, Milwaukee, USA. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.

Den Heyer, K 2015. An analysis of aims and the educational "event". *Canadian Journal of Education,* 38(1):1-27.

Department of Basic Education (DBE) 2011a. *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement. Grades 10-12. History*. Pretoria: Government.

Department of Basic Education (DBE) 2011b. *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement. Grades 7-9. Social sciences*. Pretoria: Government.

De Vos, M 1979. Flora. In: F Smuts (ed.). *Stellenbosch Drie eeue: Amptelike gedenkboek*. Stellenbosch: Stadsraad van Stellenbosch.

Estes, SG & Mechikoff, RA 2002. *A history and philosophy of sport and physical education. From ancient civilization to the modern world*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Giliomee, H 2007. *Nog altyd hier gewees. Die stories van 'n Stellenbosse gemeenskap*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Giliomee, H & Mbenga, B 2007. *New history of South Africa.* Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers.

Hamilton, C, Mbenga, B & Ross, R 2012. The production of preindustrial South African history. In: C Hamilton, B Mbenga & R Ross (eds.). *The Cambridge history of South Africa. Volume 1. From early times to 1885*. Cape Town: Cambridge University.

Hammerlund, KG 2012. Promoting procedural knowledge in history education. In: D Ludvigsson (ed.). *Enhancing Student Learning in History: Perspectives on university history teaching*. Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Hart, D 1976. Ancient sports history: A pedagogical approach. In Documents of the International HISPA-SHPESA-AAPE Seminar, Trois-Riviérs, 6-10 July 1976.

Haw, S 2010. What's in a monument? – The importance of context. *Yesterday & Today*, 5:163-175.

Huizinga, J 1933. Over de grenzen van spel en Ernst in de cultuur. Rede van den rector magificus, Dr J Huizenga op den driehonderd-achtenvyfigtsent dies notalis der leidensche universiteit, 8 Februarie. Unpublished article.

McDonald, DJ 1983. The vegetation of Swartboschkloof, Jonkershoek, Cape Province, South Africa. Unpublished M.Sc thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Mountain, A 2003. *The first people of the Cape. A look at their history and the impact of colonialism on the Cape's indigenous people*. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers.

Peck, C & Seixas, P 2008. Benchmarks of historical thinking: First steps. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 31(4):1015-1038.

Seddon, JD 1966. The early Stone Age at Bosman's Crossing, Stellenbosch. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin,* 21(83):133-137. October.

Smuts, F 1979. Die stigting van Stellenbosch. In: Smuts, F (ed.). *Stellenbosch Drie eeue*: *amptelike gedenkboek*. Stellenbosch: Stadsraad van Stellenbosch.

Thompson, L & Wilson, M 1982. *A history of South Africa to 1870*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

Tobias, V 1986. Die laaste miljoen jaar in Suider-Afrika. In: Cameron, T & Spies, SB (eds.). *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau Uitgewers.

Van der Merwe, FJG 1999. *Sportgeskiedenis. 'n Handleiding vir Suid-Afrikaanse student*. Stellenbosch: FJG Publikasies.

Van der Merwe, FJG 2007. *Sport history. A textbook for South African students.* Stellenbosch: FJG Publikasies.

Van Eeden, ES 2010. Exploring local histories in the use and appreciation of heritage and history in history curricula. *Yesterday & Today,* 5:23- 48.

Van Eeden, ES. 2012. The youth and school history – learning from some of the thinking of yesterday in South Africa. *Yesterday & Today*, 8:23-46.

Appendix 1

Bloom's revised taxonomy

Cognitve domain

Category	Sample Verbs
Remembering **Recalling information**	Choose, cite, enumerate, group, label, list, listen, locate, match, memorise, name, outline, quote, read, recall, recite, record, relate, repeat, reproduce, review, select, show, sort, state, underline, write
Understanding **Explaining ideas or concepts**	Account for, annotate, associate, classify, convert, define, describe, discuss, estimate, explain, express, identify, indicate, interpret, observe, outline recognise, reorganise, report, research, restate, retell, review, translate
Applying **Using information in another familiar situation**	Adapt, apply, calculate, change, collect, compute, construct, demonstrate, dramatise, draw, exhibit, generalise illustrate, interpret, interview, make, manipulate, operate, paint, practice, sequence, show, sketch, solve, translate
Analysing **(Critical Thinking)** **Breaking information into parts to explore understandings and relationships**	Analyse, appraise, arrange calculate, categorise, compare, contrast, criticise, debate, detect, diagram, discriminate, dissect, distinguish, examine, experiment, group, infer, inquire, inspect, investigate, order, probe, question, relate, research, scrutinise, separate, sequence, sift, subdivide, summarise, survey, test
Evaluation **(Critical Thinking)** **Justifying a decision or course of action**	Appraise, argue, assess, choose, compare, conclude, criticise, critique, debate, decide, deduce, defend, determine, differentiate, discriminate, evaluate, infer, judge, justify, measure, predict, prioritise, probe, rank, rate, recommend, revise, score, select, validate, value
Creating **(Critical thinking)**	Act, assemble, blend, combine, compile, compose, concort, construct, create, design, develop, devise, formulate, forecast, generate, hypothesise, imagine, invent, organise, originate, predict, plan, prepare, propose, set up

Affective domain

Category	Sample Verbs
Receiving **(Awareness)**	Accept, acknowledge, ask, attend, describe, explain, follow, focus, listen, locate, observe, realise, receive, recognise, retain
Responding **(React)**	Behave, cite, clarify, comply, contribute, cooperate, discuss, examine, follow, interpret, model, perform, present, question, react, respond, show, study
Valuing **(Comprehend and act)**	Accept, adapt, argue, balance, challenge, choose, confront, criticise, debate, differentiate, defend, influence, justify, persuade, prefer, recognise, refute, seek value
Organising **(Personal value system)**	Adapt, adjust, alter, arrange, build, change, compare, contrast, customise, develop, formulate improve, manipulate, modify, practice, prioritise, reconcile, relate, revise
Internalising **(Adopt behavior)**	Act, authenticate, characterise, defend, display, embody, habituate, influence, internalise, practice, produce, represent, solve, validate, verify

Psychomotor domain

Category	Sample Verbs
Observing **(Awareness)**	Hear, identify, notice, observe, see, smell, taste, touch, watch, walk
Modelling **(Copy)**	Adhere, attempt, copy, follow, imitate, mimic, model, reenact, re-create, repeat, replicate, reproduce, show, try
Recognising standards **(Follow instructions)**	Build, check, demonstrate, detect, discriminate, differentiate, distinguish, execute, implement, notice, perceive, perform, recognise, select
Correcting **(Develop precision)**	Adjust, alter, calibrate, change, complete, construct, correct, customise, improve, integrate, manipulate, modify, practice, revise
Articulating **(Combine & integrate related skills)**	Adapt, build, combine, compose, construct, co-ordinate, create, develop, formulate, integrate, master, originate, produce, solve
Naturalization **(Automate & master)**	Demonstrate, design, exhibit, illustrate, invent, instruct, manage, re-design, specify, teach, train, troubleshoot

Appendix 2

Canadian Benchmarking Historical Project

Historical significance

This aspect refers to historical data that results in change (the event had deep consequences, for many people, over a long period of time) and is revealing (the event sheds light on enduring or emerging issues in history and contemporary life or was important at some stage in history within the collective memory of groups). Significant topics might meet either of these criteria but not necessarily both (Peck & Seixas, 2008:1027).

Evidence

This apsect refers to the use of a wide range of evidence that include archival material, academic literature, books, memory recollection, newspapers and visual material. The framers of the Canadian Benchmarks of Historical Thinking Project emphasised the importance of being selective when using evidence (Seixas, nd).

Continuity and change

This aspect of historical thinking seeks answers for the question: "What has changed and what has remained over time"? (Seixas, nd).

Cause and consequence

The concept of cause and consequence helps historians understand how and why certain conditions and actions led to others (Seixas, nd).

Historical perspectives

The Canadian Benchmarks of Historical Thinking Project explains the developing of historical perspectives as understanding the "past as a foreign country" with different social, cultural, intellectual and emotional contexts that shaped people's lives and actions (Seixas, nd).

Moral dimension

This concept deals with how historians interpret and write about the past. It also relates to how different interpretations of the past reflect different moral stances today (Seixas, nd).

The development of Afrocentricity: A historical survey

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2016/n16a5

Midas Chawane
Auckland Park Campus, University of Johannesburg
midasc@uj.ac.za

Abstract

The origin of the Afrocentric philosophy cannot be established with certainty. The most influential book advocating it was published in 1954. Marcus Garvey was one of the most influential propagators of the ideology. Afrocentricity as an idea and a philosophy gained momentum during the Civil Rights Movement in the United States of America. It was in the Temple University School of Scholars, frequently referred to as the Temple Circle, where the philosophy was institutionalised. The abstract noun "Afrocentricity" dates to the 1970s and was popularised by Asante during the 1980s, when he developed epistemological and methodological foundations for an Afrocentric curriculum based on an African perspective but aiming at global understanding.[1]

The approach proposes that blacks (at home and abroad) must look at knowledge from an African perspective. It suggests looking at matters at hand from an African viewpoint; that we misunderstand Africa when we use viewpoints and terms other than that of the African to study Africa. When Africans view themselves as centred and central in their own history, they see themselves as agents, actors, and participants rather than as marginal and on the periphery of political or economic experience. Although not the antithesis of Eurocentrism, Afrocentrism has become the most explosive and controversial subject, with both black and white scholars squaring off on its viability and non-viability. Mary Lefkowitz, Stanley Crouch, and Anthony Appiah are some of the main opponents of the Afrocentric idea. The Western dogma which contends that Greeks gave the world rationalism effectively marginalises those who are not European and becomes the leading cause of the disbelief about African achievements.

This paper traces the origin of Afrocentricity and describes the nature and propositions put forward by Afrocentrists that challenge the traditional Eurocentric perspective. This paper provides answers to the questions of why, when, where, and who were the main people behind its emergence. The paper also aims at outlining the main arguments why the approach should become part of academic debates. Afrocentricity, however, like other approaches, is not without pitfalls; for this reason the paper examines criticism levelled against it and responses thereto.

1 CC Verharen, "Molefi Asante and an Afrocentric curriculum", *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* 24(4), 2000, pp. 223-238.

Keywords: Afrocentricity; Eurocentricity; Africa; History; Ancient Egypt; Ancient Greece; Slavery; Colonialism; Racism.

Introduction

Since the advent of colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade, information on African history has been presented from a European point of view. This viewpoint sought to justify the colonisation of Africa and the enslavement of Africans during the transatlantic slave trade. This mission could be achieved by glorifying slavers and colonisers whilst at the same time distorting and neglecting African contributions to world development and their opinions. The liberation of Africa from European colonialism and the emancipation of slaves in the Americas came with calls for the liberation of knowledge by some Africans who proposed that knowledge should be looked at from the point of view of Africans. This approach came to be known as Afrocentricity within academic circles.

This paper offers a historical analysis of the development of the Afrocentric perspective to world knowledge. It aims at the exposition of the term "Afrocentricity" and traces the origin of the ideology, its development, and entry into academia as another facet of looking at the world. The paper also looks at the basic propositions put forward by Afrocentrists as opposed to the Eurocentric version that places Europeans at the centre and ignores contributions made by Africans towards world development. As a perspective, Afrocentricity is not without its critics. That is why attention is given to criticism levelled against it by both white and black opponents.

Defining the concept of Afrocentricity

The concept of Afrocentricity has been defined differently by various scholars. MK Asante defined Afrocentricity as a manner of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values, and perspectives predominate. He further stated that Afrocentricity is an exercise in knowledge and a new historical perspective.[2] Another definition views Afrocentricity as an intellectual movement, a political view, and/or a historical evolution

2 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change* (Chicago, Peoples Publishing Group, 2001), p. 3; JC Chukwuokolo, Afrocentrism or Eurocentrism: The dilemma of African development, *New Journal of African Studies,* 2009, p. 32. Asante is constantly acknowledged as the originator of the concept "Afrocentricity" and the one who introduced it as an academic concept. Other pioneers of the Afrocentric ideas include William Dubois, GGM James, Anta Diop, and Martin Bernal.

that stresses the culture and achievements of Africans.[3] The other definition believes that Afrocentricity is a transformation of attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviour results, suggesting that it is the first and only reality for African people – a simple rediscovery.[4] Another definition stresses the centrality of Africans and defines Afrocentricity as meaning "African centeredness", according to which Africans should be given their intellectual pride as the originators of civilisation.[5] What is common with these definitions is that they all call for a change in the way that the world has been viewed, a change that should encompass all attributes of human existence, with emphasis on the centrality of African experiences.

As an academic exercise, Afrocentricity is defined in terms of the methodology, theory, and ideology that should be employed to achieve its objectives towards attaining the proposed change. Methodologically, Afrocentricity is intended as an answer to the intellectual colonialism that undergirds and serves to validate political and economic colonialism. In regards to theory, it places African people at the centre of any analysis of African phenomena in terms of action and behaviour. It is described as a devotion to the idea that what is in the best interest of African consciousness is at the heart of ethical behaviour and seeks to cherish the idea that "Africanness" itself is an ensemble of ethics.[6] As an ideology it represents the continued longing among Africans for some set of ideas that would bind them together as a community and offer some alternative to an assimilation that is either excluded by Europeans or seen by Africans as an admission of inferiority and defeat. As an academic phenomenon, therefore, Afrocentricity serves the purpose of binding together the various elements of African and African-American studies, transforming them from an interdisciplinary assortment into a unified discipline, with ideological and intellectual goals, political purpose, and a set of commonly understood methods and theories.[7]

3 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

4 WE Reed, EJ Lawson & T Gibbs, "Afrocentrism in the 21st century", *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* 21(3), 1997, pp. 73-79.

5 JC Chukwuokolo, "Afrocentrism or Eurocentrism...", *New Journal of African Studies,* 2009, p. 32.

6 KW Stikkers, "An outline of methodological Afrocentrism, with particular application to the thought of W.E.B. DuBois", *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, (22)1, 2008, pp. 40-49.

7 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

The roots of Afrocentricity

Although focusing on the African continent, Afrocentricity originated in the United States of America (USA). However, its origin and when it was first articulated cannot be established with certainty. There are several experiences that contributed to its emergence in the USA. The experiences of slaves in the Middle Passage during the transatlantic slave trade, the denial of education to slaves once they landed in the Americas, and the double cultures of Africanisms and Americanisms stimulated Afro-American hypersensitivity to culture and its relativity.[8] The experience of double cultures resulted in some Afro-Americans rejecting Americanisation and starting to aspire to and explore African cultural practices. Thus, the experience of enslavement and racism in American society created the conditions for the emergence of the Afrocentric theory in the same sense that Marxist theory can be seen as a response to the economic constraints and oppression imposed on Russian peasants.[9]

In terms of its expression, Afrocentricity is not a new movement. The historical tendency of paying attention to Africa from an African perspective can be found in the USA in the early 1800s when it made one of its first appearances in an 1827 editorial in *Freedom's Journal*, the first black newspaper in the USA, which alleged a relationship between Africans and the ancient Egyptians.[10] During the 20th century, Frederick Douglass (1953) and David Walker (1996) attempted to explain the reasons for the abolition of slavery in part on the achievements of Nile Valley Africans. By tracing the existence of a magnificent ancient Egyptian civilisation in Africa, it demonstrated that European claims of African inferiority were false.[11] Afrocentricity also has its roots in the great Afro-American tendency of seeking mental health through right living and right believing. Afrocentrists made the connection between black history and black education, properly construed, and black self-esteem, long before the word "self-esteem" was a "can't" word in the interpretation of African culture.[12] Marcus Garvey, a Pan-Africanist of Jamaican origin, is venerated by most Afrocentrists as one of the early Afrocentrists to claim that ancient Egypt gave to the world civilisation.[13] The Afrocentricity idea gained momentum during the earlier forms of Black

8 CC Verharen, "Molefi Asante...", *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* (24) 4, 2000, pp. 223-238.
9 JC Chukwuokolo, "Afrocentrism or Eurocentrism...", *New Journal of African Studies,* 2009, p. 32.
10 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.
11 CC Verharen, "Molefi Asante…", *The Western Journal of Black Studies.* (24)4, 2000, pp. 223-238.
12 G Early, L Wilson, & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions*, 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.
13 GF Will, "Intellectual segregation: Afrocentrism's many myths constitute condescension toward African-Americans", *News Week*, 19 February 1996, p. 78.

Nationalist thought – Negritude and Pan-Africanism – in the various forms it has taken since the 18th century, the *Black Power Movement* of the 1960s and the *Black is Beautiful Movement* of the 1970s. [14]

Today, a growing cluster of Afrocentric scholars at major universities in the Americas – particularly in the USA – and Africa have established several professional associations and journals. The leading centre for the Afrocentric Movement is the Temple University School of Scholars, often referred to as the Temple Circle. The Temple University is regarded as the leading centre of Afrocentricity, probably because Asante (the proclaimed originator of the concept) is based there. Among the Temple Circle of Afrocentrists are scholars such as C. Tsehloane Keto, Kariamu Welsh Asante, Abu Abarry, Ama Mazama, Theophile Obenga, and Terry Kershaw.[15]

The nature of Afrocentricity

In terms of its aims and objectives, the Afrocentric movement comprises a series of activities by some concerned African and Afro-American scholars and educators directed towards achieving the particular end of ensuring that the African heritage and culture and its history and contribution to world civilisation and scholarship are reflected in the curricula on every level of academic instruction. Advocates of the Afrocentric ideas request a reconstruction and rewriting of the whole landscape of human history in its explanation of the origin of mankind, and the origin of philosophy, science, medicine, agriculture, and architecture.[16]

The nature of Afrocentricity is a subject of debate between adherents and opponents of the movement. In some academic circles, Afrocentricity is viewed as a theory just for the African diaspora. A common misconception related to the concrete objectives of Afrocentricity is that Afrocentrists are anti-white. This, according to Afrocentrists, is not true and instead they maintain that it is anti-oppression. They cite this as a reason why Afrocentricity has been resentfully received by the academy as a hostile takeover rather than a movement to construct space for the study and criticism of Africans.[17]

14 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson, & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions*, 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

15 CC Verharen, "Molefi Asante...", *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* (24)4, 2000, pp. 223-238.

16 JC Chukwuokolo, "Afrocentrism or Eurocentrism…", *New Journal of African Studies,* 2009, p. 32.

17 RL Jackson ll, "Afrocentricity as metatheory: A dialogic exploration of its principles", RL Jackson & EB Richardson (eds.), *Understanding African American rhetoric: Classical origins to contemporary innovations* (New

Afrocentricity has been labelled as an antithesis, a defensive counter-move against Eurocentricity seeking to replace the European view of the world. Adherents maintain that it cannot be the antithesis of Eurocentricity and reject the notion of it seeking to replace Eurocentricity. In the words of Pavan Varma, "the aim of Afrocentricity is not reselecting the bars in order to form new divides".[18] Chukwuokolo supported this when he stated that:[19]

> *Afrocentrism, which means African centeredness, does not violently confront any person or people, but is a resolute attempt to put the records right. It is about placing African people within their own historical framework. It is a demand that the contributions of Africans in all areas of civilization be reflected in world history.*

Asante added weight to this contention by saying that Afrocentricity is only one of several cultural perspectives from which multiculturalism in education is derived, noting that Afrocentricity is not the opposite of Eurocentricity, nor does it seek to replace Eurocentricity. According to him, Afrocentricity is constructive primarily because it does not deny others their place. It is based on harmonious coexistence of an endless variety of cultures. Equally, there can be no true multiculturalism without Afrocentrism.[20] Afrocentricity does not deny "the right of Europe to view the world from its cultural centre". The gist of the argument by Afrocentrists is that the European view must not be imposed as universal. Just as much as Europeans, Africans are entitled to give their own perspective on the African experience, making Afrocentricity an exercise in self-knowledge. Afrocentricity becomes valuable also for Europeans by giving them a new perspective, an ability to see from different angles and by so doing, putting them in a position to explore different views and bring new perspectives.[21] Afrocentricity is not the opposite of Afrocentricity but a particular perspective for analysis. Consequently, it becomes necessary to examine all data from the standpoint of Africans as subjects and human agents, rather than as objects in a European frame of reference.

The impression that Afrocentricity seeks to replace Eurocentricity is based on the suggestion that in dealing with ancient history, Afrocentrists have replaced white Greeks with black Egyptians. Afrocentricity does not deny other cultures

York, Routledge, 2003), pp. 115-129.

18 P Varma, "Decolonising universities conference", University of Cincinnati (available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KVfevgW608c, as accessed on 20 April 2016). Pavan Varma was a keynote speaker in the conference: Decolonising Universities.

19 JC Chukwuokolo, "Afrocentrism or Eurocentrism…", *New Journal of African Studies,* 2009, p. 33.

20 A Boyd & CJ Lenix-Hooker, "Afrocentricism: Hype or history", *Library Journal*, (117)18, 1 November 1992, pp. 46-49.

21 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change...,* p. 3.

standing on their own ground. The Greeks can remain firmly in control of whatever cultural legacy they bring to the world. What Afrocentrists firmly believe is that it is important to demonstrate that ancient Egyptians must be seen in the correct light, which is that ancient Egypt was before ancient Greece as ancient Greece was before Rome. In this way, the Greeks are left in their place and uncovered the Egyptians in theirs. The fact of the matter is that history written from the Eurocentric perspective discounts and twists the substantial evidence of African influence on Greece by overlooking ancient writings of Aetius, Strabo, Plato, Homer, Herodotus, Diogenes, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus. The observation made by Aristotle, who reported that the Egyptians gave the world the study of geometry and mathematics, serves as more proof of the contribution of Africa to the world.[22] Afrocentrist scholars challenge the Western view which contends that Greeks gave the world rationalism, thereby effectively marginalising those who are not European and becomes the leading cause of the disbelief about African achievements.[23]

The fact that Afrocentricity originated in the USA led to the understanding by some scholars that it is a theory not for Africans in Africa but for Afro-Americans, an assertion that is rejected by Afrocentrists. For adherents of this ideology, Afrocentricity is not a theory just for the African diaspora, but for Africans at home as well. Their argument is that Afrocentricity is primarily rooted on the continent of Africa where it has its largest following, which makes it a theory for Africans in Africa as well. They support this line of argument by claiming that the heroes of the Afrocentric movement are found both in the diaspora and in Africa and are too numerous to mention. Besides, the history of Afro-Americans and that of Africans is intertwined.[24] Their history is intertwined because of their African origin, colour, and, most importantly, a common history of oppression. As much as the history of Africans in the Americas started in Africa, the general history of Africa can never be complete without the transatlantic slave trade. In addition, there is always a sense of solidarity and constant search by some people of African origin for a common historical mission, for the elements that bind them together as a group, other than a common history of oppression. These elements include the Black Consciousness, Black Power, and Black is Beautiful movements. The relations between Africans in Africa and Afro-Americans were cemented by DuBois,

22 MK Asante, "Afrocentricity and its critics. A quick reading of rhetorical Jingoism: Anthony Appiah and his fallacies", 2009 (available at http://science.jrank.org/pages/8216/Afrocentricity-Afrocentricity-Its-Critics.html, as accessed on 2 April 2016).

23 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change…*, p. 3.

24 CC Verharen, Molefi Asante..., *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* (24)4, 2000, pp. 223-238.

who once stated that:[25]

> *... he speaks first and foremost as a son of Africa and calls to Africa, Egypt, and Ethiopia and the need for Afro-Americans to see their thinking, self-understanding, and intellectual efforts to be related to those of Africans.*

Because Afrocentricity's emergence is concomitant with the historical and cultural context of Africans seeking to assert themselves, it is consistent with the interpretative life of the African person. It requires Africans to see themselves through their own perspective, because neither the Chinese nor the Europeans view phenomena from the perspective of the African, and they should not. For Asante, Afrocentricity deals with the question of African identity from the perspective of African people as centred, located, oriented, and grounded. The primary argument here is that Africans have been dislocated and decentred and as a result see the world from the European perspective. Afrocentricity endeavours to relocate and centre the African person as an agent in human history in an effort to eliminate the illusion of the peripheries.[26] In support of Asante, Kwame Ture emphasised that the coloniser sought to change the colonised in every respect except colour by moving them off of their psychological, political, fashion, philosophical, historical, name, linguistic, and cultural terms. As it is, Africans are operating in terms laid down during the European intervention of over 500 years. Afrocentricity thus endeavours to correct this and empower Africans to operate on their own terms, thereby making them agents or actors in their history.[27]

Unlike the Eurocentric view that tends to take an ethnocentric view posing as a universal view, Afrocentricity allows other cultures to view history from their own perspective. What Afrocentricity does is to provide a counterforce to the prevailing intellectual colonialism that focuses discriminatorily on European influences and traditions in interpretations of African thinkers, which rigorously brackets them.[28] In the standard Western view, neither the Africans nor the Chinese had rational thinking.[29] Thus, the Afrocentrists reject the Eurocentric view that has become an ethnocentric view which elevates the European experience and downgrades all others, and reinforces the coloniser's

25 MK Asante, "Afrocentricity and its critics..." (available at http://science.jrank.org/pages/8216/Afrocentricity-Afrocentricity-Its-Critics.html, as accessed on 2 April 2016).

26 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change...*, p. 4.

27 Kwame Ture vs Molefi Asante, *Africa and the future debate (Pan Africanism vs Afrocentrism)* (University of Cincinnati, 2 February 1996) (available at http://thekidsmagic.com/watch/o3zoIaSp0Kk/kwame-ture-vs-molefi-asante-africa-and-the-future-debate-pan-africanism-vs-afrocentrism, as accessed on 12 March 2016).

28 KW Stikkers, "An outline of methodological Afrocentrism, with particular application to the thought of W. E. B. DuBois", *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, (22)1, 2008, pp. 40-49.

29 A Boyd & CJ Lenix-Hooker, Afrocentricism…", *Library Journal*, (117)18, 1 November 1992, pp. 46-49.

worldview and rationality as the only universally valid ones. For Afrocentrists, the idea that human progress has only come from white people and not the entirety of the human race needs to be corrected. Afrocentricity maintains that any group that has no story is abandoned to others that do; that the group's members dismiss their people or themselves as not being achievers or even participants in world history. Afrocentricity should take its place not above but alongside other cultural and historical perspectives and calls on Africans to be engaged in examining all aspects of their world.[30] In this way, Africans can come to full self-determination and achieve full humanity and mentally position themselves to overthrow and denounce a Eurocentric hegemony, empower them to comprehend that truth is conventional, and that Africans are capable of forming their own truth to suit their own political and social purposes.[31]

Main arguments

Afrocentricity does provide the theoretical basis on which knowledge should be grounded, especially in the humanities and social sciences where it can provide a new perspective. Although there are many themes that need consideration from the Afrocentric perspective, there are certain topics that need urgent attention and these are, amongst others, the contribution of ancient Africa and Africans to world civilisation, colonialism, slavery, racism, and the reinterpretation of African history.

Afrocentricity and ancient civilisations

Afrocentrists believe that the study of Africa and African people, wherever they live or have lived, necessitates distinct approaches because so much of their civilisations were intentionally destroyed or distorted by invaders, interrupted by the transatlantic slave trade, or not written or codified. Furthermore, they generally maintain that for decades much Western scholarship was subverted by racism and cultural arrogance.[32] The starting point for colonisers was to paint Africans as uncivilised people with no history. In order to placate this idea, they downplayed any achievements made by ancient Africans. Arguments that ancient Egyptians were not black Africans and that the Great Zimbabwe

30 A Boyd & CJ Lenix-Hooker, "Afrocentricism…", *Library Journal*, (117)18, 1 November 1992, pp. 46-49.
31 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.
32 A Boyd & CJ Lenix-Hooker, "Afrocentricism…", *Library Journal*, (117)18, 1 November 1992, pp. 46-49.

walls and the pyramids were not built by Africans need to be challenged. Africa's influence on ancient Greece, the oldest European civilisation, was profound and significant in art, architecture, astronomy, medicine, geometry, mathematics, law, politics, and religion. Yet there has been a furious campaign to discredit African influence. To support this, Afrocentrists point to a number of books and articles seeking to prove the Egyptian influence on Greece.[33]

For Afrocentrists, the achievements of Africans in ancient times were well documented by Herodotus (considered the father of history in a Eurocentric world) who glorified the achievements of Egypt in relationship to Greece. Aristotle reported that the Egyptians gave the world the study of geometry and mathematics. Apart from Herodotus and Aristotle, other Greek historians who wrote about what the Greeks learned from Egypt are Homer, Lamblicus, Aetius, Diodorus Siculus, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Plato. Although without proof in some cases, some Afrocentrists argue that ancient records show that some ancient Greek students who studied in Egypt include Plato, Solon, Lycurgus, Democritus, Anaxamander, Anaxagoras, Homer, Thales, Pythagoras, Eudoxus, and Isocrates.[34]

In an attempt to prove the contribution made by Africans to world civilisation, Ivan Van Sertima, an African Studies professor at Rutgers University, has become skilled in many disciplines, including the study of metals, plant life, and mapmaking, to help him pursue the truth about African civilisations. Van Sertima asserted and provided both physical and historical proof that Africans were in the Americas long before Columbus' journeys. He believed that some academic circles have accepted, without question, the Eurocentric view of history that makes no mention of this.[35]

It was this view of Europeans of seeing Africans as having made no contribution to world civilisation as a people with no history that was used as a pretext to colonise and enslave Africans.

On slavery and colonialism

Afrocentrists argue that when colonising and enslaving Africans, European colonisers imagined and projected themselves as the liberators of savages, freeing them from their unreason by placing them under the rule of the one true and

33 MK Asante, "Afrocentricity and its critics…" (available at http://science.jrank.org/pages/8216/Afrocentricity-Afrocentricity-Its-Critics.html, as accessed on 2 April 2016).
34 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change...*, p. 6.
35 CC Verharen, Molefi Asante..., *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* (24)4, 2000, pp. 223-238.

universally valid reason; downplaying economic benefits resulting from these endeavours. For them, Africa had no history prior to their arrival, a kind of thinking which reflected Hegel's pronouncement regarding Africa that:[36]

> *Africa... is no historical part of the World; it has no movement or development to exhibit. ... What we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature*.

They (colonisers and slavers) worked under the delusion that their practices were rooted largely in the assumption of a universal reason; anything contrary to this way of thinking, such as protests and slave revolts, were taken merely as evidence of their erroneous views and undeveloped rationality and that the colonised and slaves simply did not understand.[37]

Colonial powers and slave masters thus considered themselves not as oppressors but as saviours, transforming the presumably irrational, lazy, inefficient, unproductive darker races into efficient instruments of rational economic production and saw their endeavours not as conquest and control but as bearers of the white man's burden to civilise the barbarians. In their attempt to achieve their colonial goals, colonisers cared little about understanding the culture of Africans prior to making their sweeping pronouncements.[38]

The success of colonisation and slavery was not physical subjugation, but the colonisation of the mind and the fostering of slave mentality in Africans. Little or no analyses have been done in the field of colonisation of the mind and its impact on the lives and way of thinking of Africans. In short, the arenas of culture, education, and ideas before, during, and after colonialism and slavery need proper analyses.[39]

There is a need to understand the progression inherent in colonialism and slavery that created the colonisation of the mind. The first move adopted by the coloniser and slave masters was the condemnation and destruction of the culture of the colonised and slaves and by so doing, laying the grounds for their "civilising mission". Imperial powers could not impose their culture without denunciating African culture. In order to keep Africans in a perpetual state of servitude, decent education was made difficult to access for the

36 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson, and MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions*, 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

37 MK Asante, "Afrocentricity and its critics…" (available at http://science.jrank.org/pages/8216/Afrocentricity-Afrocentricity-Its-Critics.html as accessed on 02 April 2016).

38 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions*, 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

39 P Varma, "Decolonising universities conference", University of Cincinnati (available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KVfevg W608c), as accessed on 20 April 2016.

Africans; whilst for those who could access it, the type of education provided was meant to produce an efficient, proficient, and subservient person – to create a class of capitalists to serve as a link between colonisers and the ruled. This gutter education channelled Africans to a working class status since it was designed to produce interpreters of policy but not policy makers and came to be characterised by rote learning with emphasis on exam and not independent thinkers.[40]

Colonisation of the mind could not succeed without taking away the language and names of the ruled and replacing them with those of the ruler. Among the conditions of colonialism and slavery was that the colonised was to speak, if they were allowed to do so publicly, in the language and through the theoretical agenda of the coloniser and thereby validating the coloniser's intellectual conception of the world. In this process of speaking publicly, the colonised were expected to flatter their masters and simultaneously denigrate their African cultural traditions.

African students studying at universities built by the colonial powers based on European models were required to learn in the colonisers' languages and to master the texts of the European canon. Any attempt to articulate one's own native wisdom or tradition, if it was allowed at all, had to be by reference to European concepts, thinkers, and texts and always, of course, still in the colonisers' language. [41] In order to decolonise the mind, Afrocentrists suggest the liberation of all universities from the curriculum dominated by European knowledge. This is despite some achievements made in the past 25 years or so; for example, the study of African history has undergone a transformation and continues to do so as there are talks today about the decolonisation of African history.[42] According to Afrocentrists, there is no African university in Africa but only copies of European universities. An African university should be one that starts from the beginning, which means the rebuilding of the entire university with chronology as a starting point. Students at these rebuilt universities should know that Nubia and Kemet (African name for Egypt, which is a Greek name) are to Africa what India and China are to Asia or Greece and Rome to Europe.

40 CC Verharen, Molefi Asante..., *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* (24)4, 2000, pp. 223-238.

41 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions*, 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

42 J de Villiers, "The discipline of history and the new South Africa – Should South African history be re-written?", *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, 52(2), June 2012, pp. 196-208.

Eurocentricity, according to Afrocentrists, teaches that universities started with Greece some 1000 years BC, without considering the fact that the pyramids were built in 5000 BC. For them the first appearance of Greece was in 1000 BC and it started with Homer, long after the period of the pyramids in Egypt. Another myth perpetuated by Eurocentricity, according to Afrocentrists, is that there was never any writing by Africans, whilst there has been Nubian, Kemet, and Axum writing which is not emphasised by the Eurocentric view. The argument by Afrocentrists is that Greek philosophy is based directly on an "Egyptian Mystery System", which was copied by Greek philosophers who studied in Egypt and also African philosophers who lived before Ancient Greece.[43] Pythagoras, they claim, went to Thieles and asked him to teach him what he knew about philosophy. He said to him to do what he himself did, to go to Egypt and learn there. Further proof of Egypt's glory was the writings of Herodotus in 5 BC, who wrote about the splendour of Egypt. This led some Afrocentrists to believe that what is called the Greek civilisation was in fact stolen from Egypt when Aristotle acquired his philosophy by plundering the Great Library of Alexandria.[44]

On racism

Another aspect of African history that needs to receive special attention according to Afrocentrists is how the subject of race or racism has been tackled by Eurocentrists. According to Kwame Ture, Africa is constantly undermined because of racism and as being seen to have made no contribution to the world.[45] Although the concept of race is more recent, Afrocentrists argue that the racist line of thinking has its roots in the 15th century, with each century since then having seen its share of Eurocentric self-serving ways in terms of interpretation of history.[46] Afrocentrists maintain that it was during the era of colonialism and transatlantic slave trade that racism was invented as a ploy to oppress and exterminate Africans, a counter-assertion to the Eurocentric view that sees racism as naturally endowed as proposed by scientific racism. It is for this reason that Afrocentrists see race as central to the study of African history, by pointing out that it has been and still is an issue in African historiography.

43 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions*, 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

44 GF Will, "Intellectual segregation: Afrocentrism's many myths constitute condescension toward African-Americans", *Newsweek,* 19 February 1996, p. 78.

45 Kwame Ture vs Molefi Asante, "Africa and the future debate…", University of Cincinnati, 2 February, 1996, (available at http://thekidsmagic.com/watch/o3zoIaSp0Kk/kwame-ture-vs-molefi-asante-africa-and-the-future-debate-pan-africanism-vs-afrocentrism, as accessed on 12 March 2016).

46 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change...*, p. 6.

Barthold Niebuhr, historian of Ancient Rome, supported this when he commented on the racist manifesto in history:[47]

> *Race is one of the most important elements of history still remaining to be examined that which is, in truth, the very first basis upon which all history is reared and the first principle upon which it must proceed.*

WEB Du Bois asserted that the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the colour line. His observation almost 100 years ago is still appropriate for both the USA and South Africa as we move forward. It should be noted that contrary to the European view that race is a natural phenomenon; Afrocentrists uphold the view that the concept "black" (meaning race) is not an African concept, but that it was created outside Africa, mainly by Europeans. For example, when talking about ancient Sudan, the land of the blacks, colour is not important. It is a descriptive term, relative to Europe, not a derogatory one. Similarly, when one refers to Ethiopians as people with painted faces, it is using a descriptive term.[48]

Related to racism is scientific racism, which was employed as a tool to justify slavery and colonialism. During the 18th century in the Netherlands, Peter Campier, a notorious racist, compared facial and skull measurements of blacks and monkeys and developed a hierarchy in which he said that the Greek statuary was the highest form and the lowest was the Negro. [49] Another example is that of the former American president, Thomas Jefferson, who wrote:[50]

> *This unfortunate difference of colour and perhaps of faculty is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people... I advance it therefore as a suspicion only that the blacks whether originally a distinct race or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments of the mind and body.*

The racist ideology was formed and spread by clusters of clergymen, philosophers, physicians, and professors who lived on the salaries of churches and universities. It was politicians, intellectuals, and slave owners (in the Americas) who implemented the white supremacy theories.[51]

47 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

48 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change*, p. 5.

49 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

50 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change...*, p. 6.

51 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions*, 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

Perspective on African history

Afrocentrists believe that the study of Africa and African people necessitates distinct approaches because so much of their civilisation was intentionally destroyed by invaders, interrupted by the slave trade, or not written or codified. Furthermore, they generally maintain that for decades much Western scholarship was subverted by racism and cultural arrogance.[52] Kwame Ture argued that Africans were going through a similar process of development of continental unity that was taking place in Europe and Asia when they were interrupted by the transatlantic slave trade and colonialism. For Afrocentrists, it was the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 that interrupted the process of continental unity in Africa by dividing the continent into various colonist spheres of control. The division of Africa made it difficult for Africans and Africa to unite.[53]

From the Afrocentric perspective, history is considered to be rooted in the acknowledgement that there is an African or non-white (or non-Western) view of the world and of African history that has been suppressed and distorted by the Western world in order to support white supremacy. History, according to Afrocentricity, must reopen the discussion on everything from race theory, ancient civilisations, colonial and post-colonial, African and European personalities, and dislocation in the writing of African authors, both at home and in the diaspora. Afrocentrists should examine these topics with the perspective of African people as subjects and not objects of historical experiences.[54] Advocates of the Afrocentric idea propose the notion of multiplication of cultural perspectives that must entail the reconstruction of post-colonial African cultures through a synthesis of both African and European contributions to humanity.[55]

The other two main important themes in the history of Africa that need revisiting are the transatlantic slave trade and colonialism. As stated, the Eurocentric version of the two undertakings was to civilise Africans, who in their eyes were backward. The Afrocentric version purports that the main purpose of colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade was to enrich Europe and white America. It is therefore of importance to study how the two continents benefitted from these two undertakings.[56]

52 A Boyd & CJ Lenix-Hooker, "Afrocentricism…", *Library Journal*, (117)18, November 1992, pp. 46-49.

53 Kwame Ture vs Molefi Asante, "Africa and the future debate…", University of Cincinnati, 2 February 1996 (available at http://thekidsmagic.com/watch/o3zoIaSp0Kk/kwame-ture-vs-molefi-asante-africa-and-the-future-debate-pan-africanism-vs-afrocentrism, as accessed on 12 March 2016).

54 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change...*, p. 6.

55 CC Verharen, "Molefi Asante...", *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* (24)4, 2000, pp. 223-238.

56 Anon., "What scientific racism did to the Blacks world wide", *BBC Documentary* (available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3f1_VcVWpkI, as accessed on 20 April 2016).

Schools must teach a world history that does not only preach contributions made by Europeans in the advances the world has made but the contributions of the non-white people of the world as well. The idea that human progress has only come from the Europeans and not the entirety of the human race must be reconsidered. The University of Timbuktu, for example, is one of the world's first universities. In the 14th century, it facilitated more than 25 000 students, which also made it the world's biggest university. The claim is supported by the establishment of the archival repository (destroyed in 2015 during the Civil War in Mali) meant to store documents relating to the activities of the University of Timbuktu.[57] Another example that needs historical consideration is the Ghana Empire that lasted for 1500 years from 200 BC to 1240 when Sundiate of Mali defeated Sumanguru (Ghana).[58] These things, Afrocentrists claim, are not given due attention because they exhibit African glory that the Eurocentric approach downplays.[59]

With regard to post-colonial African history, Afrocentrists calls for change of what was inherited from colonialism; stating, for example, that Africa cannot always navigate between the failed European economic systems of capitalism and socialism, which are foreign. They lament that after independence, Africa had enough chance to figure out a suitable economic system that will be better suited for her. In this case, they consider strategy to be better than strength and that Afrocentricity is a proper strategy.[60]

Criticism of Afrocentricity

Scholars, both black and white, have squared off on this issue of whether Afrocentricity aims to balance or distort history, which caused Afrocentricity to become the most explosive and controversial subject to be embraced by African scholars. Afrocentricity has provoked much controversy and was harshly attacked by many Eurocentric scholars and critics such as Diane Ravitch, Arthur Schlesinger, George Will, and Mary Lefkowitz. These critics proclaimed that Afrocentricity posed a threat to the supposed unity among US citizens. However, Afrocentricity has also had its critics among black progressives, feminists, and

57 K Dlanga, "#PretoriaGirlsHigh and the myth of multiculturalism", *News 24*, 26 August 2016.

58 Kwame Ture vs Molefi Asante, "Africa and the future debate…", University of Cincinnati, 2 February, 1996 (available at http://thekidsmagic.com/watch/o3zoIaSp0Kk/kwame-ture-vs-molefi-asante-africa-and-the-future-debate-pan-africanism-vs-afrocentrism, as accessed on 12 March 2016).

59 K Dlanga, "#PretoriaGirlsHigh and the myth of multiculturalism", *News 24*, 26 August 2016.

60 Kwame Ture vs Molefi Asante, "Africa and the future debate…", University of Cincinnati, 2 February, 1996,(available at http://thekidsmagic.com/watch/o3zoIaSp0Kk/kwame-ture-vs-molefi-asante-africa-and-the-future-debate-pan-africanism-vs-afrocentrism, as accessed on 12 March 2016).

humanists.[61] Major black feminist critics have included Patricia Hill Collins. Some of these academics also challenge those scholars who not only affirmed the achievements of black African civilisations but also placed Africa at the centre of history and culture and claimed that European culture emerged from Africa.[62]

One of the most recent works in opposition is the book *Not out of Africa* by professor Mary Lefkowitz. In this book she seeks to reaffirm the impression that Greece did not receive substantial contributions from Kemet (Egypt). Lefkowitz argues that an Afrocentric curriculum is a tissue of myths naively designed to bolster African-American self-esteem.[63] Afrocentricity is also attacked for being something of a cultural phenomenon. These critics' argument is that many of the discipline's findings are arrived at in unscholarly fashion, noting that the academic credentials of many Afrocentrists are in fields other than African studies. In order to establish the validity of the findings of Afrocentric scholarship, they continue to challenge the route taken by these scholars and call for a need to examine this route.[64] Some critics see Afrocentricity as a form of fragmentation, desegregation, and tribalisation of American life standing, as opposed to the ideal of multiculturalism. These critics contend that the Afrocentric curriculum removes blacks from America in favour of a fictitious connection with Africa; that many black American families have been in this country for a long time and that the whole view that they are part of the African culture is ridiculous.[65]

Other opponents of Afrocentricity assert that the movement is based on power-play, where politicians pose in academic gowns. Other critics see Afrocentricity as millenarian in nature; a utopia romanticising the past, rather than in a chiliastic future. Those who convert to Afrocentricity often change their names, as a sign that they have put a new man in the place of the old man, asserting that:[66]

> *Afrocentrists are like the people who come knocking on your door to present you with the good news, the truth, and the real truth. You cannot argue with them, because they are convinced that you are the one who is confused.*

61 NR Allen, "The problem with Afrocentricity: Part 1", *A book review: An Afrocentric manifesto by Molefe Kete Asente*, Polity Press, 2007, p. 1.

62 MK Asante, "Decolonising universities", *TV multiversity* (available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S8gZT6Vc9pk, as accessed on 10 March 2016).

63 M Lefkowitz, *Not out of Africa: How "Afrocentricism" became an excuse to teach myth as history* (United States of America, Basic Books, 1997), p. 3.

64 J Elson, "Attacking Afrocentrism: A classics scholar sharply challenges the emerging theory that ancient Greece "stole" its best ideas from ancient Egypt", *Time*, 19 February, 1996.

65 MK Asante, "Decolonising Universities" (available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S8gZT6Vc9pk, as accessed on 10 March 2016).

66 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

Afrocentricity also had its critics among feminists who contest that Afrocentrists are feminists who avoid exposing the atrocities that are committed in Africa against women and girls in an attempt to defend Africans from criticism. These critics maintain that many women in Africa are victims of female genital mutilation, sexual harassment, and rape, and that girls are taught to be submissive and boys are encouraged to be sexually aggressive.[67]

Some critics have a problem with the tendency of Afrocentrists to see Africa as the foundation, the basis, and the beginning. Their problem is that the term "Africa" itself is an external term, essentially a Latin name. Before it came into use, Africa was often referred to by outsiders as Ethiopia, again an external term. They caution that when using the terms "Africa" or "Afrocentricity", one needs to keep in mind that these terms do not come from the continent. The term "Afrocentricity", they argue, has no major position in contemporary Africa and essentially comes from the USA.[68]

The central focus of an Afrocentric curriculum for students of African descent is the African experience, whether on the continent or in the diaspora. This, according to some critics, poses another problem. For them, given the broad range of experience of African people, how are these abstract principles reconciled into one solid curriculum? Afrocentricity is based on the premise that somewhere in the universe there is a collective African consciousness. Many scholars contend that there is not a unity of thought across the continent of Africa. There is no single derived African consciousness in the Americas, nor is there one common line of descent or mind of Africans on the continent of Africa.[69] There has never been a collective African spirit or thought or action, despite the effort of the Pan-Africanism movement at the turn of the century and the Negritude movement of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. The premise is therefore questionable, regardless of its promise of bringing clarity of mind, unity of purpose, and collective spirit.

Unity amongst Africans is hampered by a lack of a common language spoken by Africans and class differences. In Africa, as well as in the USA, there is a separation of language and dialect between Africans in the upper, middle, and lower classes. There is no sense of "our struggle" which unifies the varied African minds peopling the world over. There is no single ideology that crosses these

67 NR Allen, "The problem with Afrocentricity…", *A book review: An Afrocentric manifesto by Molefe Kete Asente,* Polity Press, 2007, p. 1.

68 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp.44-54.

69 WE Reed, EJ Lawson & T Gibbs, "Afrocentrism in the 21st century", *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, (21)3, 1997, pp. 73-79.

many boundaries or ethnicity, skin tone, class, religions, and social habits. There are thousands of different languages, thousands of different cultural groups, and regional differences between people from the grasslands, people from the forests, and people from the coast. There are darker skins, brown skins, and lighter skin complexions among Africans. There are rich and poor, educated and uneducated, and Muslim, Christians, and various other religious denominations.[70]

Linked to the issue of language, Afrocentricity is criticised for its recommendation that Swahili should be adopted as an Afrocentric language. The reason for this is that people who were taken to the Americas during the transatlantic slave trade did not speak or even know the language. The same can be said about Africans in Africa where there is a multitude of languages, which raises questions of the acceptability of the recommendation. Some opponents of Afrocentricity have a problem with its approach to knowledge that is Africanised, and prefer what they see as a universal approach to knowledge.[71]

Response to criticism

For European scholars who register a negative reaction to Afrocentricity, Afrocentrists believe that such detractors do so out of fear, which is revealed on two levels. The first level is that Afrocentricity provides them with no grounds for authority unless they become students of Africans. This fear, they contend, is existential, according to which African scholars might have something to teach whites.[72] They support this by claiming that much of the disagreement surrounding Afrocentricity emanates from whites wanting to dominate the world and control knowledge; further that they have to admit that the foundations of Western civilisation was laid by non-Europeans. For these defenders of Afrocentricity those who say whites brought forth world civilisation are a bunch of fakers and liars, and claim that world civilisation started in Egypt.[73] Afrocentric scholars such as Cheikh Anta Diop, John Henrick Clarke, and Chancellor Williams have been criticised for introducing their cultural orientations and correcting the chronological schedule and historical context in which those orientations are rooted in relation to Greek and Roman importance over that of Egypt. Responding to this critique, Afrocentrists maintain that these scholars

70 G Early, WJ Moses, L Wilson, & MR Lefkowitz, "Symposium: Historical roots of Afrocentrism", *Academic Questions,* 7(2), 1994, pp. 44-54.

71 MK Asante, "Afrocentricity and its critics…" (available at http://science.jrank.org/pages/8216/Afrocentricity-Afrocentricity-Its-Critics.html, as accessed on 02 April 2016).

72 MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change...*, p. 6.

73 CC Verharen, Molefi Asante..., *The Western Journal of Black Studies.* (24)4, 2000, pp. 223-238.

have been chastised because they somehow illegitimate European history by countering claims about Greek and Roman primacy in rhetorical philosophy.[74]

In response to critics who see Afrocentricity as feminist, Afrocentrists instead view feminism as Eurocentric and therefore negative, seeking to maintain the system of dominance and white privileges that promotes particularism as though it were universal. Contrariwise, Afrocentrists proclaim that Afrocentricity views the male and female as complementary. Moreover, he viewed patriarchy as a Eurocentric phenomenon that gave rise to racism, capitalism, and classism.[75]

In response to their critics, proponents of Afrocentricity name three types of opponents of Afrocentricity and their reasons for opposing it. These are Capitulationists, Europeanised Loyalists, and Maskers. Capitulationists condemn Afrocentricity because they are uncomfortable with themselves and do not believe that Africans should be considered agents. They include amongst black scholars Anthony Appiah and Stanley Crouch,. The functioning element for these critics is self-hatred, accompanied by the belief that these African critics are really nothing but whites in black skin. Their rejection of Afrocentricity is tied to their rejection of themselves. [76]

Europeanised Loyalists include many Marxists and integrationists such as Mary Lefkowitz, Stanley Crouch, and Wilson Moses (staunch critics of Afrocentricity), who believe that blacks can do no good. These critics are strangers to the Afrocentric idea because they have immersed themselves in alien canon of knowledge without knowing African history. The last type, the Maskers, are the critics who are ashamed of Afrocentricity and therefore do all they can to conceal their identities. Their tragedy is that they seek to please the master so they attack Afrocentrists to prove to whites that they are like them. They fear that they may lose their careers.[77]

In spite of criticism against it, Afrocentricity is becoming a popular subject amongst black university students. Academically it has been adopted across several disciplines such as African studies, social work, psychology, sociology, communication, English, political science, history, and anthropology, thereby

74 RL Jackson ll, "Afrocentricity as metatheory: A dialogic exploration of its principles", RL Jackson & EB Richardson (eds.), *Understanding African American rhetoric: Classical origins to contemporary innovations* (New York, Routledge, 2003), pp. 115-129.

75 NR Allen, "The problem with Afrocentricity: Part 1", *A book review: An Afrocentric manifesto by Molefe Kete Asente,* Polity Press, 2007, p. 1.

76 MK Asante, MK Asante, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change...*, p. 7; MK Asante, "Afrocentricity and its critics…" (available at http://science.jrank.org/pages/8216/Afrocentricity-Afrocentricity-Its-Critics.html, as accessed on 2 April 2016).

77 MK Asante, "Afrocentricity and its critics…" (available at http://science.jrank.org/pages/8216/Afrocentricity-Afrocentricity-Its-Critics.html, as accessed on 2 April 2016.

combining elements of philosophy, science, history, and mythology to explain human conditions.[78] If taught, its teaching can illuminate the distinction between freedom of speech in society and academic freedom in institutions devoted to the dissemination of knowledge. African university (and schools in the case of South Africa) students seeking an identity on traditionally white campuses and schools are attracted to Afrocentricity. An example of this attraction is the demand by students in South Africa for the decolonisation of the curriculum.[79] Another reason is because of its widespread commercial appeal. Although born and developed in academia, Afrocentricity has become an everyday term. Anything from fabric with an African style to necklaces, hairstyles, and most everything in magazines and clothing and accessories catalogues can be considered Afrocentric. In the USA, for example,[80]

> *... the term has become a marketplace commodity used to sell almost any item targeted to the African American community. KFC in several urban centers has employees wearing kente cloth designs on uniforms, and new hair care products appeal to the political side of consumers by using the term to signify a true connectedness to an African heritage.*

Many blacks find that Afrocentricity has an emotional as well as psychological appeal. This aspect is evident from some people giving their children African names instead of European ones, as has been a norm during colonial times when Africans were given "Christian" names.[81]

Many middle-class Africans believe that the historical role played by people of African descent has been ignored and that Afrocentric scholarship resurrects that history. Some Africans buy into this philosophy and especially those who have succeeded in the white world (middle-class blacks) tend to be more Afrocentric because of their experiences in the workplace and social environment. These middle-class blacks see it as a show of race loyalty and solidarity with other black folks throughout the world.[82] Some black academicians use it as a mechanism to call attention to differences and to

78 RL Jackson ll, "Afrocentricity as metatheory: A dialogic exploration of its principles", RL Jackson & EB Richardson (eds.), *Understanding African American rhetoric: Classical origins to contemporary innovations* (New York, Routledge, 2003), pp. 115-129.

79 K Dlanga, "#PretoriaGirlsHigh and the myth of multiculturalism", *News 24*, 26 August 2016.

80 RL Jackson ll, "Afrocentricity as metatheory: A dialogic exploration of its principles", RL Jackson & EB Richardson (eds.), *Understanding African American rhetoric: Classical origins to contemporary innovations* (New York, Routledge, 2003), pp. 115-129.

81 WE Reed, EJ Lawson & T Gibbs, "Afrocentrism in the 21st century", *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* (21)3, 1997, pp. 73-79.

82 MK Asante, "Afrocentricity and its critics…" (available at http://science.jrank.org/pages/8216/Afrocentricity-Afrocentricity-Its-Critics.html, as accessed on 2 April 2016); WE Reed, EJ Lawson & T Gibbs, "Afrocentrism in the 21st century", *The Western Journal of Black Studies,* (21)3, 1997, pp. 73-79.

buffer themselves and their colleagues against racism. Therefore Afrocentricity presents an ideological glue or bonding across class and geographical lines.

Conclusion

It cannot be established with certainty when Afrocentricity as an idea and philosophy emerged. What is clear is that Afrocentricity emerged as a result of African scholars seeking to challenge the Eurocentric perspective of explanation of looking at the world from their point of view. Although it is an antithesis of Eurocentricity, Afrocentricity does not call for the replacement but correction of existing Eurocentric perspectives that seek to exclude or downplay the contributions made by Africans in the development of the world. Afrocentricity therefore can be seen as a cry for the recognition of an African point of view and Africans' role and contribution to world history.

Although a controversial approach, Afrocentricity adds a new dimension by focusing on important areas that were neglected by Eurocentric scholars before, such as the contributions made by Africa and Africans in the development of the world. Academically, in spite of the many problems associated with it, Afrocentricity is adding a new topic to the debates that are ongoing within academic spheres. Despite the criticism levelled against it, the Afrocentric approach can help to solve contemporary problems and demands that are made by African university students, such as calls for the decolonisation of knowledge in academic institutions, especially in South African universities where the call is loud.

Hands-on Articles

Assessment in the teaching of Holocaust history and Theories of Race

Lesley Cushman
Cape Town Holocaust Centre
lesleywatsoncushman@yahoo.com

Abstract

The focus of this article is Holocaust education as well as the teaching and learning of race theories, as set out in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) for Grade 9 Social Sciences (History), and Grade 11 History. The article makes general statements about aspects of this history, and possible methodological approaches, especially in areas which present a challenge: victimhood, resistance, historiography and interpretation, the phrasing of assessment questions, impartiality and neutrality, unpacking concepts and assumptions, conflation and fudging, race, role play, and independent learner research. There is specific focus on four of the textbooks used in the teaching of Grade 11 History; questions from these books are cited and discussed. The questions selected illustrate the difficulties commonly encountered in the teaching and learning of the Grade 11 "Theories of Race" component. The article draws on the contributions of various individuals and bodies to the teaching of difficult histories, and attempts to provide suggestions for an approach guided by rigorous analysis in the context of the human rights History classroom.

Keywords: Assessment; Holocaust; Theories of "Race"; Learning and Teaching; Grade 11; Textbooks; Genocide; Methodology.

Introduction

Teaching and learning about the Holocaust is part of the work programme for Grade 9 (Term 1) and Grade 11 (Term 2). This content provides teachers with opportunities to encourage in their learners qualities such as compassion, critical thinking, ubuntu, and personal integrity. Alexander Karn (2012:221-240) argues persuasively for an approach that takes into account historical context and imperatives, as well as ethical considerations. Whilst teaching this kind of content cannot be merely an academic exercise, at the same time teachers should be cautious to avoid making their classroom a platform for their own political and ideological convictions.

The teaching of trauma history in any context requires an analytical and sensitive approach, which includes assessment methods and content. This article seeks to explore the teaching, learning and assessment of Holocaust history, and pseudo-scientific theories of race in the Grade 11 programme in particular.

In this article all sample questions are taken from Grade 11 textbooks which have been used in South African History classrooms, and which in some instances are still being used, especially where budgetary restraints continue to be a factor in the purchase of updated and new textbooks. I have chosen only examples that highlight the concerns raised here. The term "assessment methods" is used in its broadest sense, to include any of the following activities:

- Essay writing
- Source-based activities
- Pair and group discussion
- Stop-and-consider/ brainstorm/ mind map
- Formulating positions and stances
- Role play
- Research tasks

The reason for the inclusion of all types of assessment being included in the description "assessment methods", is that any assessment task, whether formative or summative, is intended to probe the extent of learners' grasp of content and concepts, and to reinforce and develop the learning of skills. This article thus engages with a variety of assessment types.

One of the stated aims of teaching History, according to the Grade 9 (Social Sciences) History Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) document, is "promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia…" (Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2011a:9).The History CAPS document for Grades 10 - 12 speaks of "…promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices that involve race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia…." (DBE, 2011b:8). Learning and teaching about race-based oppression, persecution and murder is understood to be in the service of these stated aims. Grade 9 learners cover various aspects of the Nazi racial state and Grade 11 learners investigate the pseudo-scientific ideas which helped to lay the basis for the persecution, marginalisation and mass murder of six million Jews and five million other victims of Nazi ideology. All such history calls for clarity of purpose in our teaching, sensitive dealing in the classroom, and wise choices

in our methodologies. These are children – impressionable, growing minds. We need a clear compass in the way we conduct our practice so that when we guide our learners through the content and skills and ensure they learn the history, we remain true to the principles of integrity, honesty and fairness meant to characterise human rights education. This must necessarily reflect in our assessments.

Not just victims, but people

Learners should always be encouraged to remember that the victims of the Holocaust were people, not statistics or numbers as the perpetrators tried to reduce them to. Using individual stories and first-hand accounts as sources in assessments brings this message home. It is easy for high school learners to be side-tracked, especially by Holocaust denialists' haggles over the numbers of dead instead of focusing on human beings, unique individuals. The History, Grades 10 – 12 CAPS document addresses itself to this: "…reflecting the perspectives of a broad social spectrum so that race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented" (DBE, 2011b:8). In our choice of sources for assessments it is useful to select some first-hand or eye-witness accounts of events. In this regard, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum advice is as follows:

> *Encourage your students not to categorize groups of people only on the basis of their experiences during the Holocaust; contextualization is critical so that victims are not perceived only as victims* (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2015).

Resistance

In interrogating a third person account, one aspect we could address in our lessons, is the way in which the author represents the victims. Important here is that they were not mere victims. It is necessary to give them agency. Resistance always takes many forms and the teaching and learning of the Nazi Holocaust was no exception. Often the Jews are portrayed as a characteristically passive and submissive people for whom resistance was culturally foreign (a common racial stereotype) while by contrast, their rescuers were proactive risk-takers.

When we teach resistance against Nazism, a key point is that resistance does not necessarily mean armed and violent resistance or public protest. Another is that Jews were in fact engaged in armed resistance not only in the Warsaw

Ghetto in Poland, but also in ghettos in Lithuania, Belarus and the Ukraine, and in the death camps of Treblinka, Sobibor and Auschwitz. As in every other struggle there were many ways in which Jewish and other groups asserted their humanity in the face of unthinkable odds. Our assessments should not skew the history even if we do not go into great detail.

Historiography and interpretation

Issues around historiography and interpretation are especially problematic in the assessment of History tasks. The following questions as they appear in two Grade 11 learners' textbooks demonstrate the point:

Question A

Research genocide in one of the following countries: a) Cambodia (1975); b) Guatemala (1982); c) Bosnia (1995); or d) Sudan (1983-2005). Write an essay on your findings, arguing for or against links between racism and genocide (Defteros, Dugmore, Geldenhuys, Ramoroka, Snail, Stoltz, Titus & Van Reenen, 2010:195).

Question B

Discuss with a fellow learner whether the Eugenics Movement was morally and ethically acceptable (Govender, Mnyaka & Pillay, 2006:176).

We teach our learners that an interpretation carries a bias and that narratives compete for currency. This is true. We teach them that in order to evaluate the reliability of an interpretation it is necessary to examine the evidence. But the context within which this teaching happens is the human rights classroom. We teach the Holocaust and other genocides because we do not want to repeat the mistakes of history, because we believe these to have been crimes against humanity. Our assessments must reflect this framework and this basic assumption.

Question A asks the learner to produce an argument "against links between racism and genocide". The most superficial enquiry into all the named genocides reveals that no such argument can be made because racism was indeed key in all of these. The question, though, suggests that such an argument can be made and by default suggests that all this is merely a matter of opinion, of "different interpretations". This is dangerously close to moral

relativism. There is not merely an instruction to research these genocides – which would obviously be a sound learning activity.

In the same way, Question B suggests that perhaps there could be a defence of Eugenics if learners really put their minds to the exercise, when the very point of teaching about the Eugenics Movement is that it was and still is morally indefensible for somebody to make decisions about who has the right to live and reproduce, and who does not. A laissez-faire approach to historiography invites learners to view lunatic fringe interpretations such as Holocaust denial, and conspiracy theories, as holding equal currency and being equally valid with every other interpretation, depending on one's "point of view." They may then arbitrarily choose which evidence to accept and which to ignore, irrespective of how reliable or unreliable the evidence is generally deemed to be. The crucial fact that evidence has to have a basis in reality is then irrelevant. The process of examining each source and testing the nature and reliability of its evidence then falls away – learners are presented with sources and left to draw their own conclusions and to imagine that this is fine, since in any case all cases are valid and that history was and is whatever the individual makes of it. The fact is that, just as the interpretation of a poem is governed by context and linguistic features such as syntax and punctuation, the interpretation of a historical event is governed by evidence.

Margaret Conway (2004) in *Educate*, a journal that brings together doctoral research in education, points out in her paper that, myths, in all their colourful glory, can be more powerful and attractive to learners than reality:

> *…it is not so much how the narratives are composed that matters, but rather if they have, as a distorted form of reality that perpetuates myths about the past, become more potent than reasoned facts* (Conway, 2004:67).

Given the fact that learners can sometimes so readily attach to "interesting angle – great story" myths, it falls to teachers to emphasise the obligation of looking for and weighing up evidence, and drawing on the body of reputable scholarship. In this regard, it is crucial that we do all we can to develop as researchers and scholars so we can lead the way. The authors of the *Activities for the Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability (ADACS) 1999* report, in writing about critical awareness in History teaching, tell us that learners should be taught:

> *"…to discriminate between different kinds of argument, and recognise relevant and irrelevant arguments…"* (ADACS, 1999:13).

In this way we can encourage our young historians to frame relevant and reasoned arguments in their essays, and discourage other tendencies less useful to the acquisition of discernment and critical thinking.

The phrasing of assessment questions

Teachers should be conscious of the assumptions underlying how assessment questions are phrased. For example:

- Constant reference to what Hitler did, to "his" army, "his" invasions, "his" initiatives, etc. is likely to skew learners' understanding of the fact that, despite Hitler's position as a dictator, the proponents of Nazi ideology in Germany and German-occupied regions were many and varied. This tendency is often the result of the "famous/ notorious men" view of history, which relegates to the margins the agency of ordinary men and women, and of classes and groups of people.
- Contrasting Germans and Jews ignores the fact that the Jews of Germany were German, the Jews of Poland were Polish, and so on. The very distinction that the Nazis made is not challenged when we inadvertently suggest that because someone was a Jew living in Hungary, this means they were not Hungarian first and Jewish second.
- The false notion of racial purity ought not to be embedded in our assessments. Speaking to learners about racial purity as though this could be a real entity is likely to encourage a belief in the myth.

False dichotomies

Sometimes a test or exam question will set up a false opposition, as in the following question on the causes of World War Two:

> **Question C**
>
> *Write an essay which argues that Nazism and the [sic] World War II were results of economic depression, rather than racism. Or write an essay which argues that it was racism rather than other economic factors that gave rise to Nazism and the World War II* (Defteros *et al.*, 2010:192).

On reading this history it is clear that economic factors were among the causes of the Second World War. Also, that Germany was transformed into a

racial state by Nazi ideology. Question C conflates causes of the war with the character of the Nazi racial state, and then puts them in opposition to each other as primary reasons for the outbreak of WWII. This is confusing for the learner and a misleading presentation of the topic under discussion – causes of WWII.

Question D (below) on the 1936 Berlin Olympics poses another such dichotomy but goes further:

Question D

The Berlin Olympics [1936] could be commemorated [sic] by focusing on its positives: the organisation, the media coverage, the excellent facilities, the celebration of human achievement, and its links with ancient Greece. Or it could be displayed as a betrayal of the ideals of the Olympics: the condoning of racist ideas, the emphasis on victory rather than participation, and the promotion of nationalist propaganda.

a. Is it possible to create a balanced or neutral portrayal of these Olympics? Explain your answer.

b. Is it desirable to create a balanced and neutral portrayal? Is bias acceptable? Explain your answer (Bottaro, Visser & Worden, 2007:153).

There is no doubt that the host nation, Germany, made use of the opportunity to put its racial Nazi state on display in the international arena – not in dispute in any telling of this history. But also, by the very nature of the event the organisation, facilities and media coverage were on the scale traditionally appropriate to Olympic Games. The link between the Olympics and ancient Greece is assumed; it is a default setting. This does not detract from the fact that these particular Games were intended by Nazi Germany to celebrate "Aryan" achievement and no other, and that Nazi propaganda was promoted. Why then are these aspects of the 1936 Olympics presented as an opposition? Question D goes on to speak of "balanced or neutral" portrayals and asks whether or not bias is acceptable. The point is that bias is present in any source or interpretation, in what it says, how it speaks, and in its absences and emphases. This does not necessarily mean that the bias of a source disables understanding. It does help, however, to bear in mind that in most sources there is a statement regarding a view of the world and its history. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy has this to say:

> *"Historians normally make truth claims, and they ask us to accept those claims based on the reasoning they present. So a major aspect of the study of historiography has to do with defining the ideas of evidence, rigor, and standards of reasoning for historical inquiry"* (Stanford, 2016).

What is at issue is whether a source, an interpretation is faithful to the event, to the history, based on the evidence available to us. If we say that the Berlin Olympics followed tradition and that they also put the Nazi racial state on display, are we to understand that this is not a "neutral" statement because it mentions what actually happened in 1936? I may be misreading this assessment, but it seems to me that what Question D is implying is that "neutrality" means "judgement-free balance" and that the historian is therefore required to be neutral. What would be the reason for wanting to be unbiased and neutral about an international celebration of racism in the Olympic arena? Historical opinion presented with an absence of emotional content does not imply neutrality.

Impartiality as an ideal?

The study of history benefits from our capacity to appreciate and understand differing perspectives, and to base judgement regarding historical imperatives solely on the basis of reliable evidence. However, this is often confused with defending at all costs a no-man's-land of historiographical neutrality, which is "impartial" and untouchable.

In his book *Race and Reality* Guy P Harrison avers:

> *It is clear that the majority of the world's people have not received the memo, but many scientists have been saying for decades now that biological races are not real. They do not exist. They do not occur naturally. We made them up* (Harrison, 2010:21).

Given the history of South Africa, and given that race is a cultural and social construct, and more especially, given the monumental damage that racism has done in the world, why would we seek to be "impartial" on the question of race? And yet Question E tells our learners that this is what we should aim to do.

> **Question E**
>
> *Why is it important to be impartial while talking about "race"?* (Grové, Manenzhe, Proctor, Tobin & Weldon, 2012:118).

Surely we dare not be impartial on this question. We need to be very clear that race is not genetic or biological even though every person has the right to his or her own identity, and to affirm themselves as part of a group or groups. This is implied in documents such as the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, beginning with the recognition of diversity (Constitution of South Africa, 1996: Preamble). It is also one of the driving forces of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Preamble of which mentions the "equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family", and the "fundamental human rights" and "dignity and worth of the human person" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948: Preamble). It seems then problematic that a question like this concludes that a firm and definite point of view based on evidence and investigation is not desirable when it comes to the question of race.

The question set for learners in the following exercise is: Can the principle of Eugenics ever be justified? The simple answer is no, or else, why are we even bothering to teach our learners that it is pseudo-science, that it was used to justify inequalities, human rights violations and mass murder? So what, then, is the point of the proposed debate in the following example?

Question F

Can the principle of eugenics ever be justified? [Formal debate]

Divide the class into two large groups (teams) and decide which group will support the motion and which one will oppose it. Nominate a chairperson and a timekeeper (your teacher will be the adjudicator) (Grové *et al.*, 2012:114).

[This instruction is then followed by guidelines for conducting a debate.]

First of all, Question F places arguments for and against Eugenics on the table as equal but opposite quantities, by implication equally valid until the skills of the debaters decide the outcome. And of course this means that the pro-Eugenics team may win the debate, depending on how well they prepare for the exercise. The ethics of asking learners to research the pseudo-science in order to argue for it – and all of its implications – works against the ethos within which the history is being taught. Secondly, the teacher, we are told, "will be the adjudicator." The authors of the *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History Report (TEACH Report)* (2007) caution against the

ostensible impartiality of the teacher in this situation – with specific reference to the teaching of Holocaust history. The comment could apply to Eugenics history as well:

> *…debate and discussion need to be handled with care and skill… research into methods investigated by Short and Reed (2004) suggest that, in the case of the Holocaust, it is unacceptable for a teacher to adopt the role of the neutral chair. It may indicate that the teacher is indifferent to the event being discussed or could result in revisionist, anti-Semitic Holocaust denial being given an equal platform alongside mainstream historical debate"* (TEACH, 2007:33).

Unpack and rephrase

Classroom exercises are introduced within the context of a larger work programme, and are generally preceded by some sort of preparation in the form of lesson content or reading. If, in a question, we are going to set a hypothetical challenge to a broadly accepted thesis (e.g. There are no inferior or superior groups of people in the family of humankind), then the challenge needs to be unpacked and its hypothetical status clarified.

Question G

"…Eugenics co-operates with the workings of nature by ensuring that humanity shall be represented by the fittest races." What is your opinion (Grové *et al.*, 2012:118)*?*

Asking the learners to formulate an opinion here without first interrogating the use of and understanding of the term "fittest races", is ill-advised. An acceptance of Social Darwinism is embedded in the statement above. If we paraphrase the question, it might go something like this:

> *We take as a given that there are fit and unfit races. Now, based on this given, what is your opinion of the claim of Eugenics, i.e. that humanity should be represented by the fittest races? Do you agree with the Eugenicists, that humankind should advance only the fittest among us?*

We have effectively told the learner, in the wording of our assessment, that there is merit in Social Darwinism's and Eugenics' claims that humanity can be divided into desirables and undesirables, when this is probably not our intention at all. Clearly, the terms of the statement need to be unpacked and questioned before we invite the learner, (who is even less equipped than we are to uncover assumptions and interrogate terminology) to express an opinion.

In fact, opinion questions are best avoided unless they occur in specific, clearly drawn contexts. Asking learners to form opinions about monumental topics such as Eugenics, the Nazi ideal of the "master race" and other such issues, off the tops of their heads, without requiring prior research seems a little aimless. It is, however, given some weight when it is framed as an exercise that marks the end of one section of work or introduces another. Moreover, it could lead to uninformed waffling, encouraging learners to reach conclusions without bothering to educate themselves about the provenance and history of assertions, notions and theories. In relation to these kinds of questions, David Walbert suggests the following:

> *Instead of asking what students think about an issue – let alone how they feel about it – ask them how different types of people might respond to that issue. Ask why the people you're studying said or did certain things, and what other people might have said or done in response, and why. Every issue has multiple perspectives, and this strategy requires students to consider them* (Walbert, 2015). [Author's emphasis]

Fudging and off-focus

Assessments which are not carefully pondered are likely to lack focus and even be illogical. Consider the following example:

> **Question H**
>
> These issues [Eugenics] are still relevant for us today. In groups, discuss the following issues before you continue with this unit. In each case, suggest specific examples to support your position. Should human life be protected at all times and in all cases? Are there cases where killing is justified?
>
> • *Should states or governments have the right to kill people? If not, why not and if so, when?*
> • *Should national or community needs take precedence over individual rights?*
> • *Should animals be used in medical experiments?*
> • *Should people ever be sterilised? Who should decide this?*
>
> *Keep the ideas you discussed in mind as you work through this unit* (Bottaro *et al.*, 2007:142).

Eugenics programmes argued for denying the right to life based on the belief that, for the human gene pool to be improved, groups and individuals considered undesirable should be killed or sterilised, while desirables should

be encouraged to "breed" with other desirables. Parts of Question H steer learners away from this core concept. Consider the first topic: Should states… have the right to kill people? This would almost certainly become a general discussion about, among other things, capital punishment and war. This is problematic for all kinds of reasons, not least of which is that such a discussion would not necessarily distinguish between convicted criminals and perceived enemies in conflict, and the targets of Eugenics programmes, or between the different scenarios. The second topic is: Should national or community needs take precedence over individual rights? This could be taken to imply that Eugenics may well be seen as serving public interests (even though it is not in the interests of individuals who are at the receiving end of atrocities). In fact, if this is not meant to be how we read the topic, then why is it part of this discussion at all? And the third topic, about animals, is irrelevant in a discussion of Eugenics, the study and practice of which applies solely to the human race.

Racism and the Holocaust

In their televised discussion, *Antisemitism, Islamophobia and the Future of Religious Racism*, Arsalan Aftekhar (international human rights lawyer) and Leon Wieseltier (professor at Brookings University, USA) (2015) make the point that if you want to understand a prejudice then those who hold the prejudice ought to be the subject of your study, and not those against whom the prejudice is practised. They go on to explain that in this context, a focus on the perceived culture, origins and religion of the persecuted is likely to entrench the prejudice rather than cast light on it. This is because a spotlight on the hated assumes that there must be something in their cultural and social (and sometimes religious) makeup and history that can help to explain why they are oppressed, marginalised, dispossessed and murdered (Aftekhar & Wieseltier, 2015). In this regard, consider the following assessment:

Question I

Using the information from this chapter and your own knowledge, do a group assignment on the origins of the Jewish religion and its diaspora (scattering across the globe). Present your findings to the class (Govender *et al.*, 2006:178).

In the textbook, this exercise is situated right after the section on Social Darwinism and Eugenics, and just before the section on Nazi race ideology. The textbook does go on to explain that Jews were regarded as racially inferior (although it does not say that they were considered to be *gegenrasse* – a "counter race", not human at all). The learners' exploration of Judaism in this context would hardly help learners understand why Jews were not treated like human beings, but the suggestion will have been made to them: if you take a close look at the religion this will help you to understand the Holocaust. In 1990 Lucy Dawidowicz wrote, in criticising the stated aims of the California Social Science Framework, which sought "to engage learners in thinking about why one of the world's most civilised nations participated in the systematic murder of millions of innocent people, mainly because of their religious identity":

> *One would have thought that by now educators would know the Nazis determined who was a Jew not by religion, but by the spurious criterion of 'race'* (Dawidowicz, 1990:27).

Role play

There is danger in using role play to teach and assess history such as this. Much has been written about the ethics of the methodology and though some argue in favour of the practice, there is more to make us doubt and to exercise extreme caution. The authors of *Teaching Tolerance* (2008) argue that even though some proponents of classroom simulations in History teaching are vocal in their support for this method, the contrary case is persuasive:

> *Educators who oppose the use of simulations for emotionally vulnerable subjects generally point to three main concerns: the effects of simulations on children's psychological development, the ability of simulations to oversimplify history and oppression, and the fact that few teachers possess the appropriate training to facilitate simulations successfully* (Teaching Tolerance, 2008).

Participating in the enactment of atrocities can traumatise young learners. How are they to role-play the following scenarios (in Questions J and K, below) without becoming distressed, having their perspectives warped or their capacity to empathise compromised? Another possibility is that the extreme brutality of the scenes – difficult to grasp let alone enact – makes it unlikely that the learners will take the exercise seriously. You may even have in your History class those who relish the opportunity to act the role of perpetrators in a genocide owing to the preconceptions and prejudices they bring with them. Cristina del Moral Ituarte refers to the "disparities between what is taught in

schools and what students learn from their families or communities" (Del Moral Ituarte, 2013).

Question J

Role-play the events as outlined in [this source]

Juliana Mukankwaya wore a vacant look as she explained why she, herself a mother of six, along with a number of other women from her village, rounded up two children of her Tutsi neighbour and bludgeoned them to death. Juliana thought she was doing the little boy and girl, whom she had known since their birth, a favour, since they were sure to face a much harder life under the civil war that was raging all around them; their father had been hacked to pieces in front of their eyes, and their mother was dragged away to be raped and then killed. "The children did not cry, because they knew us," the stoic woman added. "They just made big eyes. We killed too many to count" (Defteros *et al.*, 2010:197).

Question K

Group drama. Write and enact a sketch involving a planned KKK racist attack (Govender *et al.*, 2006:188).

And even if you were able to derive, in part, a positive result from dramatising traumatic history, this might well be limited by the fact that in the end it is not possible for your learners to experience or simulate even an iota of the suffering and pain that victims of genocides endured. Despite the best intentions, what learners may be left with is the impression that this was just another "fun" drama experience, a welcome departure from read-and-write humdrum classroom life. This would make a mockery of the history we are trying to teach. Samuel Totten (University of Arkansas) concludes that dramatising the Holocaust is inappropriate and that other methods should be used instead:

> *Instead…teachers and students should focus on examining the primary documents, the first-person accounts, the accurate and well-written histories, and the best films on the subject* (Totten, 2000).

Independent student research and presentation

While it is desirable to encourage learners to conduct their own research and to present to an audience, this process requires monitoring and guidance. They should be discouraged from crowding their presentations with content designed to shock their audience, especially images of violence and suffering. Learners should have clear guidelines and be coached through the preparation for their presentations, and be fully briefed on how to filter what they find:

> *Strongly encourage your students to investigate carefully the origin and authorship of all material, particularly anything found on the internet* (USHMM, 2015).

Conclusion

Assessment in the History class has to be a careful and considered business. Every item should have a clear didactic purpose, use terms and descriptions unambiguously, and avoid misrepresentations and inaccuracies. The same principled stance we apply in our approach to the subject has to be reflected in the assessments we choose for our learners – the tests, exams, research projects and presentations have to support the learning process. And always, we have to remember that history is as much about individual human beings as it is about broad sweeps and tides, and that we are teaching individual human beings with personal histories and feelings.

References

Activities for the Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability (ADACS) Report 1999. *Teaching controversial and sensitive issues in History education for secondary schools.* Available at https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806513e7. Accessed on 3 October 2015.

Aftekhar, A & Wieseltier, L 2015. *Antisemitism, Islamophobia and the future of religious racism.* Aspen Ideas Festival 2015. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ypsuk510FMc. Accessed on 27 August 2015.

Bottaro, J, Visser, P, & Worden, N 2007. *In Search of History*: Grade 11 learners' book. Oxford University Press.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, promulgated 18 December 1996.

Conway, M 2004. Identifying the past: An exploration of teaching and learning sensitive issues in history at secondary school level. *Educate,* 4 (2):66-79.

Dawidowicz, L 1990. *How they teach the Holocaust in commentary.* Available at https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/how-they-teach-the-holocaust/. Accessed on 10 July 2015.

Defteros, R, Dugmore, C, Geldenhuys, C, Ramoroka, D, Snail, M, Stoltz, M, Titus, V & Van Reenen, V 2010. *Making History* Grade 11 learners' book. Heinemann, Cape Town.

Del Moral Ituarte, C 2013. *Teaching sensitive issues in History education – political transition: the Spanish case.* Available at www.eays.edu.ee/aja/images/Oppematerjalid/ajalugu/. Accessed on 3 October 2015.

Department of Basic Education 2011(a). *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for the Senior Phase, Social Sciences (History), Grades 7-9.* Pretoria: Department of Basic Education.

Department of Basic Education 2011(b). *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for Further Education and Training Phase (FET) History, Grades 10-12.* Pretoria: Department of Basic Education.

Govender, S, Mnyaka, M & Pillay, G (series editors) 2006. *New Generation History.* Grade 11 learners' book. New Generation Publishers, Durban.

Grové, S, Manenzhe, J, Proctor, A, Tobin, B & Weldon, G 2012. *Via Afrika History.* Grade 11 learners' book. Via Afrika Publishers, Paarl.

Harrison, GP 2010. *Race and Reality.* USA: Prometheus Books.

Karn, A 2012. Toward a Philosophy of Holocaust Education: Teaching Values without Imposing Agendas. *The History Teacher*, 45(2):221-240.

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2016. *Historiography and the Philosophy of History.* Available at http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/history. Accessed on 20 September 2015.

Teaching Tolerance 2008. A project of the Southern Poverty Law Center Magazine Number 33 Spring 2008. Feature: *Classroom simulations, proceed with caution.* Available at http://www.tolerance.org/magazine/number-33-spring-2008/feature/classroom-simulations-proceed-caution. Accessed on 25 September 2015.

The Historical Association, in collaboration with the Department for Education and Skills Report 2007. *Teaching Emotive and Controversial History (TEACH)*, United Kingdom. Available at https://www.google.co.za/l?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwjPlZXpzN_PAhXDBcAKHcRnBvoQFggeMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.history.org.uk%2

Ffiles%2Fdownload%2F784%2F1204732013&usg=AFQjCNHt9hJibh7_f08DJR-xjqjxW_0TNg&bvm=bv.135974163,d.bGg. Accessed on 1 October 2015.

Totten, S 2000. *Diminishing the complexity and horror of the Holocaust: Using simulations in an attempt to convey historical experiences.* H-Holocaust Professional Papers. Available at http://www.socialstudies.org/system/files/publications/se/6403/640308.html. Accessed on 23 September 2015.

United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. Available at http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/. Accessed on 15 September 2015.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) 2015. *Guidelines for teaching about the Holocaust.* Available at http://www.ushmm.org/. Accessed on 5 October 2015.

Walbert, D 2014. *Teaching controversial issues.* Educator's Guides: North Carolina Digital History. Available at http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-eg/6633. Accessed on 15 September 2015.

Some considerations for history teachers in acknowledging and valuing heritage and teaching good citizenship at schools in a post-colonial, post-apartheid era

Paul M Haupt
The Settlers High School
hp@settlers.org.za; pmhaupt83@gmail.com

Abstract

In a diverse and fractured post-colonial society, schools need to take cognizance of the multi-faceted perspectives of heritage represented within the school community. A healthy debate between the various segments of the society of which a school is but a microcosm, needs to be facilitated and consensus reached on the recognition of a common humanity and the rights of citizens in a complex and vibrant nation. It is in the minutiae of that which is to be found in local history, and the pride that the preservation thereof instils in communities regarding their heritages and their place in the world, that a sense of belonging and, ultimately, good citizenship is fostered. Embracing previously ignored heritage does not necessitate "wiping the slate clean". The citizenry will be left poorer in the intellectual and historical debate if the net is not cast wide enough and the emphasis falls upon exclusion and segmentation rather than the need to embrace.

Keywords: Diversity; Microcosm; Heritage; Common humanity; Citizenship; Post-apartheid.

Introduction

It is essential that a healthy debate between the various segments of South African society should be encouraged at education institutions, and that the airing of well considered opinions and the recognition of a common humanity be promoted in a quest to foster good citizenship. South Africa, and indeed much of Africa, is fractured due to its long colonial history which affected diverse population groups and races in different ways, and there is a multiplicity of perspectives on heritage. It is only with rigorous debate concerning that which is to be considered valuable for preservation and recognition of the diversity in our complex and vibrant society, that good citizenship and a respect for the rights of fellow citizens will be enhanced.

In his foreword to the volume *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* former president Thabo Mbeki deals with the denial of the history of the colonised by the colonial overlord who "had a history he obliged us to learn and commit to memory. We for our part, had to have no history except as secondary, peripheral, inferior and lesser beings dependent for the discovery of our past on what our betters decided was our past" (Papenfus, 2004).

By the same token, it is the duty of educators and historians to preserve and reflect in their writing and teaching all that has contributed to rendering the communities that make up the woof and warp of our society. It is in the minutiae of that which is to be found in local history, and the pride that the preservation thereof instils in communities regarding their heritages and their place in the world, that a sense of belonging and ultimately good citizenship is enhanced as diverse people appreciate the melting pot which makes up our multi-lingual, multi-cultural character. The converse is also true, as developers, ordinary South Africans and both the simply careless and actively malevolent destroy local heritage, and with it the collective memory which is whittled away. Schools represent a microcosm of the society in which they function and it is incumbent on these institutions to reflect the multi-faceted heritage of the diverse local communities which they serve. The history teacher can and should deal with these issues in their classes and initiate the debate about that which is worth preserving and reflecting in their schools.

At this juncture the wanton destruction of statues, monuments and artefacts by the over-zealous drivers of the #Rhodesmustfall campaign, warrants attention. The students who participated in this campaign, have not adequately considered the necessity of doffing their hats to shades of the past which may not be appealing to large segments of South African society and indeed may even be considered deeply offensive, whilst embracing previously ignored heritage. Embracing this heritage is entirely legitimate, and the slate should not be "wiped clean" by writing events out of the narrative in an ill-conceived quest to somehow make them "un-happen". The thoughtless destruction of relics which point to an unpopular colonial era, though assuaging the desire to erase a bitter past from the collective memory, needs to be lamented. The exclusion of African history from the national dialogue left South Africans poorer in the intellectual and historical debate. It ought to be viewed as a travesty should the reverse occur. All aspects of the past should be held up to the light of scrutiny. Investigation of all aspects of heritage, both the glorious and the bitter needs to be undertaken. In the debate the net should be cast wide.

Schools, representing communities which are but a segment of society as a whole, need to embrace and reflect the heritage of those entities, and also inculcate good citizenship at the macro level by promoting a healthy, questioning respect for the past. The naming of buildings and facilities after forebears serve to both honour and, often, to remind (rather than honour). Special functions and ceremonies establish a "connection" with aspects of the past, be that connection a positive experience or merely the acknowledgement of bitter battles of a bygone era. Good citizens need to engage not only with that which is worthy of celebration and honour, but equally with that which has spilled over in agony and been a blot on the national tabloid of the past (Howes, 2016).

The school as the crucible of heritage and citizenship education

The debate regarding the appropriateness of statues, names of buildings, names of schools and the preservation of dubious artefacts in the quest to embrace a diverse heritage, is one which has been pertinent not only in post-apartheid, post-colonial South Africa, but wherever societies have had to grapple with a troublesome past. The statue of Oliver Cromwell outside the House of Commons is a case in point. Since before it was erected it has divided opinion, as he is a figure widely considered to have been guilty of an assortment of war crimes (Langer, 1975), ethnic cleansing and religious persecution on a grand scale (Public Monuments and Sculpture Association, 2011). The bust of Caligula (the little soldier's boot), proper name Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus, in Copenhagen, stirs up little emotion (Ulrich, 2010). Yet, in his three and a half year reign, Caligula was a sadist, pervert and insane tyrant with little equal (Langer, 1975). Consider, too, Vlad the Impaler – revered in Romania and hated to the n^{th} degree by almost all others (Pallardy, 2015). Another in the litany of infamy is Pyotr Stolypin of Tsarist Russia. The hangman's noose is colloquially referred to as Stolypin's Necktie for reasons which need no further explanation. His statue has yet to be removed from its position in Moscow (Parfitt, 2011). History is truly a study of the good, the bad and the ugly. It is a study of the affairs of humanity, so it is no surprise that the entire spectrum ranging from the most heinous to the most saintly falls within its ambit. Should we be really honest about the heritage of man, the full spectrum must be represented.

The #Rhodesmustfall campaign quite rightly needed to be aired and there needs to be robust debate about the way in which the heritage of a post-

colonial society is dealt with. Academic institutions should create space for rational discussion to take place concerning these matters. However, the mere fact that some elements which make up the heritage of a society with a deeply troubled past are offensive, is not reason enough to dispense with them. It can be argued that there may be the very real danger that the issues which are relegated to a forgotten past and swept under a carpet of political expedience will in time show signs of a resurgence. Despite there being little hard evidence that there is a direct link, it could be contended that the way in which post-war Germany has dealt with its uncomfortable recent reality has in some respects facilitated Holocaust denialism and a resurgence of neo-Fascist xenophobic movements in the twenty-first century (Overdorf, 2014). Greater consideration should be given to the "contextualisation" of heritage in society. The broad spectrum should be reflected, a substantial part of it celebrated, some elements juxtaposed with those which are problematic so as to balance the representation and yet other aspects of our past only presented to be held up to public scrutiny and subjected to rigorous debate.

It is at schools that the opening salvos of the discussion can be discharged. Within the context of a school community as a representation of the broader society the first steps in the contextualisation of heritage can be taken. It is incumbent upon History departments at schools across the length and breadth of the country, indeed the continent, to embark on a concerted effort not only to recognise and acknowledge the diversity of current school communities, but also to represent the disparate elements of their past in an appropriate context. Knowledge, understanding, tolerance and acceptance are rungs on a ladder to fostering good citizens. Exposure to the intellectual, emotional and moral intricacies of a disparate historical background can be negotiated in the crucible of school communities where an open, yet rigorous exchange of ideas and arguments can take place in a relatively tolerant and safe environment devoid of the politically charged cauldron of the national stage.

Some schools reflect their past by simply displaying valued artefacts in a single glass cabinet. Others house a heritage section in their libraries. Yet others have a venue set aside as a school museum. Many schools spread their heritage display throughout the campus. In all of these ways they are acknowledging their past and inculcating in their children a healthy respect for their heritage. Indeed, the learners learn to value what they have because they see how the past is commemorated and valued. Many a school honours its forebears by dedicating names of former principals and prominent pupils

to buildings and sporting facilities. Special functions such as "Founders Day" and National Public Holidays are also widely celebrated. These establish a connection with a past and present which is greater than the individual. A sense of belonging to a bigger "whole" which is greater than the sum of its parts becomes ingrained in youth. Out of this is moulded what could be described as "good citizens" (Howes, 2016).

There is, however, also a growing sense of exclusion which is manifesting itself amongst communities. Frustration at the abysmal lack of service delivery, unemployment and lack of opportunity serves to exacerbate a perceived sense of exclusion in which individuals and communities increasingly feel their heritage and contribution to society is unwanted and unvalued. People who feel that their heritage has not been embraced either by the curriculum or their local schools are increasingly loath to tolerate or accept another's heritage as they sense that the promise of a "better life" slips further out of their reach. This is an unfortunate trend in which the youth lose faith in government, the education system and their own schools who all demonstrate an inability to address the need for inclusiveness and a strategy to build a unified community and nation based on respect for self, for others and honouring a common heritage which doffs its hat at all the nuances of past experience.

With respect to those schools which played an important role during the 1950s to 1980s to oppose the apartheid state, there is an urgent need to document their histories, particularly whilst former principals, students and community leaders are still alive and can give their unique perspectives on events in their enclaves. So too, is the perceived unwillingness of schools in prosperous communities to embrace the entire spectrum of historical experience of their learner demography. (Howes, 2016) Many have since the dawn of democracy maintained an open admission policy and become diverse in their representation, but the heritage that is displayed and honoured has not adapted to the new reality of the communities they serve. Charles Villa-Vicencio, in a chapter in the book *Africa since 1990* quite rightly points out: "The long history of colonialism and 50 years of statutory apartheid that imposed spatial, social, economic and cultural separation on people of different racial groups created a climate of suspicion, fear and exploitation that continues to undermine the capacity of South Africans to learn to live together" (Seleti, 2004). Schools are ideally placed as servants of local communities to reverse this lamentable trend if they embrace their diversity and reflect the notion that all heritage is valued. There should be healthy

debate amongst all stakeholders and consensus reached at schools about which aspects of their heritage need to be elevated, toned down, engaged with, but not obliterated. History cannot be undone. The tide cannot be rolled back and a "tabula rasa" or clean slate magically called into being. Schools should, can and indeed, "must" assume the responsibility of contextualising their local histories, artefacts, names, ceremonies and "monuments".

History teaching at schools needs to take cognizance of local history and the role played by the communities they serve in the broad tapestry of heritage in South Africa. Learners should be exposed to events which took place in the neighbourhoods of their schools and the oral history component of the curriculum lends itself admirably to that very kind of investigation. Interviews with the generation which participated in the struggle for political freedom and democracy can be conducted with relative ease, as the participants usually speak about events of their youth with alacrity. Video or audio recordings of these often insightful interviews should find their way into the repository of a school archive, accompanied by transcripts and the reflections of learners who participate in the process.

History educators would be ideally positioned to spearhead collection and collation of data, the preservation of artefacts uncovered in the process and in driving a process of discussion and debate amongst the various stakeholders about what is worthwhile preserving, recording and exhibiting at their schools. Principals, teachers, learners and parents need to be part of the process of incorporating records of the past into the milieu of the school. School museums and displays are not the only ways to reflect the heritage of a particular school community. Ceremonies and special events commemorating specific issues, some of them co-inciding with national public holidays and special days, can be used to encouraged awareness and respect for the past. Humans are the only species that build on the knowledge of previous generations, because we have language which can convey it across generational divides. Previous knowledge does not need to die with a generation, but can be acknowledged and preserved as long as an effort is made to do so. History teachers can, in their classrooms, play a pivotal role in facilitating the process in their local communities.

Conclusion

It is incumbent on South African schools, given the complexity of the bitter and fraught history of a fractured society, to delve into issues surrounding their heritage and how the appropriate contextualisation thereof impacts on good citizenship education. Mutual respect for widely differing perspectives of heritage is essential as a healthy debate between the various segments of South African communities is encouraged. Tolerance for the well considered opinions of the participants in this dialogue and the recognition and respect for a common humanity needs to be fostered. Schools, and especially history teachers, it should be recognised, play a vital role in the process of inculcating in the youth a healthy respect for the past, others, authority and themselves. Ultimately, rational, responsible, reflective and tolerant people make good citizens.

References

Langer, W (ed.) 1975. *Western Civilization,* 2. London: Harper and Row.

Lapsley, M 2012. *Redeeming the Past.* Cape Town: Struik.

Overdorf, J 2014. *So here's why Germany is struggling to ban neo-Nazis.* Available at http://www.pri.org/stories/2014-01-29/so-heres-why-germany-struggling-ban-neo-nazis. Accessed on 5 September 2016.

Pallardy, R 2015. *Vlad III.* Available at https://global.britannica.com/biography/Vlad-the-Impaler. Accessed on 6 September 2016.

Papenfus, T (ed.) 2004. *The Road to democracy in South Africa.* Cape Town: Zebra.

Parfitt, T 2011. *Vladimir Putin tells Russian MPs they must pay for a monument to his hero.* Available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jul/14/vladimir-putin-statue-of-pyotrstolypin. Accessed on 7 September 2016.

Personal interview, S Howes (Principal at the Centre for Conservation Education), 9 May 2016.

Public Monuments and Sculpture Association 2011. *Statue of Oliver Cromwell.* Available at http://www.pmsa.org.uk/pmsa-database/4990/. Accessed on 9 September 2016.

Seleti, Y. (ed.) 2004. *Africa since 1990.* Cape Town: NAE.

Ulrich, R. 2010. *Copenhagen, New Carlsberg Glyptotek.* Available at http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=5230. Accessed on 10 September 2016.

Book Reviews

Every step of the way: The journey to freedom in South Africa

(2004, 333 pp. ISBN 0 7966920613)

Michael Morris

Leevina Iyer
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Iyer@ukzn.ac.za

Michael Morris' book *Every step of the way: The journey to freedom in South Africa* is an impressively compiled survey of South African history from the earliest times to the present-day. With a foreword by the then South African Minister of Education Kader Asmal, this book is unabashedly identified as "…part of a larger effort by the Ministry of Education to revitalise the study of history" in the country. The book can therefore be considered as more than just a narrative of the South African story, but also a nation-building project meant to illustrate how South Africa came to be the nation it is today.

With a prologue and an endpiece, the book is largely written in a chronological fashion, although the author also infuses cases from either the past or the future in order to help the reader make connections between the past, present and future. The prologue sets the scene for the entire book with the author remarkably using the metaphor of fire as the thread that runs through the entire history of the country. The endpiece, titled "Remembering the future," concludes the book on an expected largely positive note considering the purpose of the book identified in the foreword. Morris emphasises how the past will continue to affect the future such that it is naïve to try and sweep it under the carpet because it was characterised by regrettable conflict. Instead, the role of history in the development of a usable historical consciousness for the nation is well explained.

The book consists of fifteen main chapters with each having a revealing title. The first chapter explains the origins of humankind, with prominence given to the link between human origins and South Africa. This means that the East African origins are ignored with the book focusing on showing South Africa's role. The place of the Khoisan in South African history is well

highlighted. However, as is the case with most narratives, the Khoisan are largely anonymous for the rest of the book. The second chapter – "Strangers on the shore" – moves on to deal with the interaction between the indigenous people and traders from both the east and the west, which is a significant time in South African history. However, it seems like the author largely evaded the two issues of the "Bantu migration" and the "Empty land myth" which are some of the most contentious topics in South African history.

The rest of the chapters follow the unfolding of history through colonialism, apartheid, the first democratic elections and the Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki tenures in office. This is clearly a long period to try and cover, but the author does it justice by giving as much detail as possible in the relevant issues. The student of history who reads the book is helped to deal with both first order and second order concepts. The already identified cases of colonialism and apartheid are some of the first order concepts. In terms of the second order concepts, the book deals with cause and consequence by showing how each preceding event contributed to causing the subsequent. For example, Morris argues that conciliation between Whites in 1910 led to more suppression of Africans. Significance is another concept that is covered through the identification of major historical characters and events in South African history. Another second order concept is change and continuity. For example, Chapter 14 demonstrates how positive change resulted from the end of apartheid, yet a lot of problems also continued, including poverty.

The language that the author uses is accessible even to readers who are not historians. Therefore the book can be read for leisure, but it can also be used in schools and universities, particularly for learners to gain knowledge about the country. This is because the book is rich in terms of sources, both visual and verbal and these include maps, drawings, pictures, timelines, posters, newspaper cuttings, songs, poems, and speeches. All the sources are used appropriately as they are contemporary to the time under focus in each topic. This makes the book engaging, and also paints a more vivid and memorable picture of South African history. In addition, the content is trustworthy considering that the author makes reference to different types of sources including archaeology, applied science (DNA, genetics), oral history and written sources. Understandably, for a book that covers such a broad time-frame, some of the sources are bound to be debatable. For example, the drawing of King Shaka in Chapter 5 has largely been discredited as a fair representation of the Zulu monarch.

Although the book should be commended as a good representation of South African history, there are other issues that it can also be criticised for. To start with, the history in the book is largely political. This is not surprising considering the bad nature of South Africa's political history. As a result, when musicians such as Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Abdulla Ibrahim and sportspeople like Vincent Tshabaala (who won the French Open of golf in the 1970s) are mentioned, it is in relation to the politics of the day.

Race is a major issue in South Africa and, by extension, in the nation's history. It is therefore crucial to consider historiography when reading this book. Evidently the author wrote from a neo-liberal revisionist historiography with an emphasis on building a nation that is characterised by democracy, freedom and rights. This book can be criticised in terms of the way it represents Africans. Indeed most of the Africans' activities in the book with the exception of the first and last two chapters are invariably in response to the activities of the White. This reduces the agency of Africans in the sense that they do not become history makers but victims of history. It is important for writers of African history to make sure that they do not seem to be perpetuating Hugh Trevor Roper's claim that the only history in Africa is the history of Europeans in Africa. Similarly the use of words like "pagan" as is the case in Chapter 4 in reference to Africans can also be argued to be promoting a Eurocentric view of religion at the detriment of African belief systems.

Overall, Morris' book is a commendable comprehensive survey of South African history which can be used for different purposes while still exposing the reader to a lot of knowledge about the country. If it does not persuade you to appreciate the history of South Africa, it can still be taken as a challenge for historians to contribute to the rewriting of the country's history.

Lest we forget: An autobiography

(Skotaville Publishers, 1988, 112 pp. ISBN 978-928332-08-4)

Philip Kgosana

Bafana Mpanza
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Edgewood Campus
MpanzaJ@ukzn.ac.za

This is an autobiography of the struggle icon Philip Kgosana, who felt that his contribution to the liberation struggle ought to have catapulted his name into history, hence the chronicle of his personal experiences as a political activist. He considers himself as one of the unsung heroes of the black struggle against apartheid, despite being a victim of racial discrimination on various fronts. In the first chapter, he laments the appalling socio-economic conditions under which he lived in Makapanstad, how chief Makapan of the Bakgatla nation fought the Boers and the European settlers who were advancing from the Cape known as the Trekboers in 1854. This has inspired him to resist the injustices of the apartheid system which had polarised the South African nation along racial lines. His political activism was therefore premised on the plight of the black people of Azania.

His reminisces on the negative impact of the apartheid regime, particularly among the rural communities in the village of his birth, which entailed inter alia, land dispossession, poor infrastructure, lack of basic facilities such as sanitation, running water, electricity, as well as high levels of poverty, were sufficient to get him to the cutting edge of the liberation struggle. He attributes all of these socio-economic challenges to the white domination of the country. His anti-white sentiments play out clearly in this chapter and that accounts for his choice of the liberation movement. He found the Pan Africanist Congress to be the only political organisation which represented his philosophy, values and aspirations. Much as I welcome this historical narrative, which informs his political ideology, I however part ways with him on the notion that the apartheid policy was representative of all white South Africans. Some of them were totally against this policy of separateness which they thought was obnoxious to human dignity.

The second chapter is a narrative account of his trekking from Pretoria to Cape Town. Here he experienced problems of diverse magnitudes. He was the victim of exclusion at the University of Cape Town. He was channelled into studying economics which was not what he initially intended to do, that left him with no option but to comply against his will. He got in touch with the plight of the people particularly in Langa, one of the townships in Cape Town. Pivotal to the goals of the liberation struggle, was the eradication of the Pass Laws. At this stage, he was energised by the leadership of the PAC leader, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. His militancy in fighting this apartheid law was indelible. Being at the forefront of the struggle, subjected him to various forms of abuse by the police and the security agencies. His conviction that the radicalism with which he challenged the system, was definitely going to bear fruits, was somewhat idealistic. He turned a blind eye to the possible eventualities such as the loss of human lives, which is always regrettable in the circumstances.

Chapter three is the crux of the entire narrative. In 1960, the politics of resistance reached its highest peak. Here Kgosana details the various stages of the police reaction to the Anti- Pass Campaign, which I think is commendable. He also demonstrates the readiness and the resoluteness of the masses to take on the apartheid government through his powers of persuasion. However, the impression is thus created in this chapter that the liberation struggle in this regard, was the brainchild of the PAC. Another area of concern for me is that, the book dwells much on Cape Town as the centre of political activism aimed at scrapping the Pass Laws. Little is said about Sharpeville where 69 people lost their lives, which I find completely irrational. The march to the union buildings in Pretoria by women in the liberation movements, demanding the immediate abolition of the Pass Laws, as well as similar activities elsewhere in the country, do not feature prominently in Kgosana`s autobiography despite his claim that only the PAC was best positioned at the time, to resist the implementation of the Pass Laws in the country. The legitimacy of such a claim is therefore in my view, debatable.

In chapter four, the writer highlights his experiences in detention, which are not different from the usual treatment and suffering endured by political prisoners in South Africa. He was condemned to the same fate as was Robert Sobukwe, namely, solitary confinement. He was charged with the incitement of the public against the Pass Laws. I like the mention of other political activists who were also detained for exactly the same reason. I also like the

detailed narrative he gives of his observations, encounters, involvements and the practical lessons that he learnt from such experiences. The inclusion of pictures in this chapter does a lot to compliment his writing, which often leads to a better understanding and the stimulation of interest on the part of the readers. These pictures also help put the reader into a proper perspective from the earliest to the most recent times in history. I think this is the most effective way of reconstructing the past, making it more meaningful and relevant.

In chapter five, the writer is honest about the impact of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres on the general public. I think Kgosana is honest enough in this chapter to admit that, the repercussions of the Anti-Pass Campaign were dire and that disgruntlement at some point, set in. This culminated in serious divisions within the PAC, which saw a substantial number of members go into exile. He further admits that the resilience of the apartheid government to scrap the Pass Laws immediately after the campaign, despite the loss of lives and casualties, dampened the morale of the freedom fighters within the ranks of the PAC. In the subsequent chapters (chapters 6 to 9), Kgosana discusses his exile experiences. These are mere narrative accounts of his ordeals and the assistance he received from different people in different capacities. I think he was reasonably objective in articulating the reasons behind his expulsion from the organization. What I also like, is his admission that the internal problems resulted in divisions within the ranks of the PAC. Consequently, the strength of the organization was weakened and this was clearly manifested in the 1994 first democratic election results.

Finally, the book is a painful account of the writer's experiences as the struggle icon, who was drew inspiration from the powerful leaders in the liberation struggle, such as Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. He probably wishes to see the PAC revitalised and taken back to its former glory. His visit to Cape Town in March 2016, in commemoration of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres, clearly attests to that notion.

Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
for tomorrow

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING (SASHT)

30TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Understandings of 'decolonising' curricula and history teaching

PROGRAMME

6-7 October 2016, NMMU-Eastern Cape

VENUE: Pine Lodge, Marine Drive, Summerstrand, Port Elizabeth, 6001

Tel 041 583 4004

Wednesday 5 October

15:30 – 16:30	Meeting: *Yesterday & Today* Editorial members	Pieter Warnich (Editor)	Venue: *Fifth Avenue* 3 Fifth Avenue Summerstrand 6001 Port Elizabeth Tel: 041 583 2441/6
16:30 – 17:00	**Tea/Coffee**		
17:00 – 18:00	Meeting: SASHT Regional Representatives	Henriëtte Lubbe (Vice Chair SASHT)	Venue: *Fifth Avenue*
18:00 – 19:30	SASHT Executive Committee meeting	Elize van Eeden (Chair SASHT)	Venue: *Fifth Avenue*

19:45 -	Dinner SASHT Executive and regional representatives		Venue: **Charlie's, Summerstrand Village Complex**

Thursday 6 October VENUE: Pine Lodge

08:00 – 09:00	Registration all delegates & SASHT membership applications & renewals			
FACILITATOR:	**SESSION ONE** **Dave Edley (NMMU)**			
09:00 – 09:15	Welcome: Dr Muki Moeng (NMMU-Dean, Faculty of Education) Introductions & General Arrangements:Dave Edley			
09:15 – 10:15	**Key note speaker 1:** Mr Suren Govender Chief Director: Curriculum Management (Department of Basic Education)			
10:15 – 10:30	**Discussion**			
10:30 – 10:50	**TEA**			
FACILITATORS:	**SESSION TWO** **Marshall Maposa (UKZN)**		**Barry Firth (PUT)**	
	VENUE A		**VENUE B**	
10:50-11:50	**Decolonising curricula and History teaching (1)**		**Teaching through genres and themes**	
10:50 – 11:10	Midas Chawane (University of Johannesburg)	*Afrocentrism: a solution to decolonisation with reference to historical studies*	Doreen Atkinson (Centre for Development Support, University of the Free State)	*When Tourism Meets Education: How a Tourism Route can Benefit School Learners*
11:10 – 11:30	Susan Bester (NWU-Potchefstroom Campus)	*Decolonising' curricula by means of understanding and learning from South African Heritage and Indigenous Knowledge Systems*	Francois Cleophas (US)	*Setting criteria for teaching Sport life stories at undergraduate level*
11:30 – 11:50	Discussion		Discussion	
FACILITATORS:	**SESSION THREE** **Gordon Brookbanks (Westerford High)**		**France Ntloedibe (Unisa)**	

	VENUE A		VENUE B	
11:55 – 13:15	**Decolonising curricula and History teaching (2)**		**Revisiting some teaching tools & methods**	
11:55 – 12:15	Paul Haupt (The Settlers High School)	*Acknowledging and valuing heritage and teaching good citizenship at schools in a post-colonial, post-apartheid era*	Rika Odendaal-Kroon (Rand Girls' School)	*The SASHT's MadeSA: Experiences so far in engaging in Internet assessment*
12:15 – 12:35	Marshall T Maposa & Leevina Lyer (UKZN)	*European history in an African classroom: Students ideas of curriculum decolonisation*	Jongikhaya Mvenene (Walter Sisulu University, Mthatha)	*Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) and oral history: Towards Transforming Local History in the Teaching and Learning of South African History*
12:35 – 12:55	Boitumelo Moreeng (University of the Free State)	*Challenging epistemic hierarchies in dealing with the past: A case for a decolonising pedagogy*	Rob Siebörger (University of Cape Town)	*The challenge to be "evidence-based" in history teaching and curriculum design*
12:55 – 13:15	Discussion		Discussion	
13:15 – 14:15	**LUNCH**			
FACILITATORS:	**SESSION FOUR** **Midas Chawane (UJ)**		**Rika Odendaal-Kroon (Rand Girls)**	
	VENUE A		**VENUE B**	
14:15 – 15:15	**Decolonising curricula and History teaching (4)**		**Learning from teachers and learners**	

14:15 – 14:35	Gordon Brookbanks (Westerford High School, Cape Town)	*'#White privilege' revisited – Umhlomlo osisiseko katitshala omhlophe wezeMbali/a tentative comment from a white History teacher.*	Ramon Mark Fynn (St. Monica's Diocesan School)	*Elizabeth Georgina Firmstone: Biography of a "great" South African teacher*
14:35 – 14:55	Gillian Sutton (Wynberg Girls' High School)	*Exploring the status of History in curricula and teaching at different levels for their colonised or 'decolonised' nature:* *'Decolonizing' the Mfecane and attempting to integrate archaeology into the Grade 10 curriculum'*	Johan Wassermann (UP) & Marshall T Maposa (UKZN)	*'This is why we do not choose history…." Rural* Zululand learners' views on the lack of value of school history Zululand learners' views on the lack of value of school history
14:55 – 15:15	Discussion		Discussion	
15:15 – 15:30	**TEA**			
FACILITATOR:	**SESSION FIVE** **Mrs Henriëtte Lubbe (Unisa)**			
WORKSHOP SESSION 1	**Together deliberating the teach-ability of the documentary "The Bloody Miracle"**			
15:30 – 16:30	Elize S van Eeden (NWU)			
16:30 – 16:45	Discussion			
17:00 – 18:15	**SASHT ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING**			
19:00	**CONFERENCE DINNER**			

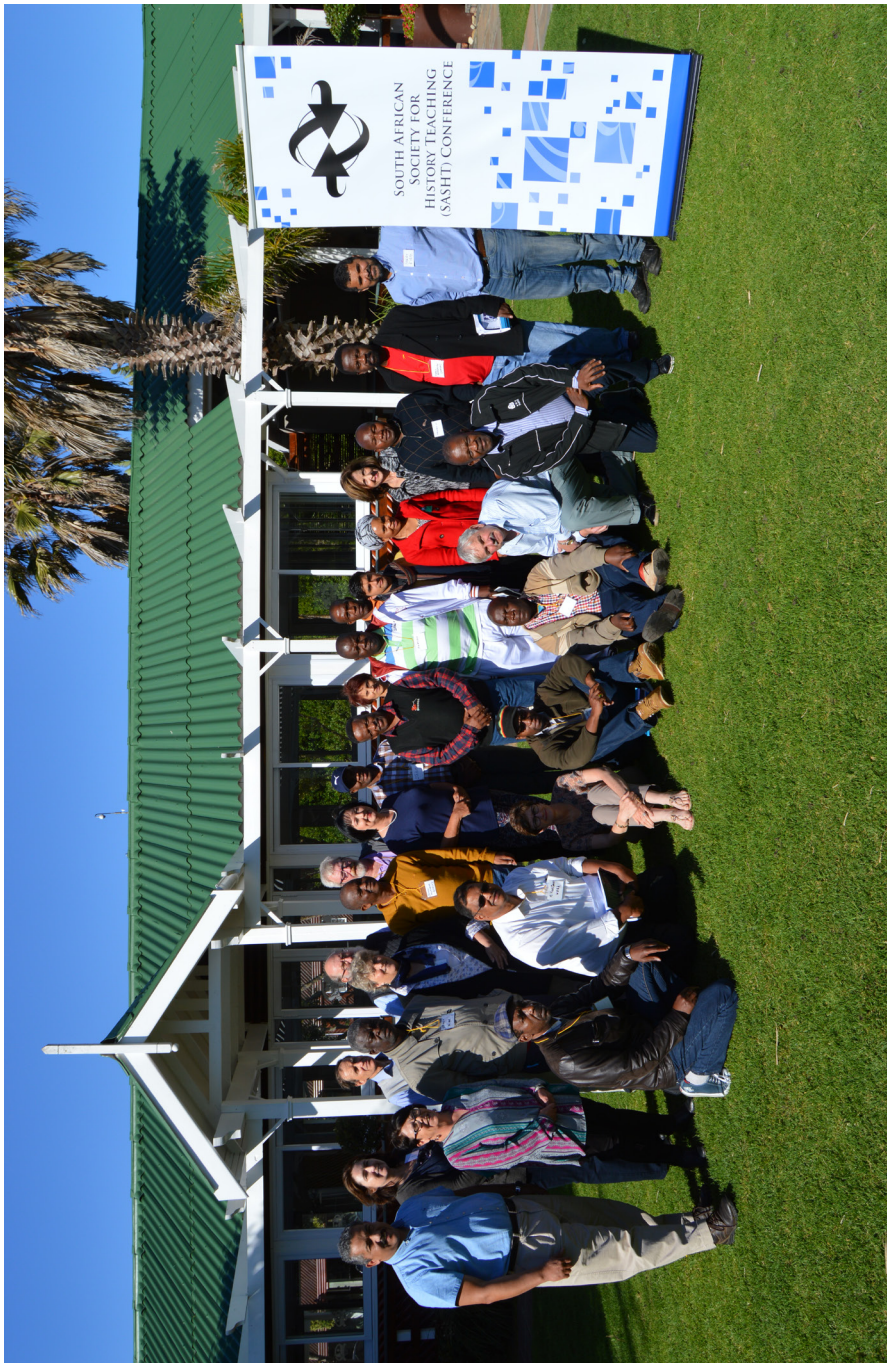
Friday, 7 October

08:30 – 09:00	Registration delegates & SASHT membership applications & renewals			
FACILITATOR:	**SESSION SIX** **Mr Jake Manenzhe (DoE, Limpopo)**			
09:00 – 10:00	**Key note speaker 2:** *The place of the Eastern Cape in a decolonised history curriculum* Prof Jeff Peires (University of Fort Hare)			
10:00 – 10:30	SASHT Presidential Address *Made SA…Made in South Africa…proudly South African*! Elize S van Eeden (NWU)			
10:30 – 11:00	**TEA**			
FACILITATORS:	**SESSION SEVEN** **Noor Davids (Unisa)**		**Gill Sutton (Wynberg Girls' High)**	
11:00-12:30	**Decolonising curricula (4)**		**Teaching [contentious] themes in different environments and ways**	
	VENUE A		**VENUE B**	
11:00 – 11:20	Henriëtte Lubbe (University of South Africa)	*Decolonising assessment: Practical techniques that take the sting out of formative assessment*	Jean Leonard Buhigiro (UKZN)	*Genocide- teaching: Controversial issues-career life stories*
11:20 – 11:40	Pieter Warnich (NWU-Potchefstroom Campus)	*The experiences of History trainee teachers in probing to decolonise assessment through formative strategies*	Barry Firth (Cape Peninsula University of Technology)	*Nostalgic writing, memory and history teaching*
11:40 – 12:00	Discussion		Discussion	
12:00-13:15	**LUNCH**			
FACILITATOR:	**SESSION EIGHT** **Prof Rob Siebörger (UCT)**			
ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION 13:15 – 14:45	**Making History Compulsory?: A critical deliberation**			

13:15 – 13:30	*The political context and practical implications of making History compulsory until Grade 12* Noor Davids (University of South Africa)	
13:30 – 13:45	*Why should/shouldn't History be compulsory?: Perspectives and perceptions of History Open Distance Learning (ODL) students at the NWU* Phillip Modisakeng (NWU Potchefstroom Campus)	
13:45 – 14:00	*The root of all disciplines: History should be made compulsory in basic and secondary schools* France Ntloedibe (University of South Africa)	
14:00 – 14:15	Making History compulsory in South Africa – a key component of nation building Jake Manenzhe (Dept. of Education, Limpopo Province)	
14:15 – 14:45	Discussion	
14:45 – 15:15	SASHT Executive and other members	Review & Closing the Conference Mrs Henriëtte Lubbe, Mr Barry Firth & Elize S van Eeden

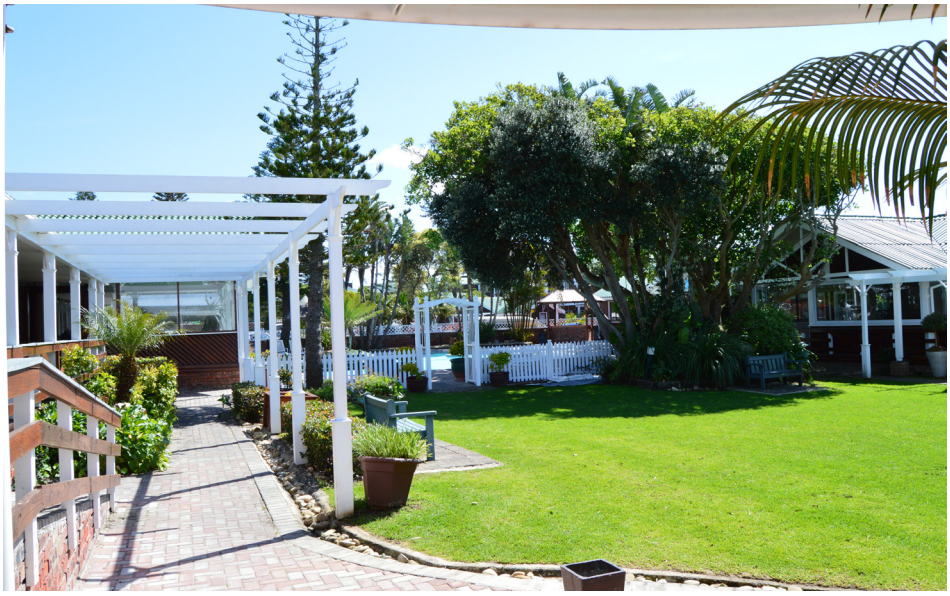
Prof Elize van Eeden with Jeff Peires (keynote speaker)

Henriëtte Lubbe with keynote speaker, Mr Suren Govender



Some SASHT delegates, Conference 2016, Port Elizabeth

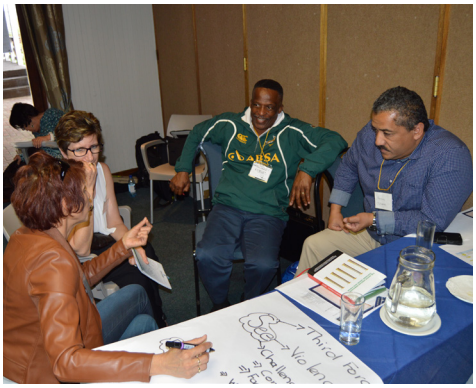
A part of the conference venue

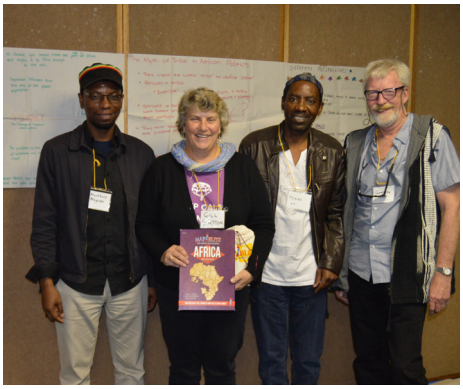


Conference delegates, from Left to Right: Dr Francois Cleophhas, Mr Barry Firth, Prof Doreen Atkinson

Some of the conference delegates

Presenters at the SASHT conference, 2016





Presidential Speech

30th SASHT conference, 6-7 Oct 2016 (Pine Lodge, Port Elizabeth)

Made SA…Made in South Africa…proudly South African!

Elize S van Eeden

North-West University (Vaal Triangle Campus)

Perhaps, among some, it has gone unnoticed that the SASHT is in fact commemorating its 30th birthday this year. The Society was founded in July 1986. That we also commemorate the 21st conference should neither go unnoticed because initially, up until about 2007, SASHT conferences were organised biannually. The SASHT executive changed the sequence to annual conferences to ensure continuity, and to accommodate this wish expressed by members.

I happened to be around as an alumna of the present-day University of Johannesburg when we deliberated the possible establishment of a society for educators of history in July 1982. At the time I did not fully grasp what it was all about and neither was I aware of all the inner conflict between language and race groups with regard to the birth pangs of the SASHT. I picked these up only much later – simply because I had already been passionately involved for some months in FET teaching of History in Belfast in the former Transvaal. The more advanced in years among us will remember the activities concerning CNE Education as opposed to People's Education at the time and the concomitant frustrations concerning unbalanced curricula contents as well as contested textbooks.

In order to attend this first event related to the possible founding of a society for history teaching, I had to use one of my precious holiday days (that's how I then felt about it as a youngster) and I attended the event as a form of respect (as I perceived it) to my mentor in teaching History at the time, Prof Martin Trümpelmann (then a staff member of the UJ and responsible for cofounding the society, and also responsible at the time for the *Yesterday&Today/Gister en Vandag* Journal). The founding SASHT conference was held in September of 1986 at UNISA where the formal establishment of the society occurred. The Journal had preceded the founding of the society by six years (the Journal is thus currently in its 36th year).

My active involvement in the administration of the SASHT saw the light in 1992 when I was unanimously nominated as secretary. (Probably no one else was willing at the time to engage in such an extensive and sometimes unthankful position, yet I – either arrogantly or perhaps naively – accepted.) Since then the SASHT has not gotten rid of me, or maybe I have not been able get rid of the SASHT! Perhaps the reason why I have since enthusiastically kept going was, and still is, because of what the SASHT stands for, which eventually brings me to my presidential topic entitled: *Made SA…Made in South Africa…proudly South African*!

However, before doing so, I wish for a moment to refer again to the SASHT's founding, especially as it is, after all, its 30th birthday and 30 something is worthy of remembering. This year, SASHT meets in the Eastern Cape, because it wants to be visible again in the Eastern Cape. I say "again", because the SASHT is not a stranger to this region: In fact, in 1992 I took over from Dr Maritz Broodryk of the UPE (today NMMU) as SASHT secretariat/secretary. Already, since its founding in 1986, the SASHT was divided into six regional branches of which the Eastern Cape (inclusive of the Transkei and Ciskei) formed part of one region. As far as I can recall though, this is the SASHT's very first conference in Port Elizabeth.

Since 1986, the SASHT has decided to follow two very explicit routes with regard to History as a discipline in general when the role of the SASHT was outlined, namely: A GENERAL role and, in addition, a SPECIFIC role related to the teaching of History. The GENERAL role will always be to serve:

- the general community;
- the educational sector;
- History as science; and
- to serve in the best/most improved or innovative ways of the day.

In a while, I want to return to these four sectors to deliberate the essence of the focus in this presidential address. Apart from this general role, the SASHT also serves seven specific goals which, to my mind, should be the personal benchmarks of every educator of History.

In 1986 (and to date) the purpose of the existence of the newly founded SASHT has mainly expressed itself in seven goals, namely to:

- improve contact between educators at tertiary level and teachers in the broad educational field;
- renew training in the didactics/methodology of History education;

- utilise the expertise of educators teaching History to assist with the training of future history teachers;
- debate continuously the content of basic and advanced educational programmes in the training of History teachers with the intention to continue to improve quality;
- make History educators and student teachers aware of the relationship between History as academic discipline and the didactics/methodology of teaching History at school level in order to keep abreast of development and academic debates;
- encourage educators of History to strive towards achieving and sustaining high academic standards in teaching methodology and its approach towards, amongst others, controversial topics; and
- make educators of History and student teachers in History aware of the relevance/value of History for the existence of communities and nations in general.

As for the goals of SASHT, it was and still is – above all else – about quality and excellence in the practising of history teaching and history research, and in history as discipline that learners and students must be exposed to. Balanced content exposure and a non-negotiable introduction of diverse views, angles and knowledge on topics were once the subject goals that attracted me to become part of the SASHT.

With the general role of History as outlined in the SASHT focus mentioned earlier, I wish to share with you my thoughts on but one of the four general aims for serving, namely:

… the general community.

When serving the general community, the educator of History has anyway departed from his or her position in the educational sector, and has become concerned with History as science.

The community that educators of History must serve has always been characterised by politically unfavourable and sometimes charted circumstances. This more than often turned out to be a case where the tail was wagging the dog. Said circumstances can so easily be the result of unwarranted guidance dictated by political actions rather than historical-methodological requirements. At some stage in the nineteen nineties, history teaching and teacher environment became highly insecure with regard to the past and current teaching material and even the position of educators themselves.

What had previously been produced by South African academics was alleged to be tainted by ideology, was labelled as such or required to be ignored for possibly not being proudly South African – although it was made in South Africa. Local history was simply perceived as politically inappropriate.[1] Yet, in light of what was passed on to the South African community in general by those in the past who were unafraid to do so, we educators must presently respect and not act apathetically towards history proudly produced and "made in South Africa" regarding contributions to the unbiased teaching of history in South Africa. Rather, we must take note of external pressure and yet persist by robustly and effectively teaching every new generation these milestone and critical debates. Let us recall a few examples of past educators of History in their respective responses to the community:

Since 1899, HES Fremantle of Oxford became attached to the former South African College (currently the University of Cape Town). His views on history teaching to the youth from time to time filtered through. His sentiments in 1902, after a bloody relentless war, namely that the youth and communities must be confronted with unbiased historical content[2] – enjoyed extensive support.[3] Still in 1902, Fremantle presented his views on history teaching and academic research with regard to the history of South Africa to a distinguished British audience in high colonial times (please note my underlining and words in bold):[4]

> *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 have to be removed if a new country is 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 …*

1 FJ du T Spies, DW Krüger en JJ Oberholster, *Die Hertzogtoesprake*, Part 2, March 1910-March 1913, pp. 122-126. Although the insert at the time mainly insinuated English and Dutch speaking teachers and children, it does not explicitly exclude other groups, and the general drift of it still has a useful message for History practitioners in 2011.

2 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.

3 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.

4 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.

I am fully convinced that it's currently still our obligation to make known Fremantle's observation to communities when expressing disciplinary or subject ethics.

Another observation nearly 60 years later was one by Prof FA van Jaarsveld when he referred to the curriculum dilemmas in South Africa shortly after the country had decided to officially break its colonial ties with Britain. Van Jaarsveld responded to the South African community regarding the dilemmas of selective choices in the various History curricula of the traditional provinces:[5]

> *In the Std VI History curriculum in Natal, no South African history is required for examination purposes, whilst for non-examination purposes the rise of democracy in South Africa is allowed as choice between five subjects. For the Junior Certificate (Stds VII and VIII), the history of South Africa from 1595 until 1662 only is compulsory. The learner does not learn anything else from South African history from Stds VI to VIII. What the Transvaal curricula have too much of, the Natal curriculum has too little of. Fortunately, General and Fatherland history for Stds IX and X are divided more appropriately in both provinces. This is also true of the Free State and Cape Province that lecture Social Studies instead of History as subject up until St VIII. Social Studies also narrow down the view to the outside.*

Our obligation to what History as discipline/subject is and stands for, albeit in teaching, again features about seventy years later and this time via the observations of Prof Albert Grundlingh:[6]

> *Indeed, school History is an adaptation of academic History for the adult person … This adaptation should not make History something different. If this should be the case, then the word "History" ought to be scratched out … by only taking pedagogic considerations into account, History as discipline will not come into its own and the value that the subject offers, will not be reached.*

Bundy (as quoted by Linda Chisholm in 2008, and also very much related to the ideas of Pieter Kapp in 1993) summarised the need for academic History with regard to a curriculum for History:[7]

> … [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*

5 FA van Jaarsveld, "Geskiedenis in na-oorlogse Duitsland", *Historia*, 6(1), 1961, p. 15.

6 AM Grundlingh, "Doelstellings van Geskiedenisonderrig op skool", *Historia*, 18(3) 1973, pp. 154-155.

7 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 PH Kapp, Die toekoms van Geskiedenis as skoolvak in Suid-Afrika", *Yesterday and Today/Gister en Vandag*, 25, May1993, pp. 6-7.

> *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.*

We can also recall some other major voices which, in the nineteen nineties and subsequently, have called for multicultural, multi-perspective and diverse historical content (e.g. P Kapp, M Trümpellman, Peter Kallaway, Gail Weldon and Linda Chisholm). Rob Siebörger also observed and mentioned the unfortunate deafening silence of educators of History after the nineties. It would seem that educators of History even in the present day tend to be all too careful to express themselves to the community at large regarding the role and value of history teaching and concerns about history teaching (inclusive of the DoE). In 2001, Albert Grundlingh picked up this notion of a silent or inactive and non-inclusive history teaching corps by stating:[8]

> *… A damning historical image that aims finally to reckon with the past, may ironically reach just the opposite from what it set out to do. By ignoring critics left and right and only keeping the debate inside one's own circle, the possibility of actively miscalculating different views of the matter is excluded… The burden of guilt is placed solely on one group, who should simply accept it without a profound analysis of their behaviour in a responsible way...* [A distorted] *presentation of the past can hardly lead to mutual understanding...*

The same goes for endorsing and encouraging the teaching of themes that consciously compliment, for example, nation building instead of articulating the past for what it is but in a responsible, balanced and nuanced way from which a sense of nation building can spontaneously evolve.

The issue regarding the compulsory history teaching at school or not has also featured from time to time since the 1960s. In 2011, Richard Evans of the *Mail & Guardian* responded as follows when mention of compulsory history started doing the rounds yet again. In his response he also commented on what kind of compulsory history educators could and could not tolerate:[9]

> *… The Historical Association has echoed Schama in complaining that a continuing decline of the subject will mean that 'young' people will know little of the country or society they live in. But this is to misunderstand the purpose of historical teaching at any level, which is – or should be – about getting pupils to learn and understand other cultures separated from us by time and space, not about encouraging a narrowly patriotic sense of national identity … We'll have to wait for the government's committee on curriculum reform to report, but if it*

8 AM Grundlingh, "Herhistorisering en herposisionering: Perspektiewe op aspekte van geskiedsbeoefening in hedendaagse Suid-Afrika", *Historia*, 46(2), November 2001, p. 318 as interpreted as a comparison from the argument of, "Globalization of justice: Truth commissions as an alternative?" (Unpublished lecture, 2000), pp. 2-3.

9 RJ Evans, *Make history compulsory for the right reasons* (*Guardian*, UK), 27 August 2011.

> *downgrades the transmission skills for the rote learning of facts from the national patriotic narrative, history in schools really will be in crisis.*

A fierce freedom fighter and keynote speaker at the SASHT Conference in Limpopo in 2015, Mr Barry Pityana, also stated about history teaching that:

> *…The understanding and teaching of History, in the first instance, takes a great amount of intellectual courage. It means that historical material must be approached with **openness** and readiness to be surprised by what one discovers. It also means that we should be wary of imposing either literalism, or linear and simplistic versions of the truth, but to recognise that all truth has many sides. One hopes that the teacher would have confronted her/his own story and journey, interpreted it and derived meaning from it.*

Why then do we actually study History? It is to challenge and confront the present with the tools of the past in order to lay firm foundations for the present and to shape the future. If we understand and are comfortable with the past as an unchangeable reality, one which should, however, not imprison our minds, then we shall not be afraid of it but utilise it instead in the present that is actually in our hands to make or to break (Pityana adapted).

The SASHT has proudly served the broad community and the educational sector of South Africa. The following table outlines the SASHT focus at conferences since 1986. These in many ways accentuate the debates and needs of a given time (of which 10 reflect the needs of time and 11 the need for deliberating the tools and teaching requirements within the discipline and subject:

1986 – SASHT founded (UNISA)

1988 – History Education, The Road ahead (University of Stellenbosch)

1990 – History teaching in a multicultural society (RAU/University of Johannesburg)

1992 – History Teaching – Theory and Practice (Vista University, Mamelodi)

1994 – The model History teacher (BOK, Wellington)

1996 – History Syllabi (Potchefstroom University)

1998 – History, heritage and curriculum 2005 (South African Cultural Historical Museum, Cape Town)

2001 – History teaching in SA in the 21st century (St Stithians, Johannesburg)

2003 – History and assessment in the new FET, Gr 12 (University of Johannesburg/RAU)

2005 – The status of History after 10 years of democracy (St. Marist, Durban)

2006 – The "how "to of History and the Social sciences teaching and training in 21st Cent. SA (NWU, Potchefstroom Campus)

2007 – Interrogating the new History Curriculum (UKZN, Edgewood Campus)

2008 – Celebrating 350 years of History Teaching in South Africa (University of Cape Town)

2009 – History and Technology – Media Makes Magic! (Crawford College Sandton)

2010 – Heritage in the History Curriculum: *The how to of yours, mine and ours in a still divided community environment* (Golden Gate Conference Centre, Free State)

2011 –'Youth and History' *('Youth movements', 'Youth and historical consciousness', 'Rejuvenating History Teaching', etc.)* (UNISA-Willow Park Conference centre Benoni)

2012 – Back to the Future? The Value of History Teaching for Tomorrow (University of Stellenbosch, Erin Vale Estate)

2013 – Teaching and Learning History in a 21st Century African Classroom (Maritzburg College Maritzburg, KZN)

2014 – History makes you think! (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)

2015 – Modern modes of assessment – debating and sharing (University of Limpopo, Polokwane)

2016 – Understanding of 'decolonising' curricula and history teaching

(Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Eastern Cape)

History as science

Though the full spread of research involving the teaching of History in South Africa still requires an extensive historiography to be written, there seems to be an apparent lack in South African history teaching and research circles in Higher Education to utilise what the broader South African past has to offer. Mainly reflections and theories from abroad in European and broader circles are mostly picked and observed in scientific writing – as if we have lost trust in what South African historians have observed, researched and written. To state this bluntly: Reference to South Africans in the field of history teaching does not offer local historians the scope that they deserve. It would seem that an international product or person can always inform the South African

environment better. By reconsidering and critically debating what we have, we carry on a debate that is ours to embrace in a proudly South African way, one that is in fact also part of decolonising our minds regarding what we have to offer.

It is praiseworthy that we will also deliberate decolonising the History of South Africa at this conference. Yet doing that does not imply that we must delete a longstanding few centuries of making history in colonial times, as these, like so many other events, have greatly impacted South Africans. One aspect that we have to seriously address in our teaching of historical narrative is how to balance South Africa's colonial past by mindfully and consciously feeding into it "Made in South Africa" and "proudly South African" content and context.

As I see it: Start to contribute increasingly and creatively in books, articles (scientific and hands-on) to show the way forward with research that will serve South Africa more by means of SA examples and experiences in histories of our various cultures in diverse and inclusive contexts. Occasionally engage with the local, regional and South African community to accentuate what historians and our society, the SASHT stand for. The Dec 2015 Round Table by the DoE on debating compulsory history, in which five members of the SASHT very efficiently participated (Rob, Henriette, Barry, Gill and Siobhan), is a typically appropriate example. Feel pride in who you are and what you are.

Lastly, expand your qualification level and study History also on a postgraduate level so that we can creatively start to contribute towards decolonising the discipline by mind shifting: NOT necessarily to revise past EVENTS and WAYS as reality, but by THE WAY in which we teach past knowledge.

I THANK YOU!

SASHT REGIONAL REPORT (2016)

Henriëtte Lubbe (Deputy Chairperson: SASHT)

Lubbehj@unisa.ac.za

During 2016 the Executive Committee of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) continued with its efforts to stimulate interest in History and History teaching in the various provinces of South Africa. Except for the Northern Cape, the SASHT currently has regional representation in all the provinces of South Africa, with two new regional representatives (one for the Eastern Cape and one for the George/Knysna region of the Western Cape) joining our team at the SASHT annual conference.

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

Regional representatives report that they had to cope with tremendous work pressure this year, This made it difficult to organise additional history-related events under the auspices of the SASHT. However, several have used every possible opportunity to promote the interests of the Society, and the SASHT Executive sincerely appreciates all the hard work that has been done in promoting the historical discipline at ground level.

What follows below is a brief overview (in alphabetical order) of the activities that have been taking place in the provinces during 2016:

Eastern Cape

Although the Eastern Cape did not have a formally appointed SASHT regional representative for 2016, the province successfully hosted the 2016 SASHT Conference, thereby making a significant contribution to supporting History teaching and raising the profile of the SASHT in this part of South Africa – thank you Dr Dave Edley of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University for all the hard work!

Free State

Unfortunately it is impossible to report on History-related activities in the Free State as no feedback was received from the current SASHT regional representative in that province.

Gauteng

Our regional representative for Gauteng, Siobhan Glanville, reports that she and Michelle Friedman conducted a few workshops for small groups of educators in conjunction with the South African Historical Association (SAHA). Michelle Friedman ran the workshops on the TRC and 'Women in the struggle' around Women's month, while Siobhan ran the workshop on the Sinking of the SS Mendi, aimed at commemorating South Africa's involvement in World War 1. This was also an attempt to help educators move beyond the little box in the textbooks that does not do the story justice.

Jeppe Boys High invited Michelle and Siobhan to conduct a special workshop with their History Department in June on teaching historical thinking. This was part of the school's professional development plan. The presenters found it exciting to work with such a dynamic group of History teachers who are prepared to look beyond the textbooks.

A general trend that Siobhan and Michelle have noticed when visiting Gauteng schools to observe student teachers is that schools are interpreting CAPS as being just about content. The table of eight historical thinking skills in the introduction appears to be window dressing. They found it distressing to see how many schools are just fixated on covering particular content by reading from the textbook. For Siobhan and Michelle it felt as if History teaching in these schools had gone back in time to when they were at school. Siobhan believes that it has a lot to do with the way in which schools are monitored by District Officials. The schools complete the required content in the textbooks and then spend weeks on revision which has led to many young people seeing no point in coming to schools – a trend that used to happen with Matrics only. She suggests that a future conference on bringing History to life, or resuscitating historical thinking, might be part of the solution to this problem.

KwaZulu-Natal

No feedback was received from the current SASHT regional representative in KwaZulu-Natal.

Limpopo

Good news from Limpopo is that the provincial coordinator for History, Mr Jake Manenzhe, and his team of curriculum advisors are working around the clock to support History teachers and improve results in the province.

SASHT Regional Representative for Limpopo, Mr Wilfred Chauke, reports that:

• The Grade 12 History pass rate in the province showed a steady improvement from 70.4% in 2013 to 74.9% in 2014 and 77.4% in 2015. Limpopo is aiming for an 80% pass rate in

2016 and is also committed to improving the quality of passes and increasing the number of distinctions in 2017 – good luck Limpopo!

Curriculum advisors worked particularly hard during service meetings at the beginning of the year as well as in cluster meetings to convey the results of the 2015 final examination; identify specific developmental areas in examination scripts (mainly handling essay questions, paragraph questions and some higher order source-based questions); tabling strategies to improve the results in 2016; unfold the planned activities in the year; provide training in the marking of formal tasks such as essays and higher order source-based questions; and provide educational support to newly appointed teachers. They also strive to offer teachers in lower grades with adequate support as this will ensure that the province's performance remain consistent.

• Limpopo teachers also received external support from two organisations during 2016:

Firstly, the Holocaust Foundation in Cape Town conducted workshops for 78 Grade 11 teachers and curriculum advisors at two separate venues in Limpopo. The content covered related to the topic on 'Ideas of Race' prescribed for Grade 11. Material was provided for teachers and approaches to teaching the topic were demonstrated.

Secondly, the University of South Africa (Unisa) reached out to Limpopo teachers for the third year in a row via one of its Community Engagement projects run by Henriëtte Lubbe of the Unisa History Department. This History skills training initiative was expanded during 2016 to include 72 teachers from high enrolment schools and consisted of two two-day workshops during August 2016 and one one-day workshop in November. The August workshops focused mainly on developing historical writing skills, while the November workshop assisted 52 teachers from across Limpopo in designing research assignments for Grades 10 to 12. Curriculum advisors were also empowered during this workshop to facilitate the group work activities and monitor the implementation of the newly designed research tasks during 2017. Report-back from participants indicates that the workshops offered from 2014 to the present greatly strengthened the confidence and motivation of the participants who have committed themselves to spreading the learning to other colleagues in the province.

Mpumalanga

SASHT Regional Representative for Mpumalanga, Keneilwe Mosala, reports that:

• SASHT membership forms were handed out to History teachers in her district to fill out and forward to SASHT, but it is not clear how many of these teachers have followed through on joining the Society.

• A very successful one-day Oral History Conference – organised and funded by the Oral History Committee of the Department of Culture, Sports and Recreation – took place in the Steve Tshwete (Middelburg) District Municipality on 15 September 2016, attracting the attendance of more than 100 delegates.

• The Steve Tshwete (Middelburg) teachers, together with the Subject Advisor, held a Saturday Revision Session for the Matric candidates in October 2016.

Despite these positive developments, a few challenges remain. One such challenge is the dwindling number of schools offering History. Several schools have opted to become Science schools from 2017, giving poor performance in the Grade 12 final History examination as a result of a language barrier, as a major reason. According to Kineilwe, the Provincial Education Department and the DBE use the Matric pass rate to identify performing and underperforming schools. The result of this is that 'underperforming' schools deregister History and substitute it with Tourism – a subject that is regarded as an easy subject to pass mainly because it does not include essay writing in the examination. The affected schools that offer History in Grade 11 this year will phase it out in November 2018, which means that experienced History teachers will then have to teach other subjects that they might not be passionate about.

North West Province

Two exciting developments in North West province this year are worth mentioning:

• Collaborative research project

In an attempt to make a contribution to the teaching and learning of History at tertiary level, SASHT Regional Representative, Dr Pieter Warnich, initiated a collaborative research project with Henriëtte Lubbe from the Unisa History Department.

This project focused on providing final year History Education students of North-West University (Potchefstroom Campus) with an additional training opportunity in classroom assessment, in the hope to empower them as future History teachers.

Henriëtte was invited in March 2016 to present a workshop to the students in which she shared a number of interactive group activities which she has been using with great success in corporate staff training – activities that were subsequently adapted to serve as teaching, essay writing, research, community building and assessment tools. The challenge was to see to what extent these assessment strategies could be applied to the history classroom.

The students implemented several fun-filled formative assessment activities with great enthusiasm during their practical period at schools. They also provided very positive feedback on how well the activities worked in the classroom; how they experienced the activities as an integral part of their lessons; and how the learners responded to this new kind of assessment. One of the main findings was that the learners displayed greatly enhanced levels of self-confidence and willingness to participate and communicate. Student feedback was recorded for research purposes and was shared with colleagues at the 2016 SASHT conference.

• Unisa Community Engagement Project

As part of a Unisa registered community engagement project, more than 80 History teachers from the districts of Mahikeng and Vryburg, received practical skills training in two two-day workshops that focused on teaching and assessing historical writing.

Based on their previous experience of the value of these workshops, 15 more teachers than had been budgeted for turned up unexpectedly on the first day of the workshop in Vryburg. Although this created a serious challenge for the caterers, it was taken by the facilitator as a sign of the teachers' enthusiastic support for the programme and their eagerness to learn. The negotiated outcome was that every participant committed themselves to eating less so that all could be accommodated – thank you North West teachers for your maturity and flexibility!

Western Cape

In the Western Cape, SASHT Regional Representative, Barry Firth, achieved a great breakthrough in breaking down barriers between the SASHT and the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), which until now has been viewing the SASHT with suspicion as an alleged relic of the apartheid era. At first the WCED did not want to allow Barry to introduce Western Cape schools to the Society's online History quiz. However, after several interventions and looking at copies of the SASHT journal, *Yesterday & Today*, the officials in charge relented and provided access to the network of the QWCED to reach schools.

Barry also managed to reach a 'record of understanding' which does not require the SASHT to prove its bona fides each time it interacts with the WCED. Moreover, a mutual desire to strengthen ties through joint events has been articulated by Barry (on behalf of the SASHT) and Ms Bridget Tobin (on behalf of the WCED).

Both Barry and Prof Rob Siebörger subsequently attended the History Quiz prize giving ceremony where they issued framed certificates and a book prize.

All of this helped to leave a favourable impression with the school community in the Western Cape and, as Barry puts it, 'cement the Society as one which carries some weight'.

Finally, Barry also interacted with students from the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Stellenbosch University and the University of Cape Town during 2016, and recommended to both their PGCE and 4th Year B Ed students to take out membership of the SASHT as this will undoubtedly strengthen their CV's when entering schools next year.

*****

On behalf of the Executive of the SASHT, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the regional representatives for their commitment and hard work in promoting the historical discipline in the various provinces of South Africa. We look back on a year filled with exciting developments, and look forward to an equally if not more active 2017.

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.

17. For the scientific research articles, page fees of R220.00 per page will be charged-from the author's institution. However, in the end it remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.

Yesterday & Today
Template guidelines for writing an article

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

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

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

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

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

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

   The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. Language setting in Microsoft Word as **English (South Africa); do this before**

starting with the word processing of the article. Go to 'Review', 'Set Language' and select 'English (South Africa)'.

The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines

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

The footnote reference method

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

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

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

NOT

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

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

Examples of an article in a journal

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

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

Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

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

To:

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

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

Examples of a reference from a book

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

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

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

Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book

From:

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

To:

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

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book

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

Shortened version:

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

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

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

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

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

or

Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references:

• Interview(s)

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

• Example of interview reference

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

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

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

• Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter

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

• National archives (or any other archive)

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

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

A source accessed on the Internet

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

A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:

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

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

Shortened version:

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

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

GENERAL:

Illustrations

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

Authors, PLEASE obtain copyright and reproduction rights on photographs and other illustrations.

The Harvard reference method

References in the text

References are cited in the text by the author'(s) surname(s) and the year of publication in brackets, separated by a comma: e.g. (Weedon, 1977:13).

If several articles by the same author and from the same year are cited, the letters a, b, c, etc. should be added after the year of publication: e.g. (Fardon, 2007a:23).

Page references in the text should follow a colon after the date: e.g. (Bazalgette, 1992:209-214).

In works by three or more authors the surnames of all authors should be given in the first reference to such a work. In subsequent references to this work, only the name of the first author is given, followed by the abbreviation *et al.*: e.g. (Ottaro *et al.*, 2005:34).

If reference is made to an anonymous item in a newspaper, the name of the newspaper is given in brackets: e.g. (The Citizen, 2010).

For personal communications (oral or written) identify the person and indicate in brackets that it is a personal communication: e.g. (B Brown, pers. comm.).

Ensure that dates, spelling and titles used in the text are accurate and consistent with those listed in the references.

List all references chronologically and then alphabetically: e.g. (Scott 2003; Muller 2006; Meyer 2007).

List of references

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order, under References.

Bibliographic information should be in the language of the source document, not in the language of the article.

References should be presented as indicated in the following examples. See the required punctuation.

• Journal articles

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of article, unabbreviated title of journal, volume, issue number in brackets and page numbers: e.g. Shepherd, R 1992. Elementary media education. The perfect curriculum. *English Quarterly*, 25(2):35-38.

• Books

Surname(s) and initials of author(s) or editor(s), year of publication, title of book, volume, edition, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Mouton, J 2001. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

• Chapters in books

Surname(s) and initials of author(s,) year of publication, title of chapter, editor(s), title of book, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Masterman, L 1992. The case of television studies. In: M Alvarado & O Boyd-Barrett (eds.). *Media education: an introduction*. London: British Film Institute.

• Unpublished theses or dissertations

Fardon, JVV 2007. Gender in history teaching resources in South African public school. Unpublished DEd thesis. Pretoria: Unisa.

• Anonymous newspaper references

Daily Mail 2006. World Teachers' Day, 24 April.

• Electronic references

Published under author's name:

Marshall, J 2003. Why Johnny can't teach. *Reason*, December. Available at http://www.reason.com/news/show/29399.html. Accessed on 10 August 2010.

Website references: No author:

These references are not archival, and subject to change in any way and at any time If it is essential to present them, they should be included in a numbered endnote and not in the reference list.

• Personal communications

Normally personal communications should always be recorded and retrievable. It should be cited as follows:

Personal interview, K Kombuis (Journalist-singer)/S van der Merwe (Researcher), 2 October 2010.

FIRST CALL FOR PAPERS

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HISTORY DIDACTICS (ISHD)

in conjunction with the host, the
SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY for HISTORY TEACHING (SASHT)

invite you to the first

ISHD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
13 -15 September 2017

at the

Venue: Riverside Sun Hotel, Cnr Wenning & Emfuleni Drive, Vanderbijlpark 1900
SOUTH AFRICA

CONFERENCE THEME

HISTORY FROM THE CORE TO ZERO GRAVITY

BRIEF OVERVIEW

From 13 to 15 September 2017, the International Society for History Didactics (ISHD) hosts its conference on History from the core to zero gravity in Vanderbijlpark, Gauteng Province, South Africa. As it is the first time that the ISHD will host a conference in southern Africa, the wish of the ISHD for this conference is to focus on a wide variety of themes that all come together in the pursuit of efficiency in the education of History as

discipline and subject on all levels of education. So a relationship with History starts with research in a wide variety of history curricula themes world-wide. At the same time teaching and learning History is to be considered in research and in training best practices. Variables that regularly impact on these two major invariable features of History are the ever changing mode and style of historiographical and philosophical thought, of information dissemination through improved technology and of additional ways of communication dissemination. For this conference the ISHD, in conjunction with the SASHT, calls for papers. For more information on the central points of the conference's discussions, please see below a broad guideline. Proposals for papers are to be submitted in English, through the ISHD application form. The deadline for applications is 13 February 2017.

PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE

The purpose of the conference is to attract scholars and researchers from a variety of disciplines and to bring together a cohort of established and emerging researchers in one assembly to deliberate on topics related to the theme and sub-themes.

SUB-THEMES OF THE CONFERENCE

Baseline considerations in teaching History – critical reflections

- Historical consciousness of learners/students
- The history curriculum
- Research on a theme(s) utilised in a history curriculum
- Textbooks
- Utilising sources

Assessment of, and in, History

- Assessing basic and higher education history curriculum and programs
- Improving assessment practices in the History classroom
- Mobile learning and e-assessment in History
- The use of Apps in the assessment of history content
- Assessment and distance history learning

Exploring some teaching and learning methodologies in History

- "Blended" learning
- Problem-based learning
- Inquiry learning
- The flipped classroom
- Multidisciplinary learning

- Multicultural learning
- Embracing diverse perspectives in learning
- Comparative learning
- Emotive and controversially perceived learning

Ideas for innovative 21st century technology and learning

- Using tablets, iPads and/or mobiles
- History software as teaching tools

Teaching History from a local heritage richness

- Investigating the individual/group meaning of "homeyness" in local or/and broader regions
- The place of nostalgia in teaching (for example museums, tourism, material culture, identity)
- Collective understandings of heritage in teaching history

Research by historians on a theme(s), utilised in a history curriculum

- Debating a theme or phenomenon and its international connectedness (for example post-colonialism, cross-border studies, migration, health, violence, health, phobia)
- Dealing with a milestone topic making a national history
- Comparative trends in international historiography, and its impact on history teaching

Any other theme, preferably related to the main conference focus

ABSTRACTS

Guidelines and instructions:

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:

- 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.
- 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.
- 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:

Abstract submission from South Africa:
Abstracts must be sent to Prof Elize van Eeden at conferenceishd@gmail.com in MS Word format.
Abstract submissions outside South Africa:
Abstracts must be done via the e-Form at: URL: http://ishd.co/conferences/

POST CONFERENCE EXCURSION

A post conference excursion will be organised for the afternoon of 15 September 2017. All who wish to attend the excursion will be transported to Vredefort Dome for a tour accompanied by an official tour guide. **(Excursion Costs not included in registration fees.)**

POST CONFERENCE TOURS

Option 1: 4-Day Victoria Falls
Option 2: 4-Day Cape Town
Option 3: 4-Day Pilanesberg National Park & Sun City
Option 4: 4-Day Kruger National Park
Option 5: 4-Day Garden Route
(Conference Tours costs are not included in registration fees.)
More information about the post conference tours is set out in the Registration form available at the URL as set out under Registration. To book please contact Lizelle Trauernicht at: Email: product@highline.co.za

IMPORTANT DATES	
Final date for submission of abstracts:	13 February 2017
Notification of acceptance of abstracts:	13 March 2017
Registration date open:	14 March 2017
Closing date for registration:	1 September 2017
Closing date for payment (submit proof of payment)	8 September 2017

REGISTRATION	
Registration Fee:	ZAR 2 500.00
Early Bird Special:	ZAR 2 150.00
Early Bird & SASHT Members:	ZAR 2 000.00
One day Attendance:	ZAR 850.00

Unfortunately no refunding is possible, but you are most welcome to send a substitute at no extra cost. Complete the delegate registration form at URL: https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLScPtdCvshvmLx2lqo9dNoRMoHrnGiydNwCyJScIpaJ3wr2Ag/viewform
An official invoice will subsequently be e-mailed to you to confirm your successful registration.

The SASHT has limited access to funds that will be utilised to financially support educators of History to attend the conference (Registration Fee only). To be considered, please apply (with motivation) before/by 03 February 2017. Applications to be sent to Prof Elize van Eeden at: Email: Elize.VanEeden@nwu.ac.za

Please e-mail a copy of the deposit slip or proof of electronic transfer, to Ms Ronélle van Staden and Prof Elize van Eeden at: Email: conferenceishd@gmail.com

ENQUIRIES

General and Registration:
Ms Ronélle van Staden (Conference Administrator)
Email: conferenceishd@gmail.com
Tel: +27(0) 18 285 2102

Conference Chairperson(s) / Coordinator(s):
Dr. Pieter Warnich
Email: Pieter.Warnich@nwu.ac.za
Prof Elize van Eeden
Email: Elize.VanEeden@nwu.ac.za

SASHT Secretary:
Dr. Susan Bester
Email: 10618635@nwu.ac.za

ACCOMMODATION AND TRANSPORT

Please take note:

All costs (travel, accommodation, subsistence) related to your participation in the conference must be covered by the participant, regardless of the proposal acceptance. ISHD, SASHT or the NWU is not liable and holds no responsibility for any of these costs.

Accommodation is available at the venue: Riverside Sun Hotel, on the banks of the Vaal River Barrage, Corner Wenning & Emfuleni Drive, Vanderbijlpark.
Tel: +27(0) 16 682 7322
Email: Riaan.smalberger@tsogosun.com

Special Accommodation fees:
ZAR 1 430.00 per single person (B&B)
ZAR 1 430.00 2 people sharing (B&B) [Need to book and pay at the same time]

ALTERNATIVE ACCOMODATION INFORMATION

Little Eden Guest Lodge, Telephone number: +27(0) 16 932 2124, Fax number: +27(0) 16 932 2124, Email address: bookings@littleedenguestlodge.co.za. Web Address: www.littleedenguesthouse.co.za

Beethoven's Lodge, Telephone number: +27(0) 86 180 1802 or international +27(0) 21 710 5800, Fax number: +27(0) 86 634 2346, Web Address: www.beethovenslodge.co.za

Stonehaven on Vaal, Telephone number: +27(0) 16 982 2952, Fax number: +27(0) 86 505 8768, Email address: info@stonehaven.co.za, Web Address: www.stonehaven.co.za

Quest Conference Estate, Telephone number: +27 (16) 910 3008/1/2, Fax number: +27 (16) 933 4715, Email Address: (Petro) 23996005@nwu.ac.za or questinfo@nwu.ac.za , Web Address: www.questconference.co.za

Transportation is available at the venue: Riverside Sun Hotel arranges for the participant to be collected and dropped off at the airport.

ALTERNATIVE TRANSPORTATION INFORMATION

Bidvest, Telephone number: +27(0) 86 101 7722, Email address: reservations@bidvestcarrental.co.za , Web Address: www.bidvestcarrental.co.za

MAG Tours & Safari's, Telephone number: +27(0) 83 628 3861, Fax number: +27(0) 86 503 6457, Email Address: magsaf@mweb.co.za

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY
FOR HISTORY TEACHING
(SASHT)

SUBSCRIPTION 2017-2018

I HEREBY WISH TO:

1. RENEW SUBSCRIPTION ☐	2. TO SUBSCRIBE AS A SASHT MEMBER ☐

SOUTHERN AFRICA	- INDIVIDUAL MEMBER R200	☐
	- INSTITUTIONS R400	☐
RESIDENTS AND INSTITUTIONS	- USA $60	☐
	- EUROPE £40	☐

TITLE:

SURNAME:

INITIALS:

INSTITUTION:

ADDRESS:

CODE:

TEL: (W) ( )

CELL:

E-MAIL ADDRESS: FAX:

THE AMOUNT INDICATED FOR THE YESTERDAY & TODAY JOURNAL ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, PAYABLE TO *THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING*, **AND CAN BE SENT TO:**

ELECTRONIC PAYMENT TO:

SASHT ACCOUNT DETAILS:

ABSA
CENTURION
SASHT
678209406

THE SECRETARY TREASURER SASHT/

DR SUSAN BESTER
SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING/

FOR ATTENTION: MS LEBO SEROBANE
SCHOOL OF BASIC SCIENCE
NORTH WEST UNIVERSITY
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS
PO BOX 1174
VANDERBIJLPARK
1900

EVIDENCE OF PAYMENT **MUST** BE SCANNED AND E-MAILED TO: sjbdok@telkomsa.net **AND** lebo.serobane@nwu.ac.za