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Two double-blind peer-reviewed issues are annually published. *Yesterday & Today* focus and envision research articles in the following fields of research:

- History teaching/education
- Educational history/History of education/History in education
- The History of any education-related theme
- History research that relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in History curricula

The above covers 75% of the journal

Hands-on articles in the following field of research are published:

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

Hands-on reports cover 25% of the journal

Contributors need to note the following:

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- Manuscripts must be in British English and should not exceed 8000 words
- Times New Roman 12 pt font and 1.5 spacing should be used
- Manuscripts in Microsoft Word should be submitted electronically to the editor
- Images (such as photographs, graphics, figures and diagrams) are welcome but the author(s) should secure the copyright of using images not developed by the author
- Six to ten keywords should be included in the manuscript
- Opinions expressed or conclusions drawn in *Yesterday & Today* are in the first place those of the authors and should under no circumstances be considered the opinions of the SASHT or the editorial board.

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EDITORIAL

History Education greetings,

Welcome to the July 2022 edition, volume 27, of *Yesterday & Today*. For the uninitiated, the journal is affiliated to the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT). The 36th SASHT conference, hosted by the University of Stellenbosch, will take place from 29-30 September 2022 at the historic Genadendal Museum. The theme of the conference is: History teaching in and beyond the formal curriculum.

I would like to now turn to the book review section of *Yesterday & Today* and express our deepest condolences to our dedicated review editor, Bafana Mpanza, and the tragic loss his family suffered. Bafana, you and your family are in our thoughts and prayers. As a consequence, the book review section is less comprehensive than usual. In light of the dedicated work of Bafana and the many colleagues who give up their time to act as reviewers, it is probably an opportune time to share some of the thoughts of Professor Keyan G Tomaselli, a distinguished professor from the University of Johannesburg, on the reviewing of books. In the *University World News – Africa Edition* of 21 April 2022, he argued strongly in favour of book reviews as such undertakings can, amongst others, be reworked into a review article, serve as the basis of writing a literature review, be it for a thesis or a publication, serve as a critical thinking exercise for authors and readers alike, assist in publicising a book and its author(s), and expose authors and readers to different perspectives. Provocatively, Tomaselli, with reference to South Africa, argued that to "South African universities, reading and reviewing translates to 'wasting' time, as current professional practice is aimed at the garnering of measurable productivity publishing units of full research papers, books and chapters only, which are indexed in specific 'accredited' lists". In view of the above, I would welcome thoughts and inputs on this debate which would be carried in the December 2022 edition of *Yesterday & Today*.

Drawing on the thinking of Prof. Tomaselli, I think it is also necessary for the History Education community to think carefully about, and engage critically with, the emerging open-access models of publishing which many universities are investing heavily in. As a History Education community, we need to reflect if these models are "actually page-fee free" and open access, and in what ways the emerging models of open-access can lead to the intellectual control of the academic work and the massification thereof. Most importantly, we need to ask what such moves might mean for small independent journals with a specialised focus such as Yesterday & Today.

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As authors, editors, reviewers, and readers we are hopefully experiencing the death knell of COVID-19. In this regard, I want to thank all that are involved with *Yesterday & Today*, in whatever capacity, for their unselfish effort to keep our journal going. Volume 27 is testimony to this. This volume contains six academic articles.

- In their contribution, Andy Carolin and Taryn Bennett use Trevor Noah's *Born a Crime* to argue how a historical memoir could be used to improve curriculum coherence in teacher education.
- The second article is by Maureen Robinson and Linda Chisholm. In this, they revisit the ambivalent legacy of teacher education colleges. In so doing they argue that the world of teacher education has shifted to such an extent that returning to teacher education colleges, as some nostalgically hope for, is not possible.
- In their article, Paul Maluleka and Thokozani Mathebula foreground the Odera Oruka philosophy, by bringing it into conversation with the Africanisation of the South African CAPS-History curriculum. A timely contribution when considering that the promised new South African curriculum continues to be under construction.
- Denise Bentrovato and Nerva Dzikanyanga, in their article, also engage with the History curriculum, in their case with that of Malawi. More specifically they, in a diachronic manner, interrogate the changes in school History in Malawi using power and knowledge as lenses.
- In her article, Dorothy Sebbowa turns the gaze back to COVID-19. More specifically she engages with the pandemic and its impact on History Education at Makerere University.
- The final contribution is by Charles Oppong, Adjei Adjepong, and Gideon Boadu. In their piece, they provide a Ghanaian perspective on practical History lessons as a tool for generating procedural knowledge in History teaching.

Finally, in the "Teachers Voice" section of this edition of *Yesterday & Today,* it was decided to give voice to teachers outside of formal History Education. The reason for this was to serve as a timely reminder that History Education happens in different ways in different spaces and that voice must be given to these undertakings. The first voice was given to the Pretoria Archaeology Club for Schools, an endeavour aimed at bridging the gap between

Archaeology and School History. The second voice went to the Asinakuthula Collective and their educational work in re-membering women's histories.

Take care and stay safe!
Johan Wassermann (Editor-in-Chief)

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Using a historical memoir to improve curriculum coherence in teacher education: The case of Trevor Noah's *Born a Crime*

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Abstract

Two of the recurring concerns identified in teacher education are a lack of curricular coherence and a schism between content and practice. In this article, we discuss a specific intervention that was aimed at addressing these two challenges as they relate to English and History specifically. We argue that through the use of a carefully selected historical memoir, much tighter coherence between these subjects can be articulated in ways that facilitate students' mastery of core concepts and skills across both these learning areas, as well as a richer appreciation of their implication for teaching practice. For the purposes of this article, we define curricular coherence as an experienced sense of connectedness within and across modules. Focusing on the use of Trevor Noah's memoir, *Born a Crime* (2016), we argue that engaging with a single historical text across multiple modules can improve curricular coherence and offer a more integrated approach to engaging with written texts and historical resources. With close reference to the Department of Higher Education and Training's Policy on the Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications, we reflect on our experiences of integrating this memoir into an undergraduate Intermediate

Phase (IP) teacher education programme at the University of Johannesburg (UJ). We show how this memoir was integrated into four modules that form part of the second year of the degree, namely English for the Primary School, Social Sciences for the Intermediate Phase, Teaching Methodology for English, and Teaching Methodology for the Social Sciences.

Keywords: Curricular coherence; English literature; Close reading; Teaching comprehension; Teaching literature; History education; Literary studies; Born a Crime; Primary school; Teacher education; Social Sciences; South Africa; Life writing; COVID-19.

Introduction

There are several challenges facing teacher education in South Africa. These include insufficient coherence across degree programmes (Seligman & Gravett, 2010; Flores, Santos, Fernandes & Pereira, 2014), superficial content knowledge (Taylor & Taylor, 2013; Taylor, 2019), inadequate preparedness for the demands of academic literacy in English (Kruss, Hoadley & Gordon, 2009; CHE 2013; Khumalo & Maphalala, 2018), and a lack of integration between content and teaching practice (Gravett, 2012; Yeigh & Lynch, 2017; Barends, 2022). While various important strategies have been developed to address these challenges, they have sometimes risked side-lining more complex and abstract conceptual critical thinking skills in favour of a narrowed down notion of teacher education (Kruss et al., 2009). In this article, we discuss a specific intervention that was conceptualised by three lecturers, which was aimed at addressing some of these challenges as they relate to History and English specifically. We argue that through the use of carefully selected historical textual resources, much tighter coherence between these subjects can be articulated in ways that facilitate students' mastery of core concepts and skills across both these learning areas, as well as a richer appreciation of their implication for teaching practice. Focusing on the use of Trevor Noah's memoir, *Born a Crime* (2016), we argue that engaging with a single historical memoir across multiple modules can improve curricular coherence, offering a more integrated approach to engaging with written texts and historical resources. In this article, we reflect on our experiences of integrating this memoir across four modules that form part of an undergraduate Intermediate Phase (IP) teacher education programme at the University of Johannesburg (UJ), namely English for the Primary School, Social Sciences for the Intermediate Phase, Teaching Methodology for English, and Teaching Methodology for the Social Sciences.

Graduates of UJ's IP teacher education programme are expected to be generalists who can teach multiple subjects across the curriculum. This is a recent shift away from subject specialisations in the IP, given the reality that many primary school teachers will at some point be expected to teach subjects other than what they would have specialised in (Bowie & Reed, 2016; Woest, 2018). However, this poses multiple challenges. Given that students in the IP programme are not required to have studied History up to Grade 12, many students lack content knowledge of the subject. This is part of a wider problem in which the public tends to have a very poor general knowledge of contextually specific historical events and figures (Roberts, Houston, Struwig & Gordon, 2021), let alone an understanding of the causal relationships between historical events that is necessary for meaningful

History teaching. In a recent study conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), many participants were unable to describe recent events, despite their seminal place in South Africa's past. These included key events that feature prominently in public discourse, due to their association with public holidays and major landmarks (Roberts et al., 2021). Given the heavy demands put on an already full curriculum, university lecturers need to develop an integrative approach to History education, in which historical textual resources should be integrated across the curriculum. While the scholarship on curricular coherence in relation to Social Sciences in South Africa has often tended to focus on the decision to combine History and Geography into one subject (Kgari-Masondo, 2017; Iyer, 2018), there have also been great successes in using topics in Social Sciences as key sites for transdisciplinary coherence-building more broadly (Ferreira, Janks, Barnsley, Marriott, Rudman, Ludlow & Nussey, 2012; Jarvis, 2018; Kruger & Evans, 2018; Liftig, 2021).

The challenges around English language proficiency are similarly concerning, given the poor academic literacy levels among university students (Van der Merwe, 2018) and among in-service teachers (Allison, 2020), as well as the insufficient time afforded to English in the teacher education curricula at most South African universities (Bowie & Reed, 2016). English proficiency is required to teach English to primary school learners, and it is also the language of teaching and learning at the university. Therefore, poor English academic language proficiency has a serious negative effect on students' epistemological access and their meaningful engagement with learning content across their degree (Petersen, 2014; Millin & Millin, 2019; Ramsaroop & Petersen, 2020). This has particular salience in our context, given that 75% of UJ students report that English is not their home language (Van Zyl, Dampier & Ngwenya, 2020).

While curriculum redesign is an ongoing process, the particular intervention described in this article was occasioned by the sudden shift to remote teaching and learning due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This shift foregrounded important issues in curriculum design. For instance, while the English modules prescribe literary texts for close textual analysis, students were unable to borrow copies from the institutional library. This meant that we had an ethical imperative to ensure that textual resources could be repurposed across multiple modules. In addition, students reported severe challenges in balancing workloads and expectations for their different modules (Godsell, 2020; Fouche & Andrews, 2022). Therefore, we decided to encourage deep engagement with a single text of substantial length rather than over-burdening the students (many of whom were still navigating challenges of remote learning). Efforts to blend content in History and English are not new, given that close attention to written textual resources is a crucial skill underpinning both subjects. The

integrated use of content and language teaching offers a powerful resource for improving language skills (Carstens, 2013; Godsell, 2017; Kruger & Evans, 2018). Stoller (2002:2) in fact warns against seeing content simply as a "shell for language teaching", and insists that "as students master language, they are able to learn more content, and as students learn more content, they're able to improve their language skills".

There are growing calls to blur the boundaries of disciplinary knowledge in the interests of decolonising education, which some have argued will foreground new transdisciplinary epistemologies (Gray, 2017; Davids, 2018; Wassermann, 2018b; Godsell, 2019). While we do not yet know where these debates will lead or what the outcomes of these interventions will be in terms of school-level curriculum policy, we do know that we need to be preparing our pre-service teachers to think outside of the disciplinary boundaries that have shaped much of their education.

Trevor Noah's memoir, *Born a Crime,* uses the author's own life and that of his parents to map a broader history of apartheid and the transition to democracy in the early 1990s. As a form of literature broadly classified as life writing, the memoir is something of a hybrid genre that is simultaneously rooted in factual events but is nonetheless an aesthetically stylised narrative. Ludlow (2016) argues for the importance of including biographical writing in History education, noting the genre's capacity to inculcate empathy, communicate the complexity of historical discourses, and convey the everyday oppressions meted out by the apartheid regime, which are sometimes subsumed under master narratives. Wassermann (2018a) and Godsell (2016) also observe that pre-service History teachers often tend to think about South African history in terms of fixed moralist binaries – good and bad, moral and immoral. In this regard, Noah's memoir offers a far more complex and layered depiction of the country's past, pointing to complexities that may have been occluded by dominant historical narratives. There is also a concerning trend among many students to think about South African history as 'ending' in 1994 (Wassermann, 2018a), which negates the centrality of history-making in the present, as well as the entanglements between past and present. Erdmann (2017:14) writes, for example:

> *Contemporary relevance as a category of the didactics of history teaching includes not only historical facts which might be deemed the causes of present-day problems and circumstances but also those which, on the grounds of the values or ideas inherent in them, are identical, equivalent, or contrary to present-day problems or notions.*

Noah's text – as well as the South African memoir genre itself – is significant then for a

number of reasons: not only does it map a history from the colonial and apartheid periods to the present, but it also extends to the post-apartheid period and makes explicit connections between the racist social engineering of the past and the ongoing legacies of racialised inequalities in the present.

Curricular coherence

Although a lack of coherence in teacher education degree programmes is often identified as a concern (Seligman & Gravett, 2012; Flores et al., 2014), different authors emphasise different aspects of this coherence: for some, coherence refers to an alignment between content, pedagogy and assessment (Bateman, Taylor, Janik & Logan, 2007; Sullanmaa, 2020); others emphasise the way in which content is sequenced (Davis, 2013; Sullanmaa, 2020) to ensure that the depth and complexity of engagement increases in logical increments across years; some note the emphasis on coherence in terms of compliance with policy guidelines and bureaucratic monitoring (Wood & Hedges, 2016), and still others conceptualise curricular coherence more broadly in terms of the connections across learning areas (Thijs & Van der Akker, 2009; Flores et al., 2014; Barrot, 2019). For the purposes of this article, and with this broader understanding in mind, we define curricular coherence as an *experienced sense of connectedness within and across modules*.

Our focus in this article is on coherence at the level of text, indicating how a specific historical resource can forge a sense of connectedness across concepts, skills and disciplines. Following Ruszyak (2015), our conceptualisation of curricular coherence is informed by the five domains of teacher learning set out in the Department of Higher Education and Training's (DHET, 2014) *Revised Policy on the Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications* (MRTEQ). This policy calls for an "integrated and applied knowledge [which] should be understood as being both the condition for, and the effect of scrutinising, fusing together and expressing different types of knowledge in the moment of practice" (DHET, 2014:9). The policy distinguishes between five domains of learning, namely *disciplinary learning, pedagogical learning, practical learning, fundamental learning* and *situational learning*. Disciplinary learning, according to the policy, includes specialised content knowledge that is necessary to teach a specific subject. Practical learning refers to an awareness of and competencies for actual teaching practice – "learning from and in practice" (DHET, 2014:10). Pedagogical learning focuses on "specialised pedagogical content knowledge, which includes knowing how to present the concepts, methods and rules of a specific discipline in order to create appropriate learning opportunities for diverse learners,

as well as how to evaluate their progress" (DHET, 2014:10). Fundamental learning, in turn, "refers to the generic knowledge and competencies that are not teacher-specific, but might be useful in the day-to-day work that teachers do" (Ruszyak, 2015:11). This includes digital literacy, academic literacy, and English language proficiency. With reference to situational learning, the policy notes that while "all learning […] should involve learning *in* context, situational learning refers specifically to learning *about* context" (DHET, 2014:11). In particular, this aspect of learning mandates a consideration of social justice issues such as poverty, inequality, racism, diversity and the ongoing legacy of apartheid. As we argue below, Trevor Noah's memoir, *Born a Crime*, provides a flexible textual resource around which these core aspects of teacher education can be facilitated.

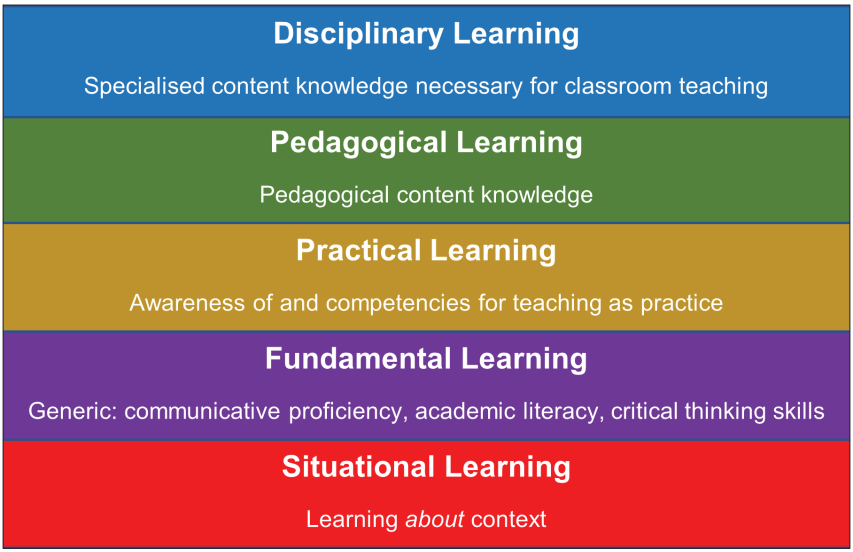


Image 1: Domains of learning - Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications **Source:** DHET, 2014. Adapted by authors.

English for the Primary School

The purpose of this module, according to the official institutional curriculum, is "to guide students in developing their own English language competence and the requisite subject knowledge in English to enable them to support English language learning in the primary school classroom" (UJ, 2021: 42). While there are six English content modules in the

students' undergraduate degree programme, the focus of this second-year module is on how childhood is represented in African literature. The main outcomes are to improve students' academic literacy, critical thinking skills, and English language proficiency. The module explores different literary genres, including poetry, short stories, the novel and the memoir. The three weeks that focus on the memoir explore different aspects of the text:

- Week 4: Language and identity in *Born a Crime*
- Week 5: Genre, intertextuality and audience in *Born a Crime*
- Week 6: Gender in *Born a Crime*

Teaching in this module took place online and consisted of pre-recorded lectures, worksheets containing probing questions for online WhatsApp tutorial discussions, and various formative assessments in which students received individualised feedback on paragraphs and essays. The module was grounded in inquiry-based learning. A large body of scholarly literature exists on the specificity of inquiry-based learning, which is broadly conceptualised as a student-led process in which students use and analyse available evidence to respond to particular questions – whether action-based problem-solving or responding to analytical prompts that require independent ideas – allowing them to formulate responses that are grounded in that evidence and connected to disciplinary knowledge (Khalaf & Zin, 2018). The memoir was used to explain this pedagogical approach to students, drawing their attention to Noah's (2016:82) assertion that:

> *If my mother had one goal, it was to free my mind. My mother spoke to me like an adult, which was unusual. […] She was always telling me stories, giving me lessons, Bible lessons especially. She was big into Psalms. I had to read Psalms every day. She would quiz me on it. 'What does the passage mean? What does it mean to you? How do you apply it to your life?' That was every day of my life. My mom did what school didn't. She taught me how to think.*

By using inquiry-based learning and the textual strategy of close reading, this module emphasises three of the five domains of learning identified in the revised policy: disciplinary learning, fundamental learning and situational learning.

In terms of disciplinary learning, the unit on Noah's memoir allows students to revise and apply their prior knowledge of core concepts in the study of narrative texts. This includes elements of storytelling, such as characterisation, setting, themes, narrative perspective, as well as the critical vocabulary necessary to teach figurative language, such as irony,

hyperbole, symbolism and similes. Significantly, the memoir genre invites a particularly focused study on the relationship between narrative perspective and characterisation, which problematises notions of a singular and objective truth. For example, one of the questions included in the weekly worksheets for tutorial discussions illustrates the significance of using a narrative genre that is simultaneously historical and stylised as a literary work:

> *A memoir is a creative work, and therefore we can analyse the written text to see how a character is developed over time. Remember that even though the book is based on the author's life, he is still just a character in the book. Look at the given extract and consider the simile that is used. Explain the comparison and consider how this gives us insight into how this experience … made him feel.*

In this way, the contingencies of narrative perspective are emphasised, and the focus on characterisation (as a concept in English literary studies) gestures to the limitations of authorial 'truth' that is so central to historical thinking (Van Eeden, 2016). What is more, this module also shows students how to think about the purpose and audience of a given piece of writing, which is an important idea set out in the national Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) guidelines for English teaching in the Intermediate Phase (DBE, 2011a). In this, the module facilitates advanced insights that contribute to disciplinary learning by exploring questions of intertextuality. For example, students were required to respond to writing prompts such as the following:

> *The narrator describes his friendship with one of the other boys in Chapter 4: "We started talking and hit it off. He took me under his wing, the Artful Dodger to my bewildered Oliver" (Noah, 2016:70). Many readers will not know who "the Artful Dodger" or "Oliver" are. Do some independent research. You will discover they are characters from a famous novel. What is the relationship between the Artful Dodger and Oliver in this other novel, and how does it support the idea that the narrator felt "bewildered" here?*

Similarly, students' disciplinary learning was advanced by focusing on concepts such as foreshadowing and non-linearity in narrative structure, as well as writerly strategies for contextualising information for foreign readers. In emphasising principles of purpose and audience when analysing written texts, students were asked to respond to short questions such as the following:

> *Noah (2016:33) writes that "[m]y mom and I used to go to Joubert Park all the time. It's the Central Park of Johannesburg – beautiful gardens, a zoo, a giant chessboard with human-sized pieces that people would play". Why would the narrator describe the public space as "the Central Park of Johannesburg"? What does this suggest about who his intended readers might be?*

While disciplinary learning is embedded throughout the teaching of Noah's memoir, the module also emphasises core aspects of fundamental learning, including academic literacy and English language proficiency. This is done through ongoing tasks in which students must engage in close reading of the literary work and write structured paragraphs and essays in response to specific questions. Close reading refers to "the detailed analysis of the complex interrelationship and *ambiguities* (multiple meanings) of the verbal and figurative components within a work" (Abrams, 2005:189). Integrated throughout the module are short writing tasks that require students to practise and demonstrate advanced comprehension and composition skills. For example, in one instance, students were required to respond to the following writing prompt:

> *Focusing on Chapter 9 of the memoir ("The Mulberry Tree"), write a carefully structured paragraph … in which you discuss how Noah uses an anecdote about a childhood experience to introduce a discussion of complex social issues. Your paragraph should make reference to the chapter's non-linear structure. You should engage with specific quotations from this chapter to support your answer.*

This type of question requires students to pay close attention to the written text, demonstrate inferential analytical skills, and prepare a narrowly focused and well-structured response to a question. In other instances, students are given short extracts from the memoir and are required to pay careful attention to the communicative function of different language conventions and examples of figurative language. Extended exposure to complex written texts and guided strategies to encourage comprehension at both a surface and inferential level are key strategies to improve English language proficiency and precise academic literacy skills.

While critical thinking skills are not explicitly named in the revised MRTEQ policy as an example of fundamental learning, they surely form the foundation of all academic inquiry and professional teaching practice (Fadel, Bialik & Trilling, 2015; OECD, 2019). With particular reference to the importance of critical thinking as a key 21st century competency,

Barrot (2019:148) writes that the concept "focuses on the ability of learners to collect and/or retrieve information, organize and manage information, evaluate the relevance, quality, and usefulness of information, and generate accurate information through the use of available resources". One of the core objectives of the module is to elevate ideas to a more abstract level to encourage students' critical thinking skills. Lectures on the relationship between language and identity, for example, engage with these ideas in the abstract, requiring students to consider how the memoir itself theorises these relationships. Identity is approached through the seminal work of Stuart Hall, and students are required to think about identities as being constructed "through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth" (Hall, 1996:213) rather than in fixed narrow terms of racial, ethnic and gendered identities that students so often bring to the classroom. Students are guided in their analysis to show how the memoir complicates and challenges static notions of identity. These include prevailing beliefs that multilingualism inevitably results in social cohesion, that Afrikaans is only associated with apartheid-era white supremacy, and that hegemonic English is an apolitical and neutral language somehow separated from colonialism and privilege. The relationship between language and identity is thereby problematised, and students are required to find textual evidence to support their arguments. In this, the module aims to mitigate concerns that teacher education sometimes subordinates complex conceptual thinking – what would otherwise form the basis of a general liberal arts education (Dumitru, 2019) – in favour of a "descen[t] into technicist professional training" (Kruss et al., 2009:96).

While close reading that foregrounds contemporary language politics is valuable to facilitate fundamental learning, it is also valuable for what the revised MRTEQ policy calls situational learning: that is, learning about context. Therefore, while the memoir's exploration of language politics offers opportunities for students to improve comprehension, composition and critical thinking skills, it also gives students contextual knowledge about how language politics works in the context of South African schools. In a comparable way, and similarly important for situational learning, close reading of the memoir gives students opportunities to reflect on the machinations of gender stereotypes as these play out in the South African context. These include representations of adolescent sexuality, fatherhood, and gender-based violence. Even in this, though, the purpose of the lectures is not to impart information about gender in a utilitarian sense, but to encourage students to develop their own interpretations of how the memoir theorises a more progressive and empowering understanding of gender. In one writing task, the students were required to respond to the following writing prompt:

> *A dominant stereotype in society is that men are violent, aggressive and assertive. Identify one character who confirms this stereotype and one character who contradicts it. Find at least one quote to support your view in each case.*

In this way, the module encourages situational insights at the same time as it models practical ways to teach comprehension skills in the IP. As one of the lecturers points out at the outset of the specific unit that focuses on *Born a Crime*:

> *As we work through the content for this unit, we should remember that our focus is on how this specific memoir explores these ideas. Our analysis of gender in this book does not require knowledge from other modules. It is how this memoir explores the theme of gender that is relevant to our study. We are training ourselves to find evidence in the text to support certain analyses of the book.*

In a more sustained formative assessment opportunity, the students were expected to write an essay:

> *With close reference to Trevor Noah's Born a Crime, write an essay in which you agree or disagree with the following statement: … Born a Crime shows us that it is essential for boys to have male father figures in their lives in order to become responsible, respectful and caring young men.*

Almost without fail, the students wrote essays that argued that the memoir re-centres Noah's mother as a source of discipline, guidance and parental support. Given that the father figures in the memoir are either emotionally absent or outright abusive and homicidal, this memoir facilitated students' situational learning about gender-based violence, toxic masculinities and female-centred domestic kinship structures.

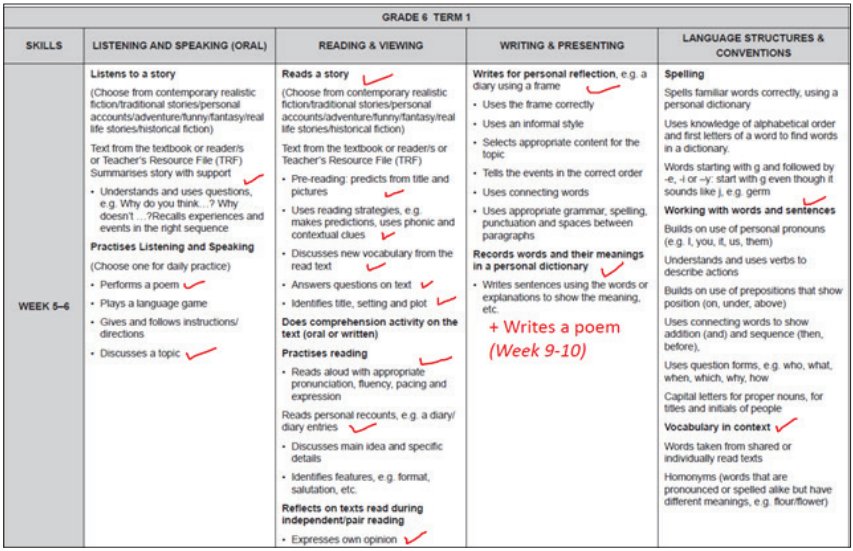
Teaching Methodology for English

Born a Crime was incorporated into the first few weeks of this teaching methodology module. This module pays particular attention to the practical and pedagogical learning domains:

- Week 3: Language across the curriculum
- Week 4: Language learning theories and language teaching methodologies

As part of a discussion of language across the curriculum, Noah was identified by the lecturer as an exemplar when discussing the concept of translanguaging (Makoe, 2018; Mazzaferro, 2018). This pedagogical learning is an essential aspect of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) for English language teaching. By this time, given their engagement with the memoir in other modules, students would not only be aware of the communicative possibilities of translanguaging – beyond the more limited notion of code switching and bilingualism – but also, because of Noah's pre-eminent status, see it as inspirational. As part of this module, students were directed to a specific chapter of the memoir titled "Chameleon". While this chapter was examined in close detail in the module English for the Primary School to facilitate comprehension skills, in the Teaching Methodology module it was used to demonstrate how translanguaging works in practice. With reference to this chapter, Noah was positioned as a positive language role-model, a highly successful person who could leverage his multilingual abilities in different contexts. The discussion of the PCK of translanguaging also contributed to the students' practical learning, as classroom discussions allowed students to identify the pedagogical possibilities of translanguaging in their own IP classrooms.

Pedagogical learning and practical learning were further intertwined in a more focused discussion of another chapter titled "Valentine's Day". This chapter was used to show students how various literacy and communicative skills and activities can be developed around a specific theme, and how a single chapter from a book can be used as the anchor around which a series of IP English lessons can be developed. Students were shown how to use the chapter to meet the requirements for different parts of the English curriculum as set out in CAPS (DBE, 2011a). For instance, students were shown how to use the chapter "Valentine's Day" as a resource to teach vocabulary and comprehension skills, practice transactional and creative writing skills, read and speak aloud, debate and discuss social ideas, and compare and contrast genres of writing. This was visually demonstrated to students by presenting them with the following extract from the Grade 6 English (Home Language) CAPS document, indicating how many of the selected topics in the curriculum could be taught by using one chapter from Noah's book (Image 2).



GRADE 6 TERM 1				
SKILLS	LISTENING AND SPEAKING (ORAL)	READING & VIEWING	WRITING & PRESENTING	LANGUAGE STRUCTURES & CONVENTIONS
WEEK 5–6	**Listens to a story** (Choose from contemporary realistic fiction/traditional stories/personal accounts/adventure/funny/fantasy/real life stories/historical fiction) Text from the textbook or reader/s or Teacher's Resource File (TRF) Summarises story with support • Understands and uses questions, e.g. Why do you think…? Why doesn't …?Recalls experiences and events in the right sequence **Practises Listening and Speaking** (Choose one for daily practice) • Performs a poem • Plays a language game • Gives and follows instructions/ directions • Discusses a topic	**Reads a story** (Choose from contemporary realistic fiction/traditional stories/personal accounts/adventure/funny/fantasy/real life stories/historical fiction) Text from the textbook or reader/s or Teacher's Resource File (TRF) • Pre-reading: predicts from title and pictures • Uses reading strategies, e.g. makes predictions, uses phonic and contextual clues • Discusses new vocabulary from the read text • Answers questions on text • Identifies title, setting and plot **Does comprehension activity on the text (oral or written)** **Practises reading** • Reads aloud with appropriate pronunciation, fluency, pacing and expression Reads personal recounts, e.g. a diary/ diary entries • Discusses main idea and specific details • Identifies features, e.g. format, salutation, etc. **Reflects on texts read during independent/pair reading** • Expresses own opinion	**Writes for personal reflection**, e.g. a diary using a frame • Uses the frame correctly • Uses an informal style • Selects appropriate content for the topic • Tells the events in the correct order • Uses connecting words • Uses appropriate grammar, spelling, punctuation and spaces between paragraphs **Records words and their meanings in a personal dictionary** • Writes sentences using the words or explanations to show the meaning, etc. + Writes a poem *(Week 9-10)*	**Spelling** Spells familiar words correctly, using a personal dictionary Uses knowledge of alphabetical order and first letters of a word to find words in a dictionary. Words starting with g and followed by -e, -i or –y: start with g even though it sounds like j, e.g. germ **Working with words and sentences** Builds on use of personal pronouns (e.g. I, you, it, us, them) Understands and uses verbs to describe actions Builds on use of prepositions that show position (on, under, above) Uses connecting words to show addition (and) and sequence (then, before), Uses question forms, e.g. who, what, when, which, why, how Capital letters for proper nouns, for titles and initials of people **Vocabulary in context** Words taken from shared or individually read texts Homonyms (words that are pronounced or spelled alike but have different meanings, e.g. flour/flower)

Image 2: CAPS for English (Grade 6, Term 1)
Source: Glietenberg, S. 2020. A very brief introduction to language learning theories and language teaching methodologies. [Teaching Methodology for English lecture]. [Online]. University of Johannesburg, August 2020.

Social Sciences for the Intermediate Phase

The focus of the English and English Methodology modules reveal how all five domains of learning can be addressed using a single text. The same is true for the modules that focus on History content and History teaching. While the English content module emphasises close attention to the text itself, History teaching approaches the text differently and emphasises the entanglements between the authors and readers of historical resources, and the salience of context in shaping these. As Godsell (2016:2) writes about teaching History:

> *When taught well, history as a subject should explain that we all experience the world through the lens of who we are and where, and when, we live. This requires academic and analytical literacy. Although students sometimes possess the basic interpersonal skills, these can falsely indicate language and subject proficiency. Students rather need deep comprehension that comes with perspective taking, academic language and analysis skills.*

Thus, while English and History lectures about the same historical text can facilitate mutually reinforcing skills – broadly conceptualised in this article as fundamental learning – History education requires that greater attention be paid to the context of the historian, student or school learner. History should not only be thought about in terms of content, but should rather be seen as the confluence of content, critical thinking skills and a recognition of the positionality of both the authors and readers of historical resources (Godsell, 2016). Noah's memoir is incorporated into the teaching of this module over two weeks:

- Week 1: Working with historical sources
- Week 3: Leadership in historical contexts

Teaching took place through online lectures, weekly quizzes and WhatsApp discussions, and was grounded in the principle of historical contextualisation. Van Boxtel and Van Drie (2012) describe historical contextualisation as a large historical system that needs to be described, analysed and evaluated in terms of its social, economic, cultural and political context. The aim of historical contextualisation is to allow students to think and reason like historians by looking at various sources of information from multiple perspectives. The use of multiple perspectives encourages students to find contradictory evidence about specific events and to interrogate notions of truth.

The memoir was used as a resource to explore historical contextualisation. For example, students were asked to consider the implications of Noah's (2016:4) assertion that:

> *The genius of apartheid was convincing people who were the overwhelming majority to turn on each other. Apart hate is what it was. You separate people into groups and make them hate one another so you can run them all.*

This quote was used as the point of departure for students to share stories about their families' experiences of apartheid, and allowed the students to compare these narratives to research from other sources. Historical contextualisation was foregrounded, as the group of students provided multiple perspectives, drawing on personal narratives as well as research about economic, social, and physical features of apartheid – all the while blending both factual disciplinary learning with an awareness of the contingencies of historical narratives.

Through the use of historical contextualisation, the history aspect of the module emphasises two of the five domains of learning identified in the revised policy: disciplinary

learning and situational learning. Disciplinary learning allowed the students to revise their prior knowledge and address misconceptions of core concepts in the study of South African history. This includes the history of apartheid laws, the effects of Bantustans, historically significant places, the implications of language on history, and histories of citizenship. For example, in a chapter titled "Run", Noah introduces the topic of Bantustans, while a chapter titled "Chameleon" conveys specific information about the statutory production of racial categories and their material consequences. Chapters titled "Born a Crime" and "The Second Girl" were used in the lectures to discuss Bantu education, which led to a discussion of the Soweto Uprising of 1976. In this way, the memoir was used to examine different topics that significantly contribute to disciplinary knowledge about South African history – such as dates, sequencing of events, and the specific implications of certain laws – and to gain a general understanding of how apartheid manifested in the daily lives of people. Students completed weekly quizzes in which they had to explain the *historical* factual basis for certain rhetorical statements that Noah makes. For instance, one of the questions from the weekly quizzes asks the students to use the concept of Bantustans to explain Noah's assertion that "You separate people into groups and make them hate one another so you can run them all" (Noah, 2016:4).

The memoir was also used as an entry point to discuss coloured identity. Linked to the memoir's problematising of the notion of a singular coloured identity, the lecturer sought to model to the students how to make ideas that are expressed in historical texts 'come alive' for learners. In one instance, the lecturer presented herself with four different hair styles and textures (Image 3). This challenges students to think about how colouredness is problematised in the memoir, and how this idea could be introduced in an IP classroom. Race is explored to emphasise historical facts of legislated discrimination while also pointing to a multiplicity of perspectives about the experiences that these laws produced, thereby resisting any simplistic reproduction of racial categories in the present.

Image 3: Screenshots from a Zoom lecture showing lecturer
Source: Bennett, T. 2020. Born a Crime [Social Science for the Intermediate Phase 2B Lecture]. [Online]. University of Johannesburg, 02 September 2020.

Disciplinary learning is further advanced through a critical discussion of leadership in South Africa. Noah's portraiture of Nelson Mandela is used as a point of departure for this. The following quotation from the memoir was read alongside other sources to guide a discussion on Mandela's leadership attributes:

> *Nelson Mandela once said, 'If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart'. He was so right. When you make effort to speak someone else's language, even if its basic phrases here and there, you are saying to them, I understand that you have a culture and identity that exists beyond me. I see you as a human being (Noah, 2016:236).*

Presenting multiple sources that introduce students to Nelson Mandela as a contested historical figure – beyond the sometimes one-dimensional idealisation in public discourse (Hassim, 2019; Berninger, 2020) – is an important part of disciplinary learning, especially because it is a prescribed topic in the CAPS guidelines for the IP Social Science curriculum (DBE, 2011b). Significantly, it is important for students to be able to reflect on the historicity

of sources and how specific authors construct Mandela on a textual level. The awareness that Noah's description is only one account of Mandela is important, as it foregrounds the contingencies of narrative and the importance of identifying the multiplicity of perspectives that is central to historical thinking. Noah's own seemingly contradictory perspective on Mandela forms part of this discussion. In one instance, Noah (2016:12) describes Mandela's "release [as] a crucial moment in the dissolution of apartheid because he was one of the most prominent activists against the white supremacist regime". However, later in the memoir, Noah (2016:120) articulates the limitations of this view when he writes that

> *[c]olored people had it rough … You've spent all your time assimilating and aspiring to whiteness. Then, just as you think you're closing in on the finish line, some … guy named Nelson Mandela comes along and flips the country on its head. Now the finish line is back where the starting line was, and the benchmark is black.*

The emphasis is therefore not only on content knowledge but also on the ability to take a critical approach to the textual sources of this knowledge. As Godsell (2016:2) writes: "unless critical thinking is taught as a fundamental part of history as a subject, teaching history can be counter-productive to students learning". Thus, while the integration of Noah's text into the lesson on leadership was geared towards disciplinary learning, it is also underpinned by a focus on independent critical thinking skills.

The module also contributed towards situational learning. This was done through ongoing online discussions, where students had to be self-reflective in relation to the narrator's experiences. Students debated how Noah's memoir applied to their current contexts. The following prompt was used to guide the discussion:

> *South Africa is such a diverse nation. Think about your family background and the themes that have already been discussed. Does this quotation apply to the context of your life? "For all that black people have suffered, they know who they are. Colored people don't" (Noah, 2016:116). Race and racism are still controversial concepts in South African history. Think about the stories you heard from your families about apartheid. How have these stories shaped your version of apartheid history?*

Grounded in curricular contextualisation, this sort of activity prompt "helps students […] relate the educational tasks with their knowledge and everyday experiences", which is essential for making tighter connections between theory and practice on the one hand, and

"allows students to give meaning and value to what they learn" (Mouraz & Leite, 2013:2), on the other. This sort of discussion requires students to be reflective about how they think about controversial issues in history.

Teaching Methodology for Social Sciences

This module focuses on topics such as designing and delivering lesson plans, selecting suitable learning material, the CAPS curriculum, teaching methods, barriers to learning, and learning from and in practice. Noah's memoir was used as a resource during two weeks of the module:

- Week 2 and 3: Thinking like a historian through resources in History

Foregrounding theories of inquiry-based learning and experiential learning (Oxendine, Robinson & Wilson, 2004), student teachers engaged with Noah's memoir as a resource to learn about the different historical skills that are required by a History teacher. Inquiry-based learning simultaneously promotes historical content knowledge and historical thinking skills by facilitating the discovery of knowledge (Van Drie & Van Boxtel, 2008; Reisman, 2012; Voet & De Wever, 2017). The student teachers were required to blend various sources for analysis in order to formulate and support their claims about historical content. In online lectures and WhatsApp discussions, students were required to reflect on their own experiences and – in a far more explicit way than in the Social Science content module – reflect on how their experiences and these pedagogical approaches would inform their own teaching. In one example, students were given the following extract from the memoir to guide a discussion on the importance of History as a school subject: "Learn from your past and be better because of your past, but don't cry about your past. Life is full of pain. Let the pain sharpen you, but don't hold on to it. Don't be bitter." (Noah, 2016:66).

This statement is a striking proposition, and any lesson about colonialism or apartheid will always be potentially emotionally triggering. However, teachers are required to prepare learners to be democratically active citizens by voicing their opinions and engaging with opposing views (Zembylas & Kambani, 2012). Furthermore, teaching controversial issues in History is not only about how *controversy* is sparked in the content, but how *procedural thinking* is introduced in the curriculum (Wassermann & Bentrovato, 2018). For instance, the Social Science curriculum in CAPS emphasises the importance of concepts such as multi-perspectivity, chronology, cause and effect, and change and continuity (DBE,

2011b). The discussion about teaching topics related to apartheid modelled for students how to become reflective practitioners by expressing their opinions about apartheid, while considering their own biases and inherited notions of history. Teachers are expected to cultivate awareness of their own biases by reflecting on their identities and perspectives, and planning how to create unbiased educational environments (Nieto & Bode, 2007).

The pedagogical and practical learning domains were closely intertwined in this module. The "learning from practice" envisioned in the MRTEQ policy's formulation of practical learning emphasises the selection and use of teaching resources as core competencies (DHET, 2014:10). By using Noah's memoir as a resource, the lecturer demonstrated how a series of History lessons that link directly to the CAPS guidelines could be created from one historical resource. What is more, the pedagogical strategy of being a 'devil's advocate' – a discursive mode in which one adopts a position that is counter to the dominant perspective, in order to facilitate further discussion – was modelled for students throughout the teaching of this memoir.

The memoir and other sources of information created multiple perspectives that student teachers used to debate notions of truth, which they linked to their own future classroom practice. The inevitable – though pedagogically crucial – result from the debate was the realisation that while the memoir is based on actual events in history, it is only one source of the past, and an avowedly subjective one at that. This emphasises the subjectivity of historical narratives, which would later be reinforced by focusing on characterisation and narrative perspective in the English content module. Given that it is essential to include multiple genres in History teaching to emphasise the multiplicity of perspectives (Bharath & Bertram, 2014), our use of the memoir across the module was not to elevate Noah's account above others but rather to model how to approach these historical texts as a historian. A sustained interrogation of a single text also shows students how to think about other genres of writing, such as the prescribed History textbook, outside of its assumed status as an authoritative text – a recurring concern in History education (Hickman & Porfilio, 2012; Ramoroka & Engelbrecht, 2015; Wassermann & Bentrovato, 2018).

Student responses: A snapshot survey

Students' responses to this intervention were overwhelmingly positive. While a more detailed study of the effectiveness of this intervention is necessary, an initial survey was sent to all students. While only about a third of students participated in the study (n =

30), it provided promising data about how students experienced the use of *Born a Crime* across multiple modules. While 60% agreed or strongly agreed that studying the module had helped them see explicitly the connections between the English content and English methodology modules – a figure increasing to 70% for the Social Sciences modules – an impressive 100% of students agreed or strongly agreed that: "Studying *Born a Crime* across more than one module has shown [them] how [they] can use a single literary text to teach multiple learning areas in [their] own classroom as a future educator". Given prevailing anxieties about what was expected in their formal curriculum, especially during remote teaching necessitated by the COVID-19 pandemic (Dube 2020; Godsell, 2020; Iyer, 2020; Bunt, 2021), it is significant that 90% of students agreed or strongly agreed that they clearly understood what was expected of them in the four different modules where the memoir was used. They also acknowledged by a considerable margin (87%) that the three lecturers who taught these modules used very different teaching strategies. This suggests a successful modelling of teaching *in practice* – an essential component of teacher education programmes (Urbani, Roshandel, Michaels & Truesdell, 2017; Acquah & Szelei, 2018; Hunde & Tacconi, 2018) – as students were aware of the different ways that the same historical and literary text can be taught, depending on the specific curricular outcomes and lecturers' individual teaching styles. This indicates that practical learning was integrated into all four modules even where it was not identified as a priority outcome in the original planning. Student teachers should be aware of the different teaching styles that different people use so that they are better equipped to navigate the differing demands of the classroom, and to draw on a broader repertoire of strategies that are necessary when they are in-service teachers (Romylos & Balfour, 2018).

In addition to the responses described above, which illustrate the successes of modelling an integrated approach to curriculum design, the sustained use of the memoir by different lecturers revealed that a historical memoir that is studied in depth can also contribute to content knowledge about the history of South Africa that is not reductive (Godsell, 2016; Wasserman, 2018a). Our teaching of the memoir set out to deliberately *complicate* binary and simplistic ways of understanding the country's past. For instance, the vast majority of participants agreed or strongly agreed that studying *Born a Crime* had improved their understanding of the history of apartheid (87%); that studying the memoir had "made [them] realise that race is more complicated than [they] had previously thought" (90%); and that studying the memoir "made [them] realise that the relationship between language and identity is more complicated than [they] previously thought" (93%).

Conclusion

The purpose of our intervention was to identify a single historical resource around which different aspects of content and skill could coalesce. In this article, we have offered an approach for curricular coherence that functions at the level of the text, prioritising an experienced sense of connectedness. We have argued that through the use of a carefully selected historical memoir, curricular coherence can be advanced in significant ways. Importantly, this particular memoir is grounded in factual details of the country's past, while also demonstrating aesthetic sophistication and stylistic complexity, thus lending itself to analysis on the level of both historical fact and narrative style.

While we have focused our analysis on the use of *Born a Crime*, the use of one historical text across multiple modules is not limited to this example, of course. In fact, some may feel that Noah's text specifically has limitations for classroom practice because of its inclusion of scatological language, for example. However, many historical texts blend historical factuality with aesthetic stylisation in a way that can facilitate learning across modules. We have argued that curricular coherence can be advanced across modules in a way that addresses all five of the learning domains identified in the MRTEQ. This is important, given that one's disciplinary knowledge *and* a sense of confidence in being able to teach that knowledge are both important for teachers' professional identities (Romylos, 2021). While disciplinary, situational and fundamental learning are advanced most explicitly in the English and History content modules, and pedagogical learning is the focus of the two teaching methodology modules, it is also clear that practical learning has been infused across all four modules through ongoing modelling of diverse teaching practices.

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Ethical considerations

Permission to conduct this study was granted by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education at the University of Johannesburg (Sem 2-2020-106).

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Unpacking the past: The ambivalent legacy of colleges of education

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Abstract

The positive memory of teacher education colleges within South African higher education, often leading to a call to re-open the colleges, is usually based on an argument that colleges offered more 'practical' teacher preparation than today's universities. In this article we draw on a variety of historical sources and artefacts, produced for an exhibition on colleges in the Western Cape, to reflect in greater depth on the experiences of college life. We use the concept of embodied knowledge that recognises the interconnectedness of knowledge, being and feeling with context to probe the sources and discuss ways in which colleges built a sense of community. At the same time, we illustrate the ambivalent legacy of these colleges, in their racial inequalities and constrained and often alienating curricula. We conclude by suggesting principles of teacher education that continue to be relevant, even as contemporary approaches to teacher education, and current policies and conditions, preclude a return to the past.

Keywords: Colleges of Education; Embodied Knowledge; Memory; Models of Teacher Education; Teacher Education Pedagogy; Theory and Practice in Teacher Education.

The suitcase

At the centre of this article lies a small, battered suitcase, containing a cluster of commemorative reports, insignia, badges, newspaper clippings, certificates, photographs, minutes of meetings, brochures and notes from discussions with former members of staff at teacher education colleges, historians and librarians. Each of these artefacts, somewhat tattered with age, represents a legacy of a period that has now disappeared in South Africa, namely that of the former teacher education colleges. These items formed part of an exhibition that was mounted in 2006 in the Faculty of Education at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) to document the origins, individual histories and circumstances of the closure of colleges of education founded in successive periods of Cape history. These colleges had either all closed by the early 2000s, had merged to form new configurations within higher education or had been repurposed as Further Education and Training colleges, community colleges, high schools and provincial offices. Between 1990 and 2000, there was a decrease in the number of colleges in the country from 120 to 34. By 2001 all these colleges had disappeared, with 26 higher education institutions being responsible for teacher education (Jaff, Rice, Hofmeyr, & Hall, 1995; Vinjevold, 2001; Kruss, 2008; Parker, 2003).

Against this background, the exhibition sought to address a concern that college histories were slowly being forgotten. Documents collected for the exhibition had lain untouched in the suitcase under a bed for many years, yet the call for the re-opening of colleges had not gone away. This prompted the authors of this article to combine their knowledge and experience in another look at these documents. Our interest in the topic was linked to our own educational background: one of us is the former Dean of Education - at the time of the incorporation of the Hewat and Cape Town Colleges into Cape Technikon (prior to its merger with Peninsula Technikon to form CPUT) - and initiated the exhibition and research for it. The other is a historian of education who has recently written about the history of colleges of education at national level. Opening the suitcase after so many years reminded us of the richness of these sources and the value that they offered for a critical appreciation of not only the past, but equally the present and the future of teacher education.

Through a close reading of the documents and artefacts in the suitcase, all of which offer fragments of former lives, we attempt to re-create what it was that the colleges offered. The sources were unsystematically collected, richer for some institutions than others, depending on what individuals were able to provide. Many who gave documents for the

exhibition also reclaimed them. The sources we use date mainly from the 1980s and 1990s. One or two date from the 1940s, 1960s and 1970s. They encompass histories covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Several were written in Afrikaans and were translated; in a few instances we retain the Afrikaans words to convey the essence of what is being described.

The suitcase is therefore not a typical institutional archive. Many of these institutional archives no longer exist or are buried in unknown places and are kept by individuals. And yet the brochures and commemorative editions of some colleges, school rules of others, and newspaper articles recounting histories when institutions closed, provide rich insight into what might have constituted the experience and sense of identification of those involved with them.

Through a process of purposive snowball sampling, the researcher for the exhibition had identified key informants from several of the colleges that were incorporated into CPUT. As these informants gave him documents, magazines, photographs, insignia, gowns and various other items, they also spoke to him informally about college life. The colleges for which there are sources reflect these networks of informants for the exhibition as well as the institutionalisation of apartheid racial categories in education at the time. They include those for teachers designated white and coloured at Athlone (coloured), Barkly House (white), Battswood (coloured), Bellville (coloured), Cape Town College of Education (white), Genadendal (coloured), Hewat (coloured), Roggebaai (coloured), Söhnge (coloured), Wesley (coloured), Onderwyskolleges of Paarl and Oudtshoorn (coloured) and the Oudtshoorn College of Education (white), with limited information on Good Hope College (African). Although the sources are with some exceptions limited to the Western Cape, they do provide insight into the wider experience of colleges that is reflected in the nostalgia of older generations.

While brochures and commemorations are generally in the celebratory genre of the memoir, there are critical reflections in some. These publications were usually written at the end of a period or phase of an institution's history using archival sources at the authors' disposal. The institutional histories are generally periodised in terms of the principalship, the assumption being that the period of duty of that principal coincided with certain changes or developments. Some of these accounts contextualise the histories, others only vaguely.

Participant observers, or people with a close connection to the institution, usually write these accounts. They therefore have strengths and limitations as sources. Through them, one can read of not only the details of what institutional life comprised of, but also

attitudes towards them. Newspaper articles are a little different in that they were commonly written around an event in the life of the institution, such as when the colleges were closed. They then draw on histories of that particular institution. We read these sources not only for the facts of the what, when and where of institution-building, but also and mainly as discursive constructions of daily life in the colleges.

The opening of the exhibition was attended by an enthusiastic crowd of former college rectors, students, teachers, academics and education officials from across the Western Cape. As they listened to the two main speakers, the mixed heritage of celebration and critique of the colleges became evident. Based on his discussions with former college students, lecturers and rectors across the Western Cape, John Lewin likened the unveiling of this exhibition to the unveiling of a tombstone for a person who had died and whom people visited out of affection (Lewin, 2006).

The colleges of education marked a specific moment in the history of teacher preparation in South Africa which to all intents and purposes is lost for new generations. And yet, despite this, colleges keep coming back into public discourse. For many older educators in particular, the past is recruited to argue that colleges offered better teacher education, that they were more practical than universities, that universities are too theoretical, and thus that colleges should be re-opened (see for example *Inside Education*, 2017; McGregor, 2008). Basil May, a former rector and leader of the college sector, in his insider account of the process of closure, went as far as to argue this to be an example of "kortsigtigheid, eiewysheid en 'n gebrek aan respek vir die insigte van benadeeldes" (short-sightedness, obstinacy and a lack of respect for the insights of the disadvantaged) (May, 2016:425).

The ambivalent legacy

What, we ask lies at the basis of this desire to re-open the colleges? Is there anything that we can learn from this forgotten history to take into the future? In this article we argue that the call to re-open colleges needs to be appreciated within a recognition of what they offered to aspirant teachers. Too often the quite legitimate analysis of their role as institutions that were implicated in supporting apartheid racial inequalities has obscured the experiences of the people who passed through them.

This article attempts to cut across this tired binary between the so-called practical college and theoretical university. This involves analysing what it was that colleges offered to aspirant teachers that could be re-purposed in university-based teacher education today. The article argues that instead of naming these memories as a form of romantic nostalgia,

they should be unpacked to help animate a discussion of how teacher education can be strengthened.

The concept of embodied knowledge helps to cut across the binary. Through it, we recognise the interconnected structures of knowledge, being and feeling and explain the nostalgia for such institutions. Embodied knowledge understands that learning to teach is an intimate relationship between doing and knowing (Ord & Nutall, 2016). We argue that the call to re-open the colleges derive from more than a yearning for a more practical approach to teacher education; rather, it is based on a way of being, or the embodied experience that colleges offered.

However, we are acutely aware of how inter-linked identities and knowledge are with context and politics and that colleges' practices helped to constitute the specific racial identities that were specifically promoted during the apartheid period. In this sense, we show firstly how embodied knowledge was deeply contextual, influenced by its social, political and cultural context. We argue, secondly, that the colleges have therefore left an ambivalent legacy, ambivalent precisely because of the difficulty of disentangling the various elements of embodied knowledge. John Lewin and John Volmink capture this ambivalent legacy in their opening statements at the CPUT exhibition. Whilst John Lewin, a former dean at the University of Venda, college lecturer in Johannesburg and NGO facilitator, saw the exhibition as performing memory work and the colleges as places for which people had fond memories, John Volmink, the keynote speaker, and prominent South African educationist, reflected more critically on the role of the colleges. Their architecture and physical spaces, he said, consisted of two offices – one for the principal and one for the secretary – and a number of classrooms. This revealed their purpose as being "places where people teach", places "at best seen as imparting knowledge, but not as producers of knowledge" (Volmink, 2006). In this, he hinted at a less illustrious past and at how colleges differed from universities and from their new, contemporary purposes. In these two different perspectives, one marked by nostalgia, the other by critical appreciation, the colleges' histories became recalibrated for a new present, marked both by continuity and discontinuity from the past.

What then comprised the key elements of this embodied knowledge? Concretely, how did embodied knowledge become part of the identity of prospective teachers? We argue that it lay in a holistic experience where becoming a teacher entailed the integration of academic and professional learning to create a strong sense of community and identification with being a teacher.

Creating community

One can sense from the reports, newsletters and photographs in our suitcase the various ways in which colleges created "a sense of relationship and community … that it is felt has now been lost in the present in new teacher education arrangements" (Chisholm, 2010:19). At the same time, however, these positive experiences need to be nuanced against deep-rooted historical, political and pedagogical tensions.

A key factor here is to place the size of colleges, as in number of staff and students, against the current massification of universities. A small college was able to bring students together around a range of sporting and cultural activities, integrating these into their academic and professional sense of what it meant to be a teacher. A 1995 national audit considered many colleges as being too small in size, and with the absence of lecture venues, not cost-effective. Average staff:student ratios at colleges ranged from 1:6 to 1:18 (Jaff et al., 1995:10 & 71). When the two colleges of Hewat and Cape Town were incorporated into the Mowbray campus of the Cape Technikon (later the Cape Peninsula University of Technology) in 2001, combined they had less than twenty staff members out of a previous complement of over a hundred. These lecturers were now expected to add postgraduate studies and research to their duties, a challenge all of its own (Robinson & McMillan, 2006). Small institutions had a greater potential for students to feel like part of a team and to build personal friendships.

Participation in sport offered a further way in which college life provided students with an integrated experience of knowing, doing and being. Although the national audit of colleges in 1995 found that sporting and other facilities at colleges were either non-existent or under-utilised, our sources mention the following sporting opportunities at the colleges: tennis, athletics, hockey, netball, rugby, cricket, and feather ball.

The existence and disparity of the sporting facilities had been part of life in some colleges for a long time. In the mid-1930s the (white) Cape Town College of Education, for example, had begun to provide a physical culture specialisation for women in the third year, while the (coloured) Wesley College in Cape Town started specialist Physical Education training for men in 1938, and later for a short while for women. Although facilities were generally limited in colleges training black teachers, Wesley became a training centre for Physical Education specialists. A form of Muscular Christianity aimed at instilling manliness informed the emergence and adoption of this training in the 1940s (Cleophas, 2014). Athletics, rugby and netball were popular at several colleges. Such embodied forms of value-based knowledge and learning were central to sport in formal curricula as well

as extra-mural activities in both black and white colleges. Sporting activities were often associated with the development of leadership skills, through the coaching of various sporting activities (*The Cape Argus*, 1941).

Of course, the facilities for physical education were not shared equally across all colleges, with racial discrimination forming a fundamental constituent of their availability at the different colleges. Physical activity was not confined to formal sport, for one also reads about open air excursions, where students had the opportunity to experience the veld and mountains, and to have picnics together (see for example Balie, 1988).

Students at today's universities may have options to participate in cultural societies; however, for the colleges, cultural activities formed an integral part of the students' lived curriculum. At Genadendal (a German Moravian mission institution that began training teachers in 1838) we have evidence of the first brass band performance in 1956 that then became a regular event at festivals:

> *Music played a central role in their lives. Students were required to play one or other musical instrument so that they could become organists or choir masters in a parish. The violin, organ, piano and bassoon were among the important instruments. (Balie, 1988:93)*

A distinctive moment is described in the same school history, which notes that part of the annual examination in December expected students "to perform poems in Dutch, English and German" (Balie, 1988:94). The act of performing poems is far removed from what the general student teacher would be expected to do today.

In a similar vein, the former (white) college in Oudtshoorn reported that the College provides for a Christian Student society, Debating society, Drama society, Pedagogical society, *Voortrekkers* (training of officers), *landsdiensbeweging*, college choir, *struisiekaperjolle*, individual piano lessons, also in organ, recorder and singing, *volkspele* and first aid classes (Olivier, 1980). These activities, while no doubt enjoyable for students, were completely embedded in the Afrikaner nationalist cultural movement of the time and reflect, in a very stark way, the role of teacher preparation in shaping consciousness and being. *Voortrekkers* was the Afrikaner nationalist version of boy scouts and girl guides, the *landsdiensbeweging* a movement to promote camping, survival and environmental skills, *struisiekaperjolle* the fun and games associated with the "Ostrich-country" college and *volkspele,* the folk dances of Afrikaners. *Struisie* was the diminutive of *volstruis,* the Afrikaans word for ostrich, and referred to "the college in ostrich-country". Several colleges used affectionate diminutives to refer to themselves, and *struisie* (small ostrich) was a diminutive used as an endearment

to refer to a student who attended the college.

Cultural activities were also common in those colleges not dedicated to white nationalism. Thus, Söhnge College boasted of its singing competitions and bioscope showings (Smith, 1979). The Battswood College history referred to its music department, spacious library, a large hall complete with stage and scenery for concerts and plays, dressing rooms and showers and audio-visual education (Battswood Training College, 1966). It was proud of being "a powerful magnet drawing teachers far and near to fraternise, exchange views, study new techniques and formulate new methods of attack" (Battswood Training College, 1966:16). Such activities helped to create a strong sense of community both within and between college students and staff.

In reading about these cultural activities, one is struck not only by their contribution to student teachers' own holistic experience, but also the way in which many of these activities were integrated into the life of the surrounding towns and communities. Unlike today's universities, which are mostly situated in urban nodes, or on stand-alone campuses, colleges were often part of small towns and rural villages. The cultural contribution of college events to the surrounding communities was thus significant. We read, for example, about the brass band orchestral performance that became a regular event at festivals in Genadendal and how the college ruby team beat the town team (Oudtshoorn). Other sources highlight these substantial contributions to local cultural life, even as these can be read as deeply gendered and racialized. Thus, the historian of Battswood writes that:

> *The importance of the Music Department cannot be sufficiently emphasised. It offers an advanced course and produces every year a splendid batch of well-equipped specialist teachers. These not only raise the standard of singing and musical appreciation in schools, but also substantially enrich the social and cultural life in urban as well as rural communities by their enthusiastic direction of musical festivals whenever opportunity arises (Battswood Training College, 1966:13).*

The Oudtshoorn College had "an annual carnival where a *Struislandqueen* (ostrich country queen) and two princesses are selected. Girls also do drum majorettes. Funds collected are given to the Southern Cross charity" (Olivier, 1980). At Söhnge, "Apart from the sport (rugby and netball) an annual operetta was performed, e.g. Princess Juju, The Bohemian Girl; Aladdin and his wonderful lamp; The Escapades of the Fox, etc." (Smith, 1979). At Graaff Reinet, Chapman writes that:

> *The community was fructified by an institution that brought life and colour to an otherwise very ordinary Karoo town. They actively participated in festivals, provided academic lectures, and performed countless musical events, operettas and theatre pieces, carnival processions. At a spiritual level, students participated as lay preachers, Sunday school teachers, missionary teachers and so on (Chapman, 1989).*

A poignant moment was recorded as the (coloured) Onderwys Kollege Suid-Kaapland (OKSK) faced closure, with memories being recorded of the "great heights [that] were reached especially in sports and culture" (*Oudtshoorn Courant*, 1996).

Sport, culture and community engagement offered opportunities for a holistic experience of learning to teach and close identification with specific institutions. This sense of identity was further reinforced through the way in which formal branding set out to foster a uniform identification with the institution. While universities in South Africa may market branded T-shirts and other paraphernalia, this remains informal and voluntary for students. Colleges, however, had badges, blazers, college songs and dress codes, most of which would be foreign to the modern-day university student. The extent to which such practices would enhance pride, or conformity, is a matter that could well be debated.

Curriculum and pedagogy

Up to now, we have shown that the affectionate memories of college life may be more a function of the embodied and holistic experience that colleges offered, rather than with a particular approach to teaching and learning. However, the often-heard argument that teacher education at colleges was better than at universities because it was more practical, also requires a look at the issue of curriculum and pedagogy, and it is to this that we now turn.

Practical curricula were present in all colleges. However, it is important to note that curricula changed over time and that curricula of white, coloured and African colleges were versions of one another. Curricula in coloured and African colleges were generally watered-down versions of those in the white colleges. Curricula were generally divided into academic, professional and practical or vocational components; but the amount of time allocated to each component varied depending on whether the institution trained white or black teachers (Chisholm, 2019:91-107). Far from there being no theory in college curricula, history and philosophy occupied pride of place for a considerable part of the

twentieth century. A particularly pernicious form of theory, Fundamental Pedagogics, entered many college curricula from the 1970s (Gluckman, 1981; Randall, 1988).

If theory was indeed a part of the college curriculum, what then was practical about the college curriculum experience?

Firstly, were the subjects on offer. Besides the more conventional subjects like languages, physical science, history, geography or biology, our sources illustrate how certain colleges offered subjects like art, woodwork, handwork, music, metalwork (for male students) and needlework and domestic science (for female students). Secondly, irrespective of whether the college was for white or black teachers, the range of practical or hands-on subjects was generally a compulsory part of the curriculum in the college, whereas it was and is a choice in the university. In some cases, the range of subject offered by colleges may also have exceeded those which many universities – often for financial reasons - offer today, thus enhancing an experience of student learning beyond the cognitive. Secondly, college curricula were practical in so far as they anticipated what students were to teach. Much of the subject content, in many instances, directly resembled school subjects. Thus, rather than disrupting the knowledge base which student teachers brought to the college, they would have experienced a seamless continuum between their preceding identity as a school pupil to that of a teacher and "a syllabus [that] was essentially a rehearsal for what teachers would do in the classroom" (Soudien, 2003:278).

Thirdly, a well-known aspect of college of education pedagogy was the link with so-called practising schools. They were conceived as a school within which model lessons were presented and teaching was practiced. This arrangement was in place from at least the early twentieth century. Thus, the Cape Town College of Education established a Practising School on the second floor of their Queen Victoria Street building between 1915 to 1931 (Goodwin, 1994). In 1922, the College building in Graaff Reinet made its upper storey the Training School, while its ground floor was occupied by the Spes Bona Practicing School (Chapman, 1989). Based in an agricultural area, a model-farm school was established in 1935 so that students "could become familiar with the organisation and methods of a one-person school from Sub A to Std 6" (Chapman, 1989). In 1926, the Athlone Institute was established in Paarl consisting of a secondary school together with a practising school for trainee teachers (*Paarl Post*, 1999). In Wynberg, Cape Town, Battswood separated into two sections in 1914: a Training and Practising section, with an enrolment of well over 900. A separate principal was appointed for the Practising School, viz. Mr D van der Ross (Battswood Training College, 1966:7). Changes to the spaces occurred over time:

> *During 1947...the purchase of six dwelling houses at the corner of York and Castletown Roads was negotiated. This considerably added to the limited playground space. Four of the houses were demolished. One still stands as a practising school classroom; the other is occupied by the factotum (Battswood Training College, 1966:11).*

The remnants of the practising school are still seen on the website of the current Wesley Practising School. The website outlines its history as being related to two issues: firstly, it was the practising school for the College when it was established and secondly that "the school's guiding philosophy was that … Christian beliefs must be an every-day practice, hence a practising school where Christian life was manifest" (Wesley Practising School, 2021[i]).

Hewat, founded in 1941, had a primary school with one class each from Standards Three to Six attached to it as a practising school (Lewis, 1991:7). Lewis captures the purpose of the practising school well:

> *Attached to the College was a primary school with one class each from Standards Three to Six. Children and teachers had been transferred to Hewat from neighbouring primary schools. The primary school was to serve as a 'practising school' as such schools attached to training schools were called, and the classes were to be available for 'demonstration' and 'criticism' lessons when the College required them. They were housed in the classrooms on the ground floor (Lewis, 1991:7).*

The college curriculum, although there were variations of emphasis across white and black institutions, thus shared key elements. Theory and practice existed in a particular form and relation to one another. And the meaning of 'practice' included the practical experience and anticipation of what to expect in the classroom that aspirant teachers received as part of their training. This was valued, even though it was later assessed to be only a part of modern approaches to the preparation of teachers.

By the mid-1990s, the heyday of the teacher education colleges, the first post-apartheid Ministry of Education (commissioned National Teacher Education Audit) noted significant variation across colleges in both curriculum and assessment. These were described as "ranging from the most progressive to the most conservative" with "some institutions … working from the premise that subject knowledge is open-ended, and discovery methods and critical thinking are promoted [while] in others, a 'transmission' mode is favoured [and] the dominant pedagogy is content-focused and teacher-centred,

and encourages rote learning" (Jaff et al.,1995:67). The same disparities were found with regards to pedagogy and assessment. Whereas some had "introduced teaching and learning methods and readings which promote critical understanding", "it was obvious from the work programmes and prescribed texts in some ex-HOR colleges that lecturers were still using outmoded materials and methodologies and the influence of Fundamental Pedagogics is still evident" (Jaff et al., 1995:68).

The Audit registered a number of criticisms by staff and students of the curriculum at the time that are ironic in the light of nostalgia for a more practical curriculum. In general, college curricula were thought to be overloaded and repetitive, dominated by theory and underpinned by inappropriate philosophies, insufficiently in tune with international trends and ill-attuned to learner diversity. It was devoid of important areas such as special education, English as a second language, vernacular languages, creative arts, drama, computer literacy, library science and health education. According to the auditors a leitmotif repeated in almost all interviews was the view that "the curriculum is too theoretical and should be made more relevant to the needs of the schools" (Jaff et al., 1995:66). In light of these criticisms, the authors of the Audit accordingly called for a curriculum review.

Historical, political and pedagogical tensions

Despite the positive experiences of the holistic curriculum, experiences of college life were far from homogenous and not consistently positive (Soudien, 2003). Deep differences and tensions existed with regard to teaching and learning, as well as access to sport and other facilities.

Interviews with former college students in the Cape reveal a sense of alienation for many from curriculum content: "Lecturers rarely ventured beyond the textbook which was invariably written by an apologist for the apartheid system" (Soudien, 2003:278). Our suitcase sources confirm these memories. On the issue of pedagogy, for example, Lawrence, du Plessis, Christians and Katts (1991), in a history of Hewat college, write most vociferously:

> *A good few, we felt, supported the Nationalist government of the day and the recommendations of the Eiselen-de Vos Commission on Education. Hewat, in those days, was thus an institution whose sole function it was to produce Coloured teachers for Coloured schools. This being so, nothing progressive came out of the College beyond that which the students were required to know to pass their teachers' examination, and even that sometimes*

had its irritation.

One had to draw silly, little all-over patterns for a nagging art lecturer in the art class. There being severe penalties for bunking, one was compelled to listen to dull, inane lectures on South African history which the history lecturer had virtually taken word-for-word from a primary school textbook. Equally dull and inconsequential was the over-blown assertion of the Afrikaans lecturer that 'Die du Toit's het die Afrikaanse taal gemaak.'

Most of our lecturers were relics of the 1940s waiting to say goodbye to their teaching careers. These colonial types truly promoted the 'culture of silence': they were the only ones to speak during lectures - we were spoken to: they lectured - we listened; they prescribed - we obeyed. Some saw the students as heathen to be converted...

In retrospect one must admit that the academic standards were generally POOR. The work generally was uninspiring and there was no real challenge for the resourceful students. Individual lecturers made an effort to change the situation. Many students gave the bare minimum or just went through the motions (Lawrence et al.,1991:27).

While sport may have played a key role in the life of the college, access to sporting facilities was determined by an unequal and racially determined provision of resources. In Graaff-Reinet, for example, we read: "Despite the fear that Graaff-Reinet [a white college] would close with the start of primary teacher training in PE in 1971, numbers rose to 430 in 1974 and it looked as if the college had a rosy future. Cricket and rugby fields were built and the main building floodlit at night"(Chapman, 1989). This stands in contrast to two descriptions from former 'coloured' colleges: "In sport, Battswood has always been seriously handicapped by lack of playing fields. No doubt this will continue..."(Battswood Training College, 1966:17).

Hewat facilities were initially similarly limited:

The grounds were not developed in any way - there were no playing fields. Only the tarred surface in front of the building could be used as a netball court. The hall, a double classroom minus the partition, had to serve as a gymnasium for both men and women students … Later the upstairs cloakroom was transformed into an ablution area by the addition of (cold) showers for the Phys Ed students (Lewis, 1991:7).

Interestingly, the facilities at Hewat expanded significantly during the 1980s, so much so that it was considered to be one of the most up-to-date training colleges in the country.

It boasted a hall that could seat 500 people, projection equipment, a fully equipped laboratory, gymnasium, library, a demonstration theatre, eight lecture rooms, a woodwork block, domestic sciences and needle rooms and spacious grounds. The grounds were to be developed into rugby, hockey and soccer fields, an athletic track and tennis courts. A swimming pool and Student Centre were also built later. Of all this, its staff and students were justly proud (Lawrence et al., 1991). As a full history of Hewat has not yet been written, we can speculate that this may have had something to do with the growth in the institution itself, following the rise of secondary enrolments from the 1960s in schools designated for coloured children. It may also have been that the rising resistance following the 1980 school boycotts and strikes that was also manifested at Hewat meant that it became a focal point for ruling party efforts to buy legitimacy through improving its facilities. A history of Hewat accessing different sources will probably provide the answers.

Having outlined some features of the ambivalent legacy of colleges of education, we turn now to a consideration of what we might learn from that era for the modern-day teacher education.

What about the present? Re-purposing embodied knowledge into university teacher preparation in South Africa

In 2021, fifteen years after the exhibition, John Lewin recounted how those he had previously spoken to had described the closure of the colleges and their incorporation into higher education. On the point of pedagogy, he recalled as follows: "They didn't see universities as relevant to primary education. They felt universities were not in tune with teacher education, especially at primary level. They thought universities had a theoretical approach; primary education was more practical, and they were very good at this" (personal communication with one of the authors, Cape Town, 2021). His recollections included the emotional responses of his interviewees:

> *They were heartbroken. They felt that Junior Primary teaching would not be valued. They said they were happy at the colleges. They got to know the students very well and they were involved in activities outside of the college. The atmosphere at colleges was different. They felt comfortable, not lost in a big institution like a university.*

Many of his interviewees may well have been former staff members who had lost their livelihoods in a brutal and radical process of restructuring the landscape of education.

Yet even though many might hanker after the college days, it is impossible to return to this institutional configuration. The past cannot be repeated in a greatly changed present and future that is already being shaped by new modalities of provision in teacher education, both pragmatically and conceptually. At the same time, one needs to consider whether there is something that present-day teacher education might learn from the colleges of education. We focus here on two aspects of the colleges that are prominent in contemporary discourse: the notion of a practising school (or an equivalent thereof) and the debate around theory and practice in initial teacher education.

The formal designation of a practising school may have been lost. However, the concept of such a school has come back strongly into policy considerations in South Africa. In 2011 South Africa officially endorsed the idea of Teaching Schools and Professional Practice Schools. This is clearly outlined in Activity 4.5 of the *Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa, 2011–2025* (Department of Basic Education and Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011). It argues for strengthening the teaching practice/ school experience component of teacher education programmes through the development of Teaching Schools (TSs) and Professional Practice Schools (PPSs). As the document explains: "TSs are 'teaching laboratories', where student teachers can engage in learning-from-practice, such as by observing best practice, participating in micro-teaching exercises and taking subject methodology courses" (Department of Basic Education and Department of Higher Education and Training, 2011:18), a description that is clearly aligned to the purposes of the former practising schools.

On the surface one might see this policy statement as a rejuvenation of the close relationship between teacher education and schooling, a cornerstone of the college identity. However, there are several caveats. Conditions are very different from an earlier era when the colleges existed as colleges. This is evidenced by the fact that – ten years after the Integrated Strategic Plan was published – only one university (the University of Johannesburg) has established a Teaching School (Gravett & Ramsaroop, 2015). There are also significant differences with the past: one of the most significant being that higher education and schools are now controlled by different government entities - the Department of Higher Education and Training, which operates at national level, and the Department of Basic Education, which operates at the level of the provinces. This differs

from a period when both colleges and schools fell under the jurisdiction of racialised provincial and Bantustan authorities (Robinson, Vergnani & Sayed, 2003; Kruss, 2009; Chisholm, 2019). This change in regulatory framework has undercut a structural link between universities and schools, thus creating a situation where mutual accountability is sustained mainly through goodwill.

The vastly scaled up size of universities from that of colleges is also a factor that inhibits the establishment of practising schools (or an equivalent thereof). Whereas colleges might have found it manageable to work with one or two practising schools, schools cannot be expected to provide demonstration opportunities for student numbers that run into the hundreds. This is exacerbated by the fact that state subsidies to teacher education programmes do not match the costs of in-school support for students by university personnel. And secondly, the world of teacher preparation has changed irrevocably during the past twenty-five years, including with new models and modalities of teaching. In recent years, for example, the internship model of teacher education has started to take root in South Africa. Within this model students spend extensive periods in schools – sometimes up to four years – while completing their degree online with public or private institutions of higher learning. While the concept of a practising school is a very old one it cannot and is not being resurrected in its older form. The past thus appears in reconfigured form.

A second, more conceptual consideration in revisiting the strengths and limitations of the colleges is that of the theory-practice link in teacher education. The view that colleges were more practical is an enduring and pervasive one; yet it both ignores history and is seldom accompanied by a recognition that there might be different models of teacher education, with different assumptions of what it means to learn to be teacher (Robinson & Mogliacci, 2019). In the first instance, theory was never absent from teacher education in colleges. It was implicit in many which adopted approaches prevalent internationally and explicit especially in the later years of Fundamental Pedagogics. And while colleges might well have developed valuable skills and competences in classroom teaching, there was in many colleges less focus on understanding (or even critiquing) theories that underpin approaches to teaching, or on debating the values, purposes and social conditions that inform teachers' pedagogical choices.

The key issue is thus not one of more practice or more theory, but of how theory and practice can be integrated, so that students can make informed and well-grounded choices in their teaching. It is interesting in this regard to note Darling-Hammond, Burns, Campbell, Goodwin, Hammerness, Low, McIntyre, Rothman, Sato, and Zeichner's (2017) study of high-performing teacher education systems in different parts of the world. This

study concluded that the quality of teaching improved when students were supported to engage actively and regularly in teacher research, action research and other forms of practice-related inquiry during their teacher education programme. Such an approach clearly has implications not only for teacher education institutions, but also for how schools are organized, since any integration of theoretical knowledge, situational awareness and practical know-how (Winch, Oancea & Orchard, 2015) assumes an inquiry orientation on the part of both schools and universities. From this perspective, the notion of good practice goes beyond "the teacher as performer" (Jansen, 2003:127) towards an expectation of a deeper understanding of why and how good teaching occurs.

Conclusion

We end this article by asking what principles we can take from the past into the future, so that the 'good' memories and practices associated with the colleges of education are not lost in the new configurations.

We have argued that the emotional attachments to the colleges were largely based on a holistic and embodied experience of learning to teach. The experience of becoming a teacher entailed not only academic activities, but also cultural, sporting and community-based activities. From this we can deduce a first recommendation, namely that teacher education programmes should include opportunities for student teachers to go beyond the cognitive in their learning. Indeed, it could be argued that cultural and sporting activities can strengthen cognitive engagement with all aspects of being a teacher. Although the emphasis in recent years has been on pedagogical content knowledge –and teacher education programmes in South Africa are generally considered to be crammed with too many subjects—it seems essential that space be made for the affective, as well as co- and extra-curricular activities and engagement in communities (Osman & Petersen, 2010; de Beer, Petersen & Dubar-Krige, 2012).

A second recommendation is to expand the notion of practical experiences of teaching towards a more integrated understanding of the relationship between theories learnt at university and the practice of teaching. Colleges were valued because of their close relationship with schools. The strength of this link currently varies enormously between different South African institutions preparing teachers, with some continuing to re-think and re-work the link on a constant basis and others being close to abandoning it in the face of budgetary and other logistical pressures. Too close a relationship, as Ellis (2010) has argued in the British context where teacher preparation has been devolved to the

school-level, runs the risk of impoverishing knowledge and experience of becoming a teacher (Ellis, 2010). Too remote a link can also be problematic, in that students may start to dismiss their teacher education curriculum as irrelevant to the real world. Bringing the school into the university and taking the university to the schools through research as well as practical and reflective activities that permit constant engagement with the reality of schools and teaching can enrich the process of teacher preparation. The question then is not whether there should be more theory or more practice in initial teacher education, but rather how conceptual and practical tools can best be drawn on to develop competent and thoughtful teachers for our context. This approach goes beyond seeing learning to teach as mastering a set of techniques; rather, it aims to help students to be conscious of the theoretical, contextual and moral choices that lie behind their teaching strategies, a process that Rusznyak and Bertram refer to as pedagogical reasoning (Rusznyak & Bertram, 2021).

In reading and re-reading our sources we can understand the nostalgic atmosphere that prevailed at the opening of the exhibition. It was clear that those who attended were eager to revisit past experiences, and to connect with a way of life that had virtually disappeared. It is noteworthy, though, that present-day students in the building hardly look at the exhibition; for them, it is simply old history. Yet, as we have argued in this article, these students today would do well to also experience some of the characteristics of college life, even if in a very changed form. A holistic experience of learning to be a teacher, and close links with schools, are elements of teacher education that we believe continue to be important, even as online and blended forms of pedagogy take students further away from an embodied experience of learning. At the same time, however, we believe that the research capacity of universities allows for greater innovation in pedagogy than in the past, as well as the generation of new knowledge, both of which are fundamental to building a strong education system in our country. Inasmuch as they reflect a time past, the artefacts and documents collected for the exhibition remind us that teaching is both heart and head, something that modern-day teacher education curriculum and pedagogy would do well to take on board.

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Trends in African philosophy and their implications for the Africanisation of the South Africa history caps curriculum: a case study of Odera Oruka philosophy

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Abstract

A Kenyan philosopher, Henry Odera Oruka (1944–1995), conceptualised and articulated the six trends in African philosophy. These are ethno-philosophy, nationalistic-ideological philosophy, artistic (or literary philosophy), professional philosophy, philosophic sagacity and hermeneutic philosophy. In this article, we maintain that the last three of these trends, namely professional philosophy, philosophic sagacity, and hermeneutic philosophy, are useful in our attempt to contribute to Africanising the school history curriculum (SHC) in the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in post-apartheid South Africa. Against this background, we make use of Maton's (2014) Epistemic-Pedagogic Device (EPD), building on from Bernstein's (1975) Pedagogic Device as a theoretical framework to view African philosophy and its implications for the Africanisation of the SHC in CAPS in post-apartheid South Africa. Through the lens of Maton's EPD, we show how the CAPS' philosophy of education is questionable; untenable since it promotes 'differences of content'; and is at the crossroads, i.e., it is stretched and pulled in different directions in

schools. Ultimately, we argue that Oruka's three trends form a three-piece suit advertising one's academic discipline (professional philosophy); showing South Africa's rich history told in the words of African elders (sage philosophy); and imploring school history learners to embark on a restless, unfinished quest for knowledge in the classrooms in post-apartheid South Africa.

Keywords: Trends in African philosophy; Decolonisation; Africanisation; Pedagogic Device; Epistemic-Pedagogic Device; CAPS; South Africa.

Introduction

Oruka's six trends were a direct response to a Euro-western discourse that, for many years, had many believe that African philosophy did not exist. He responded to this discourse precisely because he saw the urgent need to contribute to the Africanisation of the study of philosophy and somewhat elevate the status of African philosophy, because for him "…philosophy is not a science in the ivory tower but has to contribute to the betterment of the life of the people - it has to be practical. Philosophers have to deploy the results of their thinking to the well-being of their communities" (Graness, 2012:2). With that said, philosophers are yet to reach a common consensus on the definition of philosophy (Mathebula, 2019). This is because of the nature, the character and the complexity of the discipline itself. For this article, philosophy is a body of knowledge that encourages divergent views on *what we claim to know, and how we claim to know what we claim to know*. With that said, a universal philosophy perspective is an inclusive, rational and reflective practice that makes it possible to merge Western and African philosophies to form a single knowledge system. A single universal mode of inquiry is chosen because it does not treat the so-called 'Western thought' and 'African thought' as unique, distinct, opposite philosophies – thus leading us to unwittingly perpetuate "narrow provincialism", to use Amin's phrase (1989, cited in Moll, 2002:11). If this definition is accepted, philosophers who theorise about it (philosophical issues) and practice it (issues of educational practice in nature) do not treat it as a fixed body of knowledge but rather a logical, coherent, critical, discursive, dynamic, continuous, ongoing and reflective science. It should not be surprising that we chose to focus on the philosophy of education's intellectual ancestry and its prospects hence the metaphor of philosophy as a road (or a journey) to wisdom (Letseka, 2012; Mathebula, 2020). Embarking on this road to knowledge, we

- Adopt Karl Maton's Epistemic-Pedagogic Device (EPD) as a theoretical framework to show how the three fields of practice, specifically the recontextualisation field through its recontextualising logics, can be used as a site in which professional philosophy, philosophic sagacity, and hermeneutic philosophy can be prioritised in both the production and reproduction fields that inform and shape the school history curriculum (SHC) in CAPS;
- Outline Oruka's three trends in African philosophy of education and their implications for the Africanisation of the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa;
- Unpack the CAPS underlying principles that point to Oruka's three strands in African philosophy of education in post-apartheid South African schools; and

- Argue that education for Africanisation of the SHC rooted in Oruka's professional, sage and hermeneutic philosophical project is not only feasible and desirable in schools but also, a categorical imperative in the classroom in post-apartheid South Africa.

Theoretical framework

Maton (2014) developed the EPD drawing from Bernstein's (1975) pedagogic device (PD). Bernstein was of the view that knowledge is constructed and transmitted in three fields of practice that are hierarchically related and governed or regulated by distinct operative logics. These fields include *the production field* (a site where knowledge is constructed, usually, but not exclusively, at universities), *the recontextualisation field* (a site where the knowledge from the production field is recontextualised by people such as curriculum designers and textbook writers in partnership with the state into officialised curriculum documents and textbooks), and *the reproduction field* (a site where knowledge from the production field recontextualised in the recontextualisation field is then reproduced by mainly in-service educators and lecturers through various pedagogical choices in their classrooms and lecture venues). This process, for Bernstein, symbolises a production line that is hierarchically interrelated but not dialectical. For instance, any change in the operative logics in the recontextualisation field cannot inform and shape what happens in the production field. In other words, the recontextualisation of knowledge in the recontextualisation field cannot happen without the said knowledge being produced in the production field, and the reproduction of the said knowledge cannot take place without the said knowledge being recontextualised in the recontextualisation field from the production field (Bernstein, 2000). Therefore, Maton's EPD stretches and strengthens Bernstein's PD by arguing that the fields of practice are not only interrelated; they are dialectical too (Maluleka, 2021). See image 1:

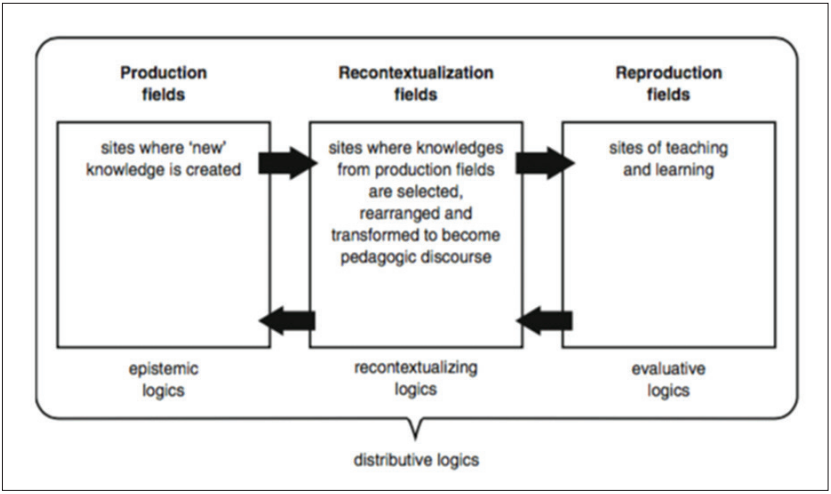

Image 1: The arena created by the epistemic-pedagogic device (EPD)
Source: Maton, 2014:51.

This means that whatever change in the operative logics of any one of the fields of practice has a direct and dialectical impact on the other two fields of practice. For instance, new knowledge cannot be viewed as exclusively being produced in the production field. This new knowledge can be produced in either the reproduction or recontextualisation field and dialectically move between all the three fields of practice. This understanding of Bernstein's PD is powerful in that it disrupts the view of the academic project as resembling a production line. It also empowers other players located in other fields of practice that are not the production field to produce new knowledge that has the potential to inform and shape the understanding of the SHC and the philosophies of education that inform and shape it. It is from this logic then, that we are of the view that if the three trends proposed by Oruka are employed in the recontextualisation field, that is, the harmonisation of 'philosophy' and 'education' becomes a balancing act that is not difficult to follow. The state, as mandated by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), can give direction to curriculum designers located in the recontextualisation field as to what kind of SHC, informed by a certain philosophy of education, they think the country should adopt. Therefore, we chose to concentrate on the recontextualisation field because we believe that players (specifically curriculum designers and textbooks writers) in this field are better positioned to advance and productively insert Africanisation in the SHC in CAPS that recentres Oruka's three trends of philosophy. This is because some of these players, if not all

of them, are both academics or intellectuals located in the production field (universities), and at the same time, they are either curriculum designers or textbooks writers. From this logic, those players have the power to influence what happens in the production and recontextualisation fields, which has a bearing on the reproduction field.

Oruka's three trends in African philosophy of education and their implications for the Africanisation of the school history curriculum in South Africa: A production field

What conception of African philosophy should underpin education in the post-apartheid South African SHC? A historical-analytical geography is worth considering at length, for what it reveals about the philosophy of education in post-apartheid South Africa since,

> *The education system under apartheid had been fragmented along racial and ethnic lines and had been saturated with the racial ideology and educational doctrines of apartheid. The theoretical undergirding for this fragmentation in education was traced to the influence of Fundamental Pedagogics, which in its practice of science, its critics claimed had been responsible for reproducing and maintaining the ruling social and political ideology in South Africa, namely, Christian National Education. Taylor (1993, p.3) is of the opinion that there is a wide and enduring view that Fundamental Pedagogics was more about socialisation than philosophy and more about instilling passive acceptance of authority than providing students with the conceptual tools necessary for creative and independent thought. Furthermore, it is evident that such a narrow utilitarian view of education, as a process of socialisation, emphasised the maintaining of particular cultural and social norms [to] provide the necessary homogeneity for social survival and political hegemony, and did not account for the possibility of the learner participating critically in the learning interaction (see Higgs 1994c). In this way, Fundamental Pedagogics instilled a spirit of intolerance, and an unwillingness to accommodate divergent perspectives and points of view, while at the same time embracing a totalising discourse on the nature of education theory and practice (Higgs, 1998:3).*

The fundamental pedagogic philosophy that underpinned apartheid education gave way to a new philosophy of education in post-apartheid South Africa. As a notable example, the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa "recognise[s] the injustices

of our past … to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental rights" (Republic of South Africa, 1996:1). Equally, the Higher Education Act (1997:1-3) promises to "redress past discrimination and provide optimal opportunities for learning … contribute to the advancement of all forms of knowledge and scholarship … promote the values which underlie an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom [and] democracy". Thus, it is for this reason that we believe that Oruka's three trends in African philosophy of education should guide curriculum designers and textbook writers located in the recontextualisation field, and certainly, philosophers at our universities, when they plan, develop and implement a SHC for post-apartheid South African schools. This, with the view of challenging and transcending what Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:8) has termed "the final contour of coloniality" underpinning the current SHC in CAPS and its distributive logics, as highlighted by EPD's distributive logic. EPD, amongst other things, stands for "the control of African subjectivity and knowledge, including the imposition of western epistemology and its use in shaping the formative processes of development and entrenching the permanency of black subjectivity" Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:8). Therefore, the three trends we propose are *professional philosophy, hermeneutical philosophy*, and *philosophical sage.*

Professional philosophy

The professional philosophy trend in African philosophy constitutes works by Africans and non-Africans who are trained in formal philosophy, usually trained in Euro-western philosophy (Higgs & Smith, 2006). Its main advocates include the likes of Oruka (1972), Kwasi Wiredu (1980), Peter Bodunrin (1981) and Paulin Hountondji (1996). These scholars hold a universalist view of what should inform and constitute the discipline of philosophy anywhere in the world (Imbo, 1998). For them, this philosophy ought to be independent, dynamic, logical, coherent, critical, and discursive and should avoid being particularistic in its approach (Wiredu, 1980). This, they believe, will enable those who practice the discipline to enjoy "freedom of inquiry, openness to criticism, scepticism and fallibilism and non-veneration of authorities" (Oyeshile, 2008:60). The implications of this trend on the development of the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa are as follows. Firstly, an African philosophy of education that informs and shapes the SHC must be underpinned by conscious, logical, coherent, critical, dynamic, continuous, creative discursiveness, and rational and systematic tradition of *doing philosophy* (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 2013; Ndofirepi, 2013). This would in turn complement some of the existing skills and aspects

already embedded in the current SHC in CAPS such as reflection, analytical thinking, as well as working with and within an implicit historical significance, using evidence, historical thinking, historical writing, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives, the ethical dimension of history, sourcing, contextualisation, and corroboration (Department of Basic Education, 2011a & b; Maluleka, 2018). Moreover, this would mean that the SHC would then need to embrace a *doing history* approach that entails thinking, reading, and writing like a historian that ought to inform any SHC (Bertram, 2008; Wineburg, 2001; Wineburg & Martin, 2004; Seixas, 2010, 2013). In so doing, both educators of history and their learners are likely to engage in "robust formal intellectual encounters characterised by systematic complex arguments and counter-arguments" (Mburu, 2018:73). This would result in "critical reflections on personal wellbeing or human flourishing, on communal ethics and how this ought to impact on human conduct" (Letseka, 2000:182). This will also see philosophy and applied history coming together, thus professional philosophy "plays mainly the role of a midwife: it helps in bringing [history] to birth in the way that midwives help in delivering babies" (Akinpelu, 1981:167).

Philosophical sage

The philosophic sagacity is considered the second trend in African philosophy of education by Oruka. It is known as sage philosophy, which is practised by indigenous knowledge producers, influenced by learning from their culture and other cultures. This is because a purely traditional African or philosophy does not exist. Despite the Western influence, sage individuals "are deeply rooted in their culture, little affected by Western scholarship, and authentic agents of traditional Africa in the modern situation" (Ndofirepi, 2013:48). Some of them "…might have been partly influenced by the inevitable moral and technological culture from the West; nevertheless, their outlook and cultural belonging remain that of traditional rural Africa. And except for a handful of them, [most] are illiterate or semi-illiterate" (Oruka, 1991:51). These are *oMakhulu*[1] who are considered institutions of indigenous knowledge that store, transfer, and disseminate knowledge in the form of history and philosophical wisdom (Magoqwana, 2018). Also, sage philosophers engage in a process of reflective philosophical evaluation of thought which is often rigorous

1 "The term uMama-Omkhulu (elder mother-shortened to uMakhulu) is used to assert isiXhosa [and other indigenous African languages for that matter] as a source of knowledge" (Magoqwana, 2018: 76).

(Ndofirepi, 2013). These are individuals that are "… versed in the wisdom and traditions of [their people, and very often they are] recognised by the people themselves as having this gift" (Oruka, 1991:51). Oruka (1990a:16) furthers characterises these sage individuals as:

> *... critical, independent thinkers who guide their thoughts and judgments by the power of reason and inborn insight rather than by the authority of the communal consensus. They are capable of taking a problem or a concept and offering a rigorous philosophical analysis of it, making it clear rationally where they accept or reject the established or communal judgment on the matter.*

This does not mean that all oMakhulu qualify as critical sages. Hence, Oruka argues that there is a difference between an ordinary sage and a critical sage. An ordinary sage (also known as folk sage) "…does not necessarily make a philosopher, some sages are simply moralists and the disciplined, diehard faithful to a tradition… others merely historians and good interpreters of the history and customs of their people" (Oruka, 1990b:177). While a critical sage (also known as a philosophic sage) is " … not only wise but also capable of being rational and critical in understanding or solving the inconsistencies of his or her culture and coping with foreign encroachments on it. Thus, as thinkers, they opt to recommend only those features of belief and wisdom that make the grade of their test" (Oruka, 1990b:177). To drive home this point, Hall and Tandon (2017) show that there are elements of a 'knowledge democracy' discourse and decolonising practice in most of our universities. As a notable example, a Ugandan intellectual and civil society activist, Paulo Wangoola (cited by Hall & Tandon, 2017:9–10) "dedicate[d] himself to the creation of a village-based institution of higher education and research that is today known as the Mpambo Afrikan Multiversity, a place for the support of mother-tongue scholars of African Indigenous knowledge".

It is equally important to note that sage philosophy is different from culture philosophy (ethnophilosophy) that often characterises what is known as African philosophy (Ochieng-Odhiambo, 2012). This difference is propelled by the fact that sage philosophy "implicitly rejects the holistic approach to African philosophy" that characterises culture philosophy (Bodunrin, 1984:2). Hence, Oruka (1990b:178-179) argues that

> *… beliefs or truth claims within a culture philosophy are generally treated as absolutes … Philosophic sagacity, however, is often a product of a reflection; a re-evaluation of the 'culture philosophy'. The few sages who possess the philosophic inclination to make a critical*

assessment of their underlying beliefs.

The implications of this trend in the development of a SHC in post-apartheid South Africa are far-reaching. For instance, oral history and research projects that are offered as part and parcel of the history curriculum in CAPS can only be carried out if learners work closely with oMakhulu — the critical sages in their respective communities. However, this is only possible if learners are given clear and explicit guidelines on how to approach these projects in a manner that recentres and humanises oMakhulu as institutions of indigenous knowledge. If this is done, it would mean that schools would end up with a history curriculum that does not only pay lip service to the critical role oMakhulu can play in our understanding of the world and its past, but also effectively and practically bring oMakhulu into the classroom in a different pedagogical form. This would enable both educators and learners to recognise and engage with them in ways that are meaningful, truthful, and enriching to their learning about the past — the rich history and heritage of South Africa gone by. The educational benefits of the sage philosophy-based history curriculum are thus immense. First, history learners are encouraged to devote their time and energy to scientific research inquiry, e.g., oral history and research projects where history learners can work with oMakhulu, as critical thinkers in their respective communities. Second, learners are given clear and explicit guidelines as to how to approach this task in a manner that recentres and humanises oMakhulu as institutions of indigenous knowledge. Third, sage philosophy "make[s] practical sense of deep theoretical issues" as argued by Waghid (2005:126-7). In the end, oral history projects are at the heart of the African philosophy of education that looks both to the academic discipline and to educational practice in post-apartheid South African schools.

Hermeneutical philosophy

The third hermeneutical trend is considered one of the most important trends in modern and contemporary African philosophy (Komo, 2017). Its leading pioneers include the likes of Oruka, Barry Hallen, Theophilus Okere, Tsenay Serequeberhan, Kwame Gyekye, Nkombe Oleko, Benoît Okolo Okonda, and many others (Ndofirepi, 2013). This is a trend that seeks to explore the problem of the relationship between culture and philosophy, as well as the relationship between universality and particularity in the development of a SHC for post-apartheid South African schools. Hence, hermeneutical

philosophy's approach to these problematic issues is different from ethno-philosophy.[2] In the hermeneutical approach, the starting point of philosophy is with the understanding of the lived experiences of Africans with the view of dismantling pervasive effects of cultural and economic imperialism imposed by the global North (Ndofirepi, 2013). This is informed by the fact that this trend understands philosophy to be inherently interpretative (Komo, 2017). Hence, Okere (1983) in his book, entitled: *African Philosophy: A Historico-Hermeneutical Investigation of the Conditions of its Possibility*, explores the interpretative nature of hermeneutic philosophy. Okere concludes that its interpretative nature is a result of the intersectionality and interconnectedness of language, context, and history which are inextricably linked to culture (Komo, 2017). By centring culture, Okere was pushing back against the notion advanced by Euro-Western philosophy that purported that Africans as a people cannot think, reason, or rationalise. If people have their own cultures, histories, philosophies, and languages it means they too can think, reason, or rationalise. In his own words, Okere (1983:17) argues the following about reflective interpretation being philosophy: "reflection is the appropriation of our effort to exist and of our desire to be across the works which bear witness to this effort and desire. It is the incorporating of our new understanding of our culture into our self-understanding".

The implications of Hermeneutical philosophy in the development of a SHC compel those operating in the recontextualisation field to think of curriculum and its knowledge as needing to critically reflect the culture of the people it is meant for. First, the SHC should transcend the seemingly particular, opposite and irreconcilable Euro-centred and Afro-centred philosophies or schools of thought. Second, Western philosophy and African philosophy should bury their narrow differences and "work together, recognising that what they have in common is much more than what separates them" (Budge, 1993:154) — a unity of a single philosophy, of a single abstract subject-matter, careful and systematic thinking (method) and way of life. Third, two possible traps need to be avoided when thinking about an African philosophy of education based history curriculum: a) an essentialist definition

2 Ethno-philosophy is what is known as culture philosophy. What then is hermeneutic philosophy? Komo (2017:85-86) argues that hermeneutic philosophy is an approach to philosophy that precedes ethno-philosophy, and it is concerned with articulating "a genuine African philosophy within African cultures, without eschewing philosophical tradition or exigencies". In other words, it is an approach that is concerned with mediating between philosophy and culture, because philosophy is always determined by culture (Okere 1983; Komo 2017). Equally, "philosophy always grows out of the cultural background and depends on it. Without this background, there cannot be a foreground. Although philosophy is not to be confused with myths, weltanschauung, and religion, it is always rooted in a specific culture. Culture provides the horizon of interpretation" (Komo 2017:85-86).

of African identity that suggests that there is only one authentic set of characteristics which all African people share and which do not alter across time — identities involve multiplicity, therefore they are rarely coherent and integrated (Woodward, 1997:2); and b) Africans are not a solidified, undifferentiated and homogenous mass of people (this tends to ignore differences and the fact that 'Africans' are individual subjects too). Moreover, Hermeneutical philosophy advances the type of philosophical and historical underpinnings to a curriculum that is not universalistic or singularistic, but rather promote philosophical and historical underpinnings that are for epistemic shareability, pluriversality, particularism as pluralism, and transmodernity. As it stands, the current history curriculum in CAPS reflects this 'collective singular' — that is often employed in African philosophy of education in the Global South. Hence, Kgari-Masondo (2019:119) argued that "CAPS-History emphasise[s] the importance of teaching historical concepts but excludes the critical concept of historical significance … which safeguards skills of interpretation and understanding why certain histories are in the official arena and others not". In other words, although the historical significance is stated in the history curriculum in CAPS; it is not explicitly stated and emphasised as one of the important skills learners need in *doing history*.

African philosophy of education and CAPS-history curriculum: A recontextualisation field

The CAPS underlying principles point to Oruka's three trends in African philosophy of education. To illustrate this point, CAPS' philosophy of education includes, among others:

- "Active and critical learning: encouraging an active and critical approach to learning, rather than rote and uncritical learning of given truths" (Department of Basic Education, 2011a:4) — this is evidence of professional philosophy**;**
- "Valuing indigenous knowledge systems: acknowledging the rich history [as told in the words of our elders] and heritage of this country as important contributors to nurturing the values contained in the Constitution" (Department of Basic Education, 2011a:5) — this is evidence of philosophic sage; and
- "Ensur[ing] that children acquire and apply knowledge and skills in ways that are meaningful to their own lives … promotes knowledge in local contexts, while sensitive to global imperatives" (Department of Basic Education, 2011a:4) — this is evidence of hermeneutical philosophy.

There are three points worth noting about the African philosophy of education in the CAPS document. First, it reflects Oruka's professional philosophy, philosophic sage and hermeneutical philosophy as located in the production field. Second, this advancement of scholarly knowledge from the production field is then recontextualised by history curriculum designers in the recontextualisation field. Third, Oruka's three strands are brought together within the new context of consolidating South Africa's Constitutional democracy by a) recognising history as an academic, professional philosophy that fosters active, critical and inquisitive citizens in post-apartheid South African schools; b) subscribing to sage philosophy, i.e., the words of elders as walking libraries of wisdom in post-apartheid South African schools; and c) acknowledging hermeneutics as a philosophy of education that helps both educators and learners to create meaning in their local context while mindful to global issues. It is clear therefore that these strands of philosophy, i.e., professional (or critical, academic), sages (wisdom of elders) and hermeneutics (lived experiences of Africans), have emerged in the wake of attempts to Africanise the history curriculum in CAPS in post-apartheid South Africa. As mentioned in the previous section, the CAPS' philosophy of education is firstly questionable especially if you consider the urgent need to disrupt the academic and particular worldviews, to form a single philosophy in schools. Secondly, it is untenable since it promotes 'differences of content', i.e., oral tradition versus written tradition in the school history curriculum. Furthermore, the difficulty is that presently CAPS does not have a settled African philosophy (of education): it is at the crossroads and is stretched and pulled in different directions. Let us take a look at how Oruka's three trends in African philosophy of education are reflected in the history curriculum in CAPS.

Under the headings 'What is History', 'Skills and Concepts' and 'Rationale', the History curriculum (grades 10-12, 16-18 years of age) wording reads, respectively:

> *History is a process of inquiry. It involves thinking critically about the stories people tell us about the past, as well as the stories that we tell ourselves. Usually, this is done by writing an essay, but it may be done by, for example, making or completing a table, designing a diagram or chart, or preparing a speech. The purpose of this is to remind learners that: questions convey that history is a discipline of inquiry and not just received knowledge; historical knowledge is open-ended, debated and changeable; historical lessons should be built around the intrigue of questions; and research, investigation and interpretation are guided by posed questions (Department of Basic Education, 2012:8-11).*

As we can see from the quote above, there are three points worth noting about professional philosophy as located in the recontextualisation field. First, African philosophy — and by implication history is "a set of texts, especially the set of texts written by Africans and described as philosophy by their authors themselves" (Hountondji, 1996:33). Second, to defend African philosophy as written text, Akinpelu (1981:1) suggests that "to philosophise is to engage in a strenuous [educational] activity of thought … to satisfy the importunate questioning of the human mind" —this is an active, not a passive human activity. Third, let us add African philosophy is viewed as 'pure' or 'proper' philosophy — a parent discipline that "has an integrity and worth of its own, and its legitimacy is not dependent upon successfully contributing to practice" (Siegel, 2014:30). To put it more simplistically, this refers to the intellectual coming together of school learners — philosophers of education "to make practical sense of deep theoretical issues" as Waghid (2005:126-7) aptly points out. We contend that in the face of this yearning for 'independent critical thought', 'lazy and shallow theorising', on the one hand, and 'voracious and enthusiastic' practising, on the other hand, are not only distinct but opposite — if not incompatible self-regulatory human activity. If we look closer, we can see that professional philosophy's approach to the history curriculum in CAPS is questionable. One hopeful note is that school history as a discipline requires one "to be thoughtful and self-direct[ing]" (Waghid, 2001:211, addition ours). With that said, Rathbone (1971:104) maintains, that "each [philosopher of education] is his [sic] own agent — a self-reliant, independent, self-actualizing individual who" "reads up on things for himself before forming opinions" (Ntenteni, 2016:365). Let us turn out attention to sage philosophy in the history curriculum in CAPS.

As mentioned earlier, CAPS' sage philosophy implores learners to acknowledge the rich history told in the words of African elders. An example in point is 'An oral history and research project' in the Social Sciences History component (grades 7-9, 13-15 years of age) whose

> *topic must be on South African history and must involve both oral history and research. [Elders,] parents and local groups. Learners should: identify a person to interview. Interview a person who was affected by and responded to the [colonial] apartheid law they have researched. They may write down the interviewee's answers during the interview…Write a coherent story of 600 words about the person they interviewed. Hand in their questions and answers, the story, as well as their own reflections on the experience of doing the project (Department of Basic Education, 2011b: 14-15).*

As the Social Sciences History component quote above indicates, there are three issues worth mentioning about sage philosophy as a recontextualised field in South African schools. First, history learners are encouraged to devote their time and energy to scientific research inquiry by "focusing on those individuals in society who are known to be wise and far-sighted, and who can think critically" (Higgs & Smith, 2017:14). Second, oral history is seen as a fully-fledged academic discipline with the encounter between the interviewer and the sages at its centre. Third, concurring with the above view, we maintain that research writing is about the scholarship (particular ways of thinking and writing), thinking (quality of the argument, evidence and critical insight) and writing (knowledge is constructed and produced). To achieve this end, learners can grasp the conceptual geography in scientific investigation in South African schools, i.e., the original focus (of oral history) and achieved insight (oral history) are parasitic on theoretical processing (central operation of theorising). Learners conducting oral history projects must go that far, theorisation is not only possible but a categorical imperative, especially in enabling South Africa's recentring research project in the global "processes of knowledge production" (Hountondji, 1997:13). In our humble view, this process of scientific inquiry is at the heart of African philosophy of education — namely the struggle by African philosophers of education to look both to the parent discipline and educational practice in post-apartheid South African schools — this is our disquiet about sage philosophy's approach to the history curriculum in CAPS, it is untenable because it promotes differences of content and not a single style of inquiry. The focus shifts to hermeneutical philosophy in the history curriculum in CAPS.

As we have already pointed out, CAPS' hermeneutical philosophy helps learners to be more creative, flexible and more understanding of others. As a notable example, the topic 'The first farmers in southern Africa' in the Social Sciences History component (grades 4-6, 11-12 years of age) shows that:

> *Indigenous societies were political and strategically, economically, and technologically innovative before the colonial period. The myth that so frequently surfaces is the contrast between societies with writing ('civilised, progressive, innovative'), with indigenous societies ("tribal, mired in a static traditionalism"). All people all over the world are equally politically, economically, strategically, and technologically innovative, irrespective of when they live and where they live (Department of Basic Education, 2011c:39).*

As the Social Sciences History component quote above shows, there are five points worth highlighting about the hermeneutical philosophy as a recontextualised field in South

African schools. First, it shows that Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism, as two positions in the philosophy of knowledge, entail each other — Eurocentric thinkers are blind to the entailed opposite while African thinkers believe there is nothing to be done about it in South Africa. Second, it is against this mutual entailment that we encounter the Eurocentric and Afrocentric's "theoretical inadequacy" — this compels the advocates of these positions to "start to develop Africa in a universal system of thought" (Moll, 2002:1) in South African schools. Third, in the absence of clarification and critical evaluation of African philosophy of education, we end up with an uncritical and unargued acceptance of a false dichotomy between bad, indigenous elements of the history curriculum and good, Western features of the history curriculum or the other way around — and that is not useful. It is not useful because African philosophers should "take the word philosophy in the active, not passive, sense" (Hountondji, 1996:53). Fourth, philosophy is a universal practice, not confined to Western or African people. It is possible, as Le Grange (2007:586) argues, to disrupt the dichotomy between classical Western philosophy and African indigenous worldviews. Lastly, as Horsthemke (2015:23) also states, "a rapprochement between so-called indigenous and 'non-indigenous' insights are not only possible but desirable – educationally". Our concern with the hermeneutical philosophy approach to the history curriculum in CAPS is that it does not have a settled African philosophy of education because it is torn between two worlds, i.e., the universal and the particular. We concur with Le Grange's (2007:581) assertion that "the inclusion of [Africanisation] in South African curriculum policy statements [wa]s a positive step and could provide opportunities for debate on interaction(s) between Western and indigenous worldviews". The focus now turns to Education for Africanisation of the SHC in South African schools from a reproduction field perspective.

Education for Africanisation of the school history curriculum in South African schools: A reproduction field

At this point, the Africanisation of a SHC has undergone a transition from production via recontextualisation to reproduction in post-apartheid South African schools:

- Oruka's philosophy of education, namely professional philosophy, philosophic sagacity and hermeneutic philosophy is reflected in the production field (higher education);
- At the same time, CAPS' curriculum designers echoed Oruka's three trends

in African philosophy of education in the recontextualisation field (SHC document); and

- Of concern to us is how the Africanisation of the SHC is translated into the reality of history learners' lived experiences — a reproduction field (classroom)?

But, apart from this concern (i.e., the tension between the ideal and the achievement of the ideal), education policies and curriculum developments, in general, are thought of, read as and seen as "de-personalised [contextual fields] complete[ly] devoid of human experiences" (Hulme & Hulme, 2012:44). To make matters worse, we have noted the following: 1) Curriculum and assessment policy statement philosophy of education is questionable, especially if you consider the urgent need to disrupt the universal and particular worldviews, to form a single philosophy in post-apartheid South African schools; 2) apart from being questionable, CAPS' philosophy is unsustainable because it promotes 'differences of content'; and 3) the difficulty is that presently CAPS does not have an established African philosophy of education because it is dynamic, complex and multifaceted. What should be the response to this philosophical state of affairs? As for us, the universality of African philosophy must be preserved … because these differences of content are meaningful precisely and only as differences of content, which, as such, refer back to the essential unity of a single discipline, of a single style of inquiry (Hountondji, 1996:56). If this argument is accepted, it means that we have to develop a conscious, self-critical and intelligible education for Africanisation of the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa with clear identifiable steps. So, how does education for Africanisation in South African schools use the history curriculum in CAPS? What then are the strategies for getting from where we *are* to where we *ought to be*? What does this task involve in practical terms? It involves Oruka's three trends, i.e., professional philosophy, philosophic sagacity and hermeneutic philosophy which are not incompatible but, rather, are intimately and reciprocally linked philosophies of education that should be underpinning the history curriculum in CAPS.

At a professional philosophical level, Africanisation of the SHC should be perceived as an academic discipline characterised by:

- liberating the memory of school history learners who guarantee permanent records by 'writing their memories' or 'keeping diaries in the classroom'.
- clarity, logical and systematic thinking in its writing and research — thus school history becomes an active, not a passive human activity for learners in

the classroom.

- school history learners who embrace *doing history* that entails thinking, reading, and writing like a historian — robust formal intellectual encounters through systematic complex arguments and counter-arguments in the classroom.
- valuing individual thoughts, group discussion and general debate — that enable school history learners to ask the thorniest of questions in the classroom.
- developing human capabilities (agency approach) and helping school history learners to forge social solidarity with their peers in the classroom.

At sage level, Africanisation of the SHC in post-apartheid South Africa would be a product of rich history told in the words of African elders through oral history and research projects through:

- school history learners who devote their time and energy in scientific research inquiry (oral testimony, i.e., eyewitness or first-hand accounts of events or situations that occurred during the life of elders interviewed or oral evidence, i.e., oral tradition, which includes stories, praise songs, genealogies or narratives that have been handed down by word of mouth from one generation to the next) in the classroom.
- the oral history which is seen as a fully-fledged academic discipline with the encounter between the interviewer (school history learners) and the sages (knowledgeable elders) at its centre in the classroom.
- school history learners who conduct oral history projects that enable South Africa's recentring research project in the global "processes of knowledge production" (Hountondji, 1997:13) in the classroom.
- the theorisation that brings theoretical findings in dialogue with the collection of data in the classroom – thus "promot[ing] certain kinds of 'blue-sky' knowledge that is likely to result in 'tangible' or 'concrete' social benefits such as health, wealth and liberty" (Ndofirepi & Cross 2017: 4) in post-apartheid South Africa.
- a school history curriculum that is not a feel-good, cosmetic response to African challenges and problems, nor too quick, too neat, too easy a solution — but a life struggle for social justice in pursuit of Africa's sustainable future.

Hermeneutically, Africanisation of the SHC in South Africa would show that African

philosophy is "essentially an open process, a restless, unfinished quest, not closed knowledge" (Hountondji, 1996:71). This would mean

- school history learners' analysis of Africanisation consists of a conceptual definition and specification of its central features (e.g., one can analyse or define Africanisation as a 'true democratisation of knowledge' and specify the elements that make up the concept).
- learners' synthesis of Africanisation shows the logical relationships whereby the concept (as a unity of knowledge) implies or is implied by another (e.g., one can show a logical relationship between Africanisation and its obligation to transcend the seemingly particular, opposite and irreconcilable Euro-centred and Afro-centred schools of thought).
- learners attempt to improve Africanisation, involves recommending a definition or use that will assist them to clarify the meaning of the concept (e.g., one can recommend, as authors do, that the concept 'Africanisation' should be used in a strictly theoretical sense, and not in the popular, ideological sense).
- if school history learners treat the so-called 'Western thought' and 'African thought' as unique, distinct, opposite philosophies, they are unwittingly perpetuating "narrow provincialism", to use Amin's (1989) phrase (cited in Moll, 2002:11).
- as Kanu (2014:92) maintains that philosophy is an "all-inclusive enterprise, a universal activity not limited to whites or blacks, nor confined to the peoples of the West and the East" in history classrooms.
- instead, universal knowledge takes the locale as the basis of international knowledge production – far from "permitting Western triumphalism or the retrieval of pre-colonial African tradition" (Enslin & Horsthemke, 2016:188) in the history classrooms.

Conclusion

In conclusion, let us put forward the following claim: African philosophy of education and Africanisation of the history curriculum in post-apartheid South African schools can be interpreted in a hierarchical, interrelated and dialectical relationship. By this we refer to the following: one, professional experts in higher education who treat African philosophy as a body of knowledge — this is our production field; two, sages who are walking libraries in local

communities in South Africa — this is our recontextualised field; and lastly, and the lived experiences of learners (enacted curriculum) in the classrooms — this is our reproduction field. Sadly, the CAPS' philosophy of education is firstly questionable, especially if you consider the urgent need to disrupt the academic and particular worldviews, to form a single philosophy in schools. Secondly, it is untenable since it promotes 'differences of content', i.e., oral tradition versus written tradition in the school history curriculum. Thirdly, the difficulty is that presently CAPS does not have a settled African philosophy (of education): it is torn between two worlds, i.e., the universal and the particular. In a strict education for Africanisation sense, the school history curriculum in post-apartheid South African schools should be perceived first and foremost as a professional philosophical project that African philosophers in higher education devote their time and energy to; second, a sage project that oMakhulu's as part of the broader school communities help history learners through oral history and research projects to address problems and deal with issues facing locals. Last, but not least, it should be perceived as a hermeneutic project that brings philosophy down from the sky, i.e. helps learners to make practical sense of deep philosophical issues in post-apartheid South African schools.

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Knowledge, power and school history in post-independence Malawi: A critical analysis of curriculum change (1964-2022)

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Abstract

Emerging educational research in Africa reveals an eventful course of development for school history curricula in post-colonial African states as they grappled with issues of quality and relevance in history education. In exploring the internationally little-known case of Malawi, the article takes a diachronic approach to retracing the process of history curriculum change from the country's independence from Britain in 1964 to the time of writing in 2022. The study proposes a systematic analysis of the content, pedagogy and assessment methods foregrounded by evolving history syllabuses in response to curriculum review processes over the last six decades. It also provides insights into the shifts undergone by Malawi's priorities and aspirations in the context of its legacies of European colonialism, one-party dictatorship and authoritarianism and its transition to democracy in the mid-1990s. Illuminating the entanglements of these processes with power politics and their contribution to the stagnation of the discipline of history, the article concludes that, although successive reviews have promoted curriculum change over time, they have failed

to bring about meaningful reform.

Keywords: Malawi; History Curriculum; Curriculum Reform; Curriculum Politics; Decolonization; Post-colonial; Critical Theory.

Introduction

Emerging research on education in Africa reveals an eventful course of development for school history curricula in post-colonial African states as they grappled with issues of quality and relevance in history education (Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2021). Over the past century and a half, African societies have experienced the colonial displacement of traditional forms of education through the introduction of formal school history, designed to promote European value systems (Moweunyane, 2013). Subsequently, they have seen the contestation of colonial history education in the aftermath of independence from colonising powers and its frequent replacement with school history curricula that served as tools for legitimising the rule of the new nation-states' founding fathers and their successors, often under the pretext of a concern with salvaging and transmitting "authentic" histories (Bentrovato, 2013, 2018a, 2018b; Kaarsholm, 1992; Kalinga, 1998; Zeleza, 1990). Today, history education in African countries is the subject of often tense debates around the rationales and approaches that will enable it to best align to national and global priorities.

This article explores the internationally little-known case of Malawi, a southern African country with a century-long history of subjection to colonial and autocratic post-colonial rule. Part of a British protectorate from 1891 and of the British-controlled Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 1953 and 1963, it became independent in 1964 and a totalitarian one-party state in 1970 under Hastings Kamuzu Banda, before transitioning to a system of multi-party democracy in 1994. Taking a diachronic approach, this article retraces the process of secondary school history curriculum review in the six decades of Malawi's post-colonial period to date, and critically analyses its products. The study focuses both on prescribed curricular content and on the accompanying proposed pedagogy and assessment and their objectives. Illuminating the entanglements of the process with power politics and its contribution to the stagnation of the discipline of history, it argues that, although successive reviews have promoted curriculum change over time, they have failed to bring about meaningful reform.

The research underlying the article references a broader context of educational and historiographical work on Malawi. It builds on studies on the history of education in the country, most notably the now outdated and politically biased work by Kelvin Banda (1982) on education from pre-colonial times to the early 1980s; the examination by Chakwera, Khembo and Sireci (2004) of national school assessment programmes in post-colonial Malawi and the performance of the Malawi National Examinations Board; and the more recent studies by Chirwa and Naidoo (2014) of the history of curriculum change

and development in Malawi. More specifically, our study joins and enriches the as yet small number of publications on history education in Malawi. Less recent studies in this area include the work by Lora (1980) on the applicability of Piaget's formal operational thinking to the teaching of history in Malawian secondary schools, the assessment by Morrow (1986) of the problem of resources in the teaching of history, and the examination by Bonga (1990) of the relationship between the use of instructional media and pupils' academic achievement in history at senior secondary level. Among the most recent publications in this area are the exploration by Dzikanyanga (2018) of continuities and changes in history pedagogy in Malawian secondary schools since 1964 and studies on junior secondary history textbook representations of women (Chiponda, 2014; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2015) and people with disabilities (Chiponda, 2021). Alongside the matter of education, our work draws on and complements research on politics of history and memory in Malawi (Kalinga, 1998; Kenyon, 2009; Moyo, 2001; Mweso, 2014).

Theoretical framework and methodology

The key bearing of politics and power on the process examined in this article makes critical theory an opposite approach to understanding the continuities and changes in curricular content and in the prescribed methods of its implementation and delivery that are at the centre of this historical study. The central argument of critical theory is that all knowledge is invariably historical and political in character due to the influence of divergent human interests (Bourdieu, 1984). Critical theorists further contend that knowledge production and the exercise of power go hand in hand – a position most famously articulated by Foucault (1980); they accordingly seek to problematise and destabilise that knowledge (Nichols & Allen-Brown, 1996). It is in this context that they regard school curricula as instruments for legitimising the authority of ruling powers, imposing state-sanctioned knowledge upon societies and in so doing maintaining existing regimes of privilege and social control (Apple, 2019; Salehi & Mohammadkhani, 2012). It is in this spirit that this article applies a critical theory lens to its analysis of Malawian history curriculum documents, via which it will retrace the historical trajectory of curriculum review in the subject.

The documents sampled for this study include state-produced history syllabuses,

alongside chief history examiners' reports and examination question papers.[1] These sources were collected from various institutions of education and educational policy in Malawi, including the Ministry of Education offices in Lilongwe, the Malawi Institute of Education (the country's national curriculum development centre) in Zomba, Education Division Offices in Lilongwe and Mzuzu, the Malawi National archives in Zomba, and various secondary schools in the northern and southern regions of Malawi. The process of collection, which took place between January 2020 and June 2021, took care to cover the entire period of Malawi's post-colonial existence, that is 1964 to 2022. The focus of the analysis is secondary history education, encompassing junior level, leading to the national Junior Certificate of Education (JCE) examination, and senior level, at the end of which students take the Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) examination, a qualification for third-level institutions.[2]

The study conducts qualitative content analysis of the sampled documents, enabling the identification of emerging patterns and trends within the data set, defined via inductive processes of data coding. The analysis seeks to identify continuities and changes in the significance attributed by policymakers to the subject of history by analysing stated rationales for its study. It further aims to ascertain the nature of the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that successive regimes' policies have prioritised via the content of prescribed teaching and learning, the associated learning objectives, pedagogy, and methods of assessment. Contextualising these findings, we draw attention to the political shifts underlying these continuities and discontinuities as Malawi's post-colonial history unfolded.

1 The school syllabuses are produced and distributed to schools by the Ministry of Education in conjunction with the Malawi Institute of Education (MIE) while the Malawi National Examinations Board (MANEB) produces national examination papers and chief examiners' reports. Schools receive examination papers a few days before the commencement of national examinations. The chief examiners' reports, which detail how candidates approached every examination question, are sent to schools immediately after the release of national examination results.

2 In post-independence Malawi, history was and is taught as a separate subject in both lower and upper secondary schooling. At primary level, history became part of an overarching subject area known as Social Studies in the mid-1990s.

History curricula and their review under Banda's presidency (1960s-1980s)

The historical antecedents to Malawi's post-independence education system had their roots in schools initially established by European Christian missionaries from 1875 and, following a period of neglect by the British colonisers, the creation of a Department of Education in 1926 (Banda, 1982; Chirwa & Naidoo, 2014; Lamba, 1984). In 1933, the colonial government introduced a centralised primary school curriculum, which included the study of history, to the principal end of instilling moral values and loyalty towards the British monarchy. Secondary school education, introduced in the then Nyasaland Protectorate in 1941 and modelled on the elitist academic system of the English grammar school, also included history. Taught by European expatriate teachers, the subject treated Malawi as an ahistorical entity and a mere appendage of the British Crown. The colonial school curriculum, determined by external examinations, principally included English and Commonwealth history, with very little African history (Banda, 1982). The British imperial narrative was a dominant educational discourse, and placed special emphasis on Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa (Kalinga, 1998:525). Echoing practices observed elsewhere in the British Empire, school history projected the colonised "as lazy, backward and savage while extolling the imperial powers in bringing civilization to the colonies" (Chia, 2012:193). At independence in 1964, Malawi, like other new countries across the continent that were engaged in their own nation-building projects (Bentrovato, 2013, 2018a), began to review the inherited curriculum, which clearly failed to resonate with the nationalist aspirations of the newly independent state (Zeleza, 1990).

The first major history curriculum review took place in 1969, in the wake of the Johnson Report of 1964 which had called for a radical change in content and methods of teaching in schools, in line with the socio-economic transformation in progress in post-colonial Malawi. Its aim was to overhaul the colonial history syllabus and examinations which had determined secondary school history education since 1941 (Chimwenje, 1990). As such, the review formed part of the Africanisation project with which Malawi, in line with the recommendation of the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference in favour of ending the prioritised status of non-African history in schools (UNESCO/ECA, 1961), embarked upon the endeavour of writing and subsequently teaching its own national history in response to the disjunct between colonial historiography and the needs and aspirations of the post-colonial nation (Banda, 1982). Drawing on the International Congress of African History held at the University College of Dar es Salaam in 1965, the History Department at the University

of Malawi took a leading role in these Africanisation activities, designing a university syllabus on the History of Malawi and training history teachers (Banda, 1982; Kalinga, 1998; Pachai, 1966).[3] In line with the aim, associated with the Africanisation project to find potential figures of national and nationalist identification in the African past, the "History of Malawi" university course, introduced in the mid-1960s, celebrated precursors of the nationalist struggle in Malawi such as John Chilembwe, Eliot Kamwana, Charles Chidongo Chinula, Charles Domingo and Hastings Banda.

The reviews of 1969 and 1987: decolonising content, still centring examinations

In 1969, against the backdrop outlined above, Malawi's parliament enacted a law that created the Malawi Certificate Examination Board (MCE Board); its mandate was to develop a new syllabus and administer the Malawi Certificate Education (MCE) examinations to replace the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examination. From 1972 onward, the MCE Board carried out this task in conjunction with Britain's Associated Examining Board (AEB) in order to ensure "high standards and … international recognition" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1972b:7).[4] In announcing the impending reforms to curricula and assessment, the Ministry of Education and Culture emphasised the importance of centring the new curriculum around serving local needs and aspirations relating to socio-economic development. In terms of history education, three major concerns drove the reform of curricula: the introduction of local history, meaningful engagement of learners in the history classroom through the principles of constructivism, and assessment of learners via locally administered examinations (Johnston, Blake, Porter & Twum-Barima, 1965). Established to address these concerns, the MCE Board, which had neither a separate curriculum development section nor curriculum specialists on its staff (Chimwenje, 1990), prioritised examinations over pedagogy, possibly due to long-standing attitudes among educational reformers that privileged subject matter over methods. The treatment afforded to aspects of curriculum development beyond examinations therefore proved less than rigorous, with no attempt made to provide guidelines for history pedagogy in schools. The focus on examinations in the history curriculum review of 1969 may additionally have stemmed

3 Between 1967 and 1993, the Department organised several biannual conferences and published manuals for history teachers on new trends and best practices in historical scholarship and pedagogy.

4 The MCE Board-AEB arrangement continued until 1989, when the MCE Board took full responsibility for the examinations, becoming the Malawi National Examinations Board.

from the fact that the MCE Board, which prescribed school curricula and monitored their implementation, was an examinations board first and foremost; it simply prescribed topics of study without delineating the extent of coverage for each topic.[5] Knowledge of content accordingly took centre stage during the 1969 curriculum review, a primacy which continued to have a cascading effect on subsequent reviews.

The JCE history syllabus, running to only five pages, largely limited itself to listing seven topics to be covered and to briefly describing the expected examination format, comprising of fill-in-the-gap(s) exercises, short-sentence answers, guided continuous writing, and a choice of essay questions. The topics prescribed showed a *de facto* exclusive focus on Africa and Europe. They addressed prehistory; early African "civilisations" followed by European "civilisation", from Mesopotamia to the Renaissance; Europe's "extension" through "voyages of exploration", the transatlantic slave trade and the colonisation of Africa by the Portuguese, Dutch and British. The topics further addressed Europe and Africa, with a focus on the Industrial Revolution, the partition of Africa and World War One; and nationalism and independence movements in Ghana, Kenya and Malawi, the latter emphasising the African National Congress (ANC), Banda and his Malawi Congress Party (MCP), and the "fight against the Federation" of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1968). This content points to the apparent persistence of a colonial-era perspective within the curriculum's attempted move towards Africanisation, evident, among other things, in the term "extension" and the romanticising trope of "voyages of exploration" in reference to European colonising activities; these wordings betray a perspective familiar to those educated in colonising nations before critical reflection became commonplace. Furthermore, as the next section of this article will explore more fully, it indicates that a re-politicisation of school history accompanied efforts towards Africanisation, as evident in the emphasis on the emancipatory anti-colonial movement in Malawi led by Banda.

The Malawi Certificate of Education (MCE) history syllabus for senior secondary school level similarly had five pages and briefly stated its aim to be the assessment of students' understanding of the prescribed topics, before setting out the examination format and content coverage. Assessment in this subject, with teaching assumed to amount to a weekly minimum of three hours, consisted of a two-hour paper comprising two equally

5 This meant that, on numerous occasions, examinations went beyond what teachers actually taught in class, while at other times the Board failed to assess some of the content and skills taught in history classrooms (Chakwera et al, 2004:7).

weighted sections of essay questions for candidates to choose from.[6] Evidencing the influence of the colonial period, the first section covered the "History of Central Africa from 1000 to 1964 AD", examining political and socio-economic developments in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe – the three countries which had formed erstwhile British Central Africa, comprising Northern Rhodesia (today's Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (today's Zimbabwe), and the Protectorate of Nyasaland (today's Malawi) (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1972a:36-39). The section encompassed 10 topics:

- the Iron Age;
- pre-colonial kingdoms, particularly the Luba-Lunda complex, Shona, Maravi, Tumbuka-Nkamanga, and Ngonde;
- the Portuguese influence in "the Livingstone period", signalling the significance attributed to the Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone, who much influenced Western views of Africa;
- the slave trade, specifically by Arabs/Swahili and Yao;
- "the missionary factor", an expression echoing the title of *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (1951), a reference work by the prominent English Africanist Roland Oliver, and primarily referring to Protestant, Catholic and Muslim influences;
- the Ngoni and the Ndebele, focusing on their migration, "occupation" and organisation in the region;
- European occupation and administration, and local resistance movements and activities, notably the Ndebele War of 1893, the Shona-Ndebele revolts of 1896-7 in Southern Rhodesia, and the Chilembwe rising of 1915 in Nyasaland;
- social, economic and political developments up to 1953;
- the years of Federation (1953-1963);
- and the independent states of Malawi and Zambia, including their struggles for independence and the constitutions they gave themselves upon attaining it.

The section on Central African history remained silent on various aspects of the past, obscuring, for instance, the histories of several communities, such as the Sena, Tonga, Lomwe, Nyiha, Ndali and Lambya, while contrastingly foregrounding the history and

6 The examination paper included eight questions for each section, with candidates choosing a total of five questions, i.e. any two or three per section.

heritage of the Tumbuka, Ngonde and Chewa. This reflected the creation of an invisible "other" and the loss of social capital associated with this labelling (Mkandawire, 2010). The second section, on "World History in the Twentieth Century (1900-1964)", primarily covered the two World Wars, including the interwar period, as well as the Cold War and decolonisation in Asia and Africa.

In line with the systemic emphasis on examinations that had likewise prevailed hitherto, the subsequent review of the school history curriculum, conducted in 1987, sought to improve the content validity of history examinations for the Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE), previously the MCE. The 1987 MSCE history syllabus (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1987) retained a substantially unchanged overall aim, but introduced the innovation of briefly outlined assessment objectives, requiring students to explain and interpret historical events and ideas and "relate them to contemporary issues", discuss causes and consequences, "evaluate historical information, and form [an] opinion on it". This explicit inclusion of discipline-specific historical thinking skills is also notable for the fact that no express reference to the societal or civic uses of history appeared alongside it. The examination, combining mandatory multiple-choice questions with essays,[7] now consisted of two two-hour papers, i.e., "Central Africa" and "The World Since 1900", rather than a single two-hour paper; a concomitant increase in the minimum teaching hours per week to four spoke of the rising perceived importance of history among school subjects. Although the new curriculum attempted to introduce a disciplinary approach to the teaching and assessment of history in schools, the structured questions in history examination papers proposed during this time, and largely concerning names and dates, reveal continued practices of assessment amounting to audits of students' acquisition of content knowledge. The nature of the content assessed likewise saw no substantial changes, beyond the merging of topics on Central African history and the reduction of their overall number to seven. Changes in the detail of the content included the replacement, in the pre-colonial kingdoms topic, of Tumbuka-Nkamanga with the Chikulamayembe kingdom, and of Shona with the Zimbabwe and Mwenemupata kingdoms, removing, in each case, the primary association of these kingdoms with particular ethnic communities. Further changes were the designation of the Ndebele, Ngoni and Kololo (a group not featuring in

7 Each paper consisted of two sections, one comprising 25 compulsory multiple-choice questions counting for one-third of the total marks, the other featuring six essay questions of which candidates were to choose three.

the previous syllabus) as "19th-century immigrants"; and the removal of the Ndebele War of 1893 as an example of anti-colonial resistance.

Controlling the curriculum, disciplining society

The broader context of the curriculum reviews outlined above is one of the exertions of firm and oppressive political control over Malawi's history and its teaching. The post-independence creation of the Ministry of Education, whose purpose was to implement the education policies outlined in the 1961 Malawi Congress Party (MCP) manifesto, established close links from the outset between education policy in Malawi and the ideologies of the MCP, which was in power from 1964 to 1994. Banda was a history graduate and enthusiast who, like numerous leaders and governments around the world, sought to harness the country's past for the legitimation and survival of his regime. A critical juncture in the politicisation of Malawian history education was the Cabinet Crisis of 1964, during which junior cabinet ministers rebelled against Banda and were consequently expelled from the MCP. This development led Banda to effectively suspend research into and free discussion of the country's recent political history. Henceforth, Banda controlled the production and dissemination of historical knowledge through legislation, political propaganda and espionage (De Baets, 2002; Kalinga, 1998; Kenyon, 2009; Sturges, 1998), successfully "construct[ing] a historical narrative that dominated public discourse for nearly 30 years" (Mweso, 2014:21).

In his examination of post-independence historical knowledge production in the 1960s, Kalinga (1998) highlights Banda's influence on public memory through, among other things, the adoption of the name Malawi (a Portuguese misspelling of the precolonial kingdom of Maravi to which the Chewa – Banda's ethnic group – belonged), the declaration of holidays such as Martyrs Day and Kamuzu Day, which foregrounded Banda's own heroic historical role, the deposing of chiefs, and the giving of public lectures on the country's history. Moyo (2001) and Mweso (2014) observe that Banda promoted his own Chewa language and culture, elevating them to national status at the expense of the languages and cultures of other groups. The history of the Maravi was taught at all levels of schooling, while the history of other groups rarely featured in the history curriculum. Further instruments of Banda's control over publications and the curricula of schools and colleges included the restriction of access to the National Archives, a rigid application of the Censorship Act, and the notorious Malawi Censorship Board, whose effects on the discipline of history were particularly severe. The telling list of works it banned between 1968 and 1994, in

line with Banda's pro-Western, anti-communist and authoritarian attitudes, included books on the USSR and the Russian Revolution, torture, nationalism and the overthrow of rulers (De Baets, 2002).[8] In this way, Banda's version of Malawi's history became the official history of the country. The History Department at the University of Malawi suffered extensive repression, seeing its attempts to write an alternative history of Malawi thwarted by legislation and intelligence activities (Kalinga, 1998:549) and, as De Baets (2002:340-341) notes, finding itself able to teach the History of Malawi course only selectively to avoid police intervention. Banda purged the Department of lecturers deemed too radical, and others escaped into exile.

These repressive restrictions resulted in very limited serious research that could have sustained history education in the country, and inevitably impacted the history curriculum. They involved the removal of history textbooks from the school curriculum after their banning; one example is the exclusion from the curriculum in 1975 of *From Iron Age to Independence: A History of Central Africa* by D.E. Needham (1974), which was not to return until 2001, well after Banda's fall from power and death in 1997. The curriculum was purged of sources and content deemed to contravene Banda's "four corner stones" (unity, loyalty, obedience and discipline) or to challenge his power. For instance, teaching about prominent nationalists who had become *personae non gratae* with Banda, including Kanyama Chiume, Yatuta Chisiza, Masauko Chipembere and Orton Chirwa, was forbidden despite the contribution these figures had made to the country's independence struggle. Mweso (2014:17) has pointed to the enforcement, including by violent means, of a particular reading of the past via the "extreme form of politics of memory and historiography" and indoctrination that accompanied Banda's rule. Among the effects of this reading was the emergence of a cult of personality that "plac[ed] Banda at the centre of the struggle for independence" and "only glorified and celebrated his achievements" while subjecting his political opponents to historical erasure and in so doing effectively de-memorialising earlier anti-colonial endeavours. In this context, Malawian history teachers were *de facto* political agents whose job was to promote loyalty to Banda's republic, with strict adherence to the "four corner stones" and a teaching of history in line with Kamuzuism, a messianic ideology around Banda's person (Chirambo, 2004:148). The upshot was a "banking" model

8 These works include, among others, *A History of Torture throughout the Ages* by G.R Scott; *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia 1873 – 1964* by R.I. Rotberg; *The History of the Russian Revolution* by Leon Trotsky; *Impact of the Russian Revolution* by Arnold Toynbee; *Dr. Banda's Biography* by P. Short; *Strike a Blow and Die* by Chief Mwase of Kasungu; historical works on the USSR; a book on the overthrow of Kwame Nkhrumah; and a historical study on the assassination of Shaka Zulu.

of education, which Paulo Freire (1970), the father of critical pedagogy, has identified as the hallmark of oppressive education and which essentially treats pupils as receptacles for prescribed knowledge. It was supported by a political hidden curriculum which curtailed meaningful debate in the history classroom and which found covert use as scaffolding for the existing political superstructure in post-colonial Malawi.

Various conditions concomitant to these developments, identified in research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s, served to augment the impact of the restrictive atmosphere characterising the curriculum's implementation. In line with the focus on instilling prescribed content as outlined above, a teacher-centred lecture method of teaching predominated in classrooms, hampering the development of historical thinking (Lora, 1980). Chronic scarcity of adequate and appropriate resources compounded the issues. What materials were available consisted largely of outdated and Eurocentric textbooks recommended by the Ministry of Education, and little else found its way into history classrooms,[9] with the exception of notes taken by teachers during Banda's routine history lectures at political rallies. The situation had a negative impact on the conditions in which teachers delivered the classes and their motivation (Morrow, 1986). An exacerbating factor in this context was disparity in the distribution of instructional materials, notably textbooks, on which most teachers relied, it not being typical practice to use supplementary media in the history classroom. This led to variations in the teaching delivered and consequently to achievement gaps among history candidates at MSCE. A downward trend in achievement among history students in national examinations was observable (Bonga, 1990).

History curricula and their review in the post-Banda, multi-party era (1990s-2000s)

The collapse of the dictatorship and the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in 1994 ushered in a new era, providing an enabling environment for a less politicised review of the school history curriculum and a more critical pedagogy. During this period, the Malawi Institute of Education (MIE) took over the role of secondary school curriculum development from the MCE Board, and a teaching syllabus replaced the examination syllabus in 2001. New reconsiderations of historical narratives which flourished in the

9 Resources such as historical maps and, more broadly, chart paper, overhead projectors, working slide projectors, crayons and felt-tip pens were generally hard to come by, while typewriters and duplicating facilities were usually oversubscribed.

aftermath of Banda's fall from power provided room to teachers and students for a critical examination of the existing social order.

1995-2001: a teaching syllabus emerges, along with a tentative shift

Changes in curricular content and modes of assessment in school history began soon after the transition to democracy. The origins of the review that took place at this time are traceable to the political changes of the early 1990s that had culminated in the collapse of Banda's regime and the country's democratisation. In 1995, the new government had produced an Education Sector Policy Investment Framework (PIF) to guide educational reform in the context of the country's new-found democracy. The framework called for an immediate review of the school curriculum (Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture [MESC], 1995). An initial one, focusing on Junior Certificate (JC) examinations, took place in the same year, replacing all structured and essay questions in the JC history examination paper with multiple-choice questions, although the prescribed content remained largely unchanged. Unlike the review of 1987, which aimed at diversifying assessment practices, the 1995 review was primarily a cost-cutting measure which introduced ICT to assessment, using machine-readable cards for examinations which computers then marked rather than teachers. One of the effects was to entrench the memorising of information for the specific purpose of passing the exam – a form of teaching to the test – as the primary mode of history education at this level in Malawi, compromising the pedagogical quality of the subject's teaching and entrenching "banking" educational practices.

Subsequent reviews saw the issuance of a syllabus for junior secondary level in 1998 (MESC, 1998) and a new senior syllabus in 2001 (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology [MOEST], 2001). The MIE, which had focused on primary education since its inception in the 1980s, became involved in the development of the new secondary school curriculum. Teaching syllabuses, now aligned with the National Goals of Education (NGE) developed by a stakeholders' conference held in 1995, replaced the examination syllabuses which had been in place since the 1940s. The new history syllabus was more prescriptive in its effect on teachers, as it specified what they should teach, how they were to teach and assess it, the books to use and the pace of their teaching. The resulting 40-page syllabus, developed by subject panels at the MIE with the technical and financial assistance

of the World Bank, DANIDA[10] and UNFPA,[11] now detailed the rationale of the review, the subject's specific rationale and objectives, and the scope and sequence of the content to be covered, before providing a table that covered the suggested teaching, learning and assessment.

The rationale for the reform given in the document characterises it as a response to socio-economic changes after independence, noting that the previous curriculum had been "out of tune with emerging issues" affecting the country and stating that the reform sought to cater to the aspirations of individuals and the nation, enabling learners "to function as responsible and productive adults in their society" (MESC, 1998:ix). The rationale for the teaching of history sets out that history is part of culture and helps build identities, and that it is vital to understand the past in order to understand the present and plan for the future (MESC, 1998:ix). The objectives of the subject's study, as outlined in the syllabus, include the development of a spirit of national unity and patriotism and of appreciation of national institutions. Alongside these evidently nationally (or nationalistically) oriented objectives, more cosmopolitan aims such as tolerance towards different views and beliefs, an appreciation of economic interdependence among peoples, and an understanding of the contemporary world make an appearance. We might view the additionally stated aim of encouraging a sense of national, regional and international understanding as a form of hinge between these two distinct groups of objectives. Another noteworthy goal, more specific to the discipline of history, is to engender an appreciation of technological developments over time. Historical skills including description, analysis, comparison and evaluation of historical events complete the list of objectives. The use of eight key themes – technology, migrations, systems of government, religion, economics, imperialism, nationalism, and cooperation[12] – to structure the curriculum's content points likewise to potential pedagogical innovation, albeit not entirely followed through.

10 Danish International Development Agency.

11 United Nations Population Fund.

12 They covered a wide range of topics and cases. The imperialism theme, for instance, included such topics as the Assyrian and Roman invasions of Egypt, the Arab occupation of the East Coast and Portuguese and Arab-Swahili settlements in Central Africa, the 'scramble for' and partition of Africa, Jihads, Hitler's and Mussolini's policies of expansion, and the spread of communism. The nationalism theme covered such topics as the Balkans and the German annexation of Austria in the context of the study of the two world wars, and independence movements and decolonisation in India, Ghana, Zambia and Malawi.

The 2013 review: a paradigm shift towards individual outcomes

The post-independence curriculum reviews examined thus far took place under the purview of Malawi's colonial-era Education Act of 1962. The most recent review, undertaken in 2013 with implementation commencing in 2015, rested on the foundations of the new Malawi Education Act of the same year. There is a striking contrast in the approach to curriculum development and implementation taken by the two Education Acts. While the 1962 Act did not specify the methods of teaching, learning or assessment to be employed in the classroom, the 2013 Act, currently in place, prescribes a constructivist pedagogy geared towards developing students' critical thinking skills (Dzikanyanga, 2018) via student-centred methods, the treatment of knowledge as provisional and contestable, and appreciation of diversity (MOEST, 2019), all of which are in line with the principles espoused by critical theorists.

The review of 2013, proceeding against this backdrop, emerged from the Secondary School Curriculum and Assessment Reform (SSCAR), itself a continuation of the Primary Curriculum and Assessment Reform (PCAR) of 2000. The review introduced outcomes-based education (OBE), which emphasises the outcomes produced by students after teaching and learning has taken place and ascertains them primarily through continuous assessment, as opposed to examinations (Chirwa & Naidoo, 2014). This, alongside the concomitant new, marked focus on activity-based learning, represented a paradigm shift in school history education, and specifically its pedagogy. The rationale for the review, in the words of the curriculum document it produced, was to improve quality and relevance via an "emphasis on student-centred teaching and learning approaches" and a "focus on student achievement". Comparing it to the previous review, we see here less emphasis on what the student thus educated can do for their society, and more on what society, via education, can do for the student. The rationale appears in line with Malawi's general "secondary education outcomes [that are] … categorised into seven sets of essential skills": citizenship skills, ethical and socio-cultural skills, economic development and environmental management skills, occupational and entrepreneurial skills, practical skills, creativity and resourcefulness, and scientific and technological skills (MOEST, 2013:viii). The accompanying rationale for teaching the subject of history sees small modifications vis-à-vis the previous syllabus. Competencies cited this time round include research skills for tracing the origins of cultural traditions and the "interrelationship between the past and present generations" and critical thinking, problem-solving and decision-making via an

understanding of "causes, effects, and lessons learnt" from the past. Notably, the rationale asserts that "[h]istory also has a utilitarian dimension in that it unearths a catalogue of indigenous knowledge, skills and values which can be utilised for personal advancement, employment and the general development of the society" (MOEST, 2013:viii). The fact that "personal advancement" comes first in this list of potential benefits, and societal development last, ties in with the increased emphasis on the individual student and their acquisition of capabilities and "outcomes" as analysed above. The "objectives" set out in the previous syllabus have given way, in line with the focus on outcomes, to "assessment standards" and "success criteria", and the level of analysis expected of students appears to have increased, with a requirement to explain and discuss as opposed to stating and outlining.

Overall, the 2013 document is more elaborate than previous syllabuses, defining prescribed content, and the scope and sequence of teaching, in notable detail. It sets out themes and topics for each form and each of the two terms in an academic year; each of these topics comes under one of five "core elements" with a related outcome. The rationale for these categorisations is not always immediately evident. The outcome for the "core element" entitled "Patriotism and nationalism" states that "[t]he students will be able to demonstrate an understanding of issues of patriotism and nationalism and their socio-economic and political impact on society and nations, and how these have evolved over time"; this phrasing reveals a more analytical and disciplinary approach as opposed to that of the previous syllabus, which had called for students to demonstrate a spirit of patriotism and nationalism. The other four "core elements" are "Inter-relationships among the individual, family and society", and "Inter-dependence between Malawi and the world", highlighting local-national-international historical connections; and "Economic and social issues in history", and "Leadership styles in history", ensuring students cover socio-economic and political dimensions of history (MOEST, 2013:xi). Each theme or topic has an entry in a table which details "Assessment standards", "Success criteria", "Suggested teaching and learning activities" that go into more depth than the 1998-2001 syllabus, and rather general "[s]uggested teaching, learning and assessment methods". The syllabus specifies an array of methods, teaching formats and resources, ranging from textbooks and essay writing to museum visits, role plays, simulations and interaction with a "resource person". This is a level of detail, and a methodological breadth, which the previous syllabus did not reach.

The content of the curriculum is broadly similar to previous syllabuses, with some noteworthy exceptions. One relates to the newly introduced study of the Yao, now joining the previously included Ndebele and Ngoni in the curriculum as nineteenth-century

immigrants to Central Africa. The curriculum contains references to their conversion to Islam and role in the spread of Islam in the region, alongside the Swahili-Arabs, explained through their trade with this group and their culture and religious beliefs. The 1969 curriculum had closely intertwined the historical narrative of the Yao with the East African slave trade; the 2013 revision omits this previously emphasised role, reattributing it to Swahili-Arabs and "Africans" more generally. The Yao reappear later on within a discussion of "communities that participated in the trade" (MOEST, 2013:28). There is a noteworthily balanced discussion of Christianity's influence in the region. Students are to be encouraged to "debat[e] the impact of Malawi missionary work in Malawi, e.g. positive e.g. western education, end of [the] slave trade, promotion of commerce, pacification of hostile people", and "negative e.g. destruction of indigenous culture (dance, dress, religion, food)" and the missionaries' role as "harbingers of colonization". In this equivocal picture, we note remnants of colonial discourse alongside what is readable as more anti-colonial content with a nationalist thrust. The discussion of the Chilembwe uprising as a "symbol of later resistance to colonialism" likewise fits this latter context, with students called upon to explore its "significance … in the development of nationalism in Nyasaland" (MOEST, 2013:28).

We might be tempted to conclude from this detail that the new political dispensation had provided a conducive environment for critical pedagogy and that, as envisaged by critical theory, education had received the opportunity to become a springboard for democracy. Nevertheless, politics and society retain the power to decide whether or not to respect the standards of scholarly history (Wilschut, 2010). The curriculum reviews which occurred after Banda's fall from power were anxious to overhaul the narrative he had propagated, and Banda's successors have likewise attempted to control the history taught in schools. Bakili Muluzi, for instance, co-authored a history book titled *Democracy with a Price: The History of Malawi since 1900* in 1999, which became a recommended school textbook, albeit one neither objective nor politically neutral in character. Similarly, the school curriculum only incorporated the history of the Lomwe once a Lomwe president, Bingu Muthalika, had come to power. It may be that the change in the visibility and depiction of the Yao, as noted above, bears witness to analogous politically motivated considerations.[13] These events are indicative of the continued use of history education as a weapon for moulding and

13 Since independence in 1964, Malawi has been ruled by leaders from the Central region (Kamuzu Banda, 1964-1994 – a Chewa) and the South (Bakili Muluzi, 1994-2004 – a Yao; Bingu wa Mutharika, 2004-2012 – a Lomwe; Joyce Banda, 2012-2014 – a Yao; and Peter Mutharika, 2014-present – a Lomwe).

controlling society, as posited by critical theorists, and point to the damage sustained on an ongoing basis by Malawi's history curriculum owing to political contestations over the country's past and present, epitomised by the establishment of ethnically-based associations with political undertones such as the Chewa Heritage Foundation, Mulhako wa Alomwe, the Maseko Ngoni Heritage Association and the Mzimba Heritage Association (Lusaka, 2020; Kayira & Banda, 2013). The existence of these groups is a visible indicator of a covert struggle for control of Malawi's past, characterised by conflicts among historical narratives both within and outside of schools.

Discussion and conclusion: cosmetic shifts and overlaying persistent politicisation?

The analysis in this article has retraced the process by which, not long after independence, Banda's regime took control of the production and dissemination of historical knowledge, including in schools. The collapse of the dictatorship and the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in 1994 ushered in a new era, providing what may appear, on a reading of the curriculum reviews that have taken place since this date, an enabling environment for a less politicised school history curriculum. It remains debatable; however, whether, despite what appear to be significant endeavours towards reform, a fundamental tendency towards the politicisation of school history persists in Malawi, rather than a genuinely critical pedagogy of history having taken hold.

Considering all reviews of the history curriculum in post-colonial Malawi, it is evident that one of their major effects has been a move towards Africanisation. In line with dynamics evidenced across the continent, the reviews have led to an "increased emphasis on African, national, and local history and a concomitant reduction in content related to Western or European history" (Bentrovato, 2017:28). In addition, the curriculum has expanded to incorporate historical narratives pertaining to various ethnic groups in Malawi that were previously left aside. This is the culmination of the groundwork laid by the History Department at the University of Malawi in the 1960s in the context of the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference and the 1965 International Congress of African History. However, a lack of funding and political will to promote local historical research and teaching has resulted in the persistence of colonial historiographies, stereotypes and interpretations of history. Specifically, and concerningly, the use in schools of outdated history textbooks, mostly produced in Europe, persists. While, as this article outlines, the history curriculum itself has undergone various shifts in line with educational research, textbooks published in the

1960s, such as *A Map History of the Modern World* by B. Catchpole (1968), *World History in the Twentieth Century* by R.D. Cornwell (1969), *The Modern World since 1870* by L.E. Snellgrove (1968), *East and Central Africa to the Late Nineteenth Century* by B. Davidson (1968), and *The History of Central Africa* by P.E.N. Tindall (1968), have remained major points of reference for history teachers and students alike since the 1970s. These books continue to serve as key sources for history textbooks being written in Malawi, with limited research funding availability among the issues inhibiting the development of alternatives; it is a reality that runs counter to the process of school history's decolonisation in the country. An exacerbating factor here has been a relative lack of interest in school history education among university history lecturers over the last three decades; in the academic setting, the writing of educational materials for schools has been a low-status activity (Dzikanyanga, 2018:114). Africanisation endeavours face the further challenge of the fact that there has never been a fully locally driven curriculum review in post-colonial Malawi. Theories of, and funding for, curriculum review remain domains of the West (Ndjabili, 2004:31). Chirwa and Naidoo (2014:344) contend that although political, social and economic variables have had an impact on curriculum change and development in post-colonial Malawi, "globalisation has been another influential factor in shaping curriculum change and development in Malawi when the country became a democratic government in 1994". Over time, MIE, which took over responsibility for secondary school curriculum development from the Malawi National Examinations Board (MANEB) in 1998, has grown increasingly subject to the wishes and requirements of Western democracies due to the input of donors into curriculum reform processes. Of late, it has come under the influence of South Africa, which is increasingly driving curriculum innovation in the southern part of the continent (Chirwa & Naidoo, 2014; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008). Indeed, Chirwa and Naidoo (2014) argue that Malawi borrowed the idea of the OBE curriculum from South Africa despite its several weaknesses in a bid to promote a global agenda. MIE, like other institutions of education in Africa, is therefore an effectively semi-independent institution, that – some positive impacts notwithstanding – experiences considerable systemic barriers to a full consideration of realities on the ground prior to the implementation of curriculum innovations.

Another effect of the history curriculum reviews has been a gradual move away from a traditional fact-based history pedagogy which presents history to the student as given, unquestioned knowledge and assesses it as if this knowledge were static. This conventional approach had been the pedagogical mainstay of Malawian history education between 1964 and 2000, entrenched by politicians' propagation of parochial historical narratives for

state-building purposes and the use of high-stakes examinations testing the memorisation of unreflected facts. History teaching in Malawi has progressed towards a more disciplinary approach which promotes students' historical literacy by requiring them to practise historical thinking. The curriculum review of 1997-2001 adopted the teaching syllabus which encouraged students to "do" history in the classroom. A strong undercurrent of traditional pedagogy nevertheless remains, as attested to by chief examiners' reports and examination papers revealing the persistent importance of memorising selected content. The reviews have engendered the concomitant development of a "bulky" history curriculum, stemming largely from curriculum developers' long-standing prior tendency to centre content over competencies. Since the 1970s, the junior secondary history syllabus – to cite an example – has covered a vast expanse of time, extending chronologically from prehistory to the contemporary world. The senior secondary syllabus has always taken the form of two separate courses of study, each of which is content-heavy. The rearrangement of the syllabuses into themes has not ended their division of the history course into blocks of time to be taught in a strict chronological order. Greater bulk has come about as a result of the political wishes of powerful local and global actors. Malawians have, for instance, seen the successive addition to the curriculum of the histories of various Malawian communities, including the Chewa, Jere Ngoni, Maseko Ngoni, Tumbuka, Lomwe and Yao. Several other groups of Malawians, such as women and people with disabilities, remain excluded from curricula and marginalised in textbooks, mirroring their treatment in society at large (Chiponda, 2021; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2015). Viewed through a critical theory lens, the bulkiness of the syllabus may appear as a result of the struggle for control of the country's past and present fought between dominant groups in Malawi; the removal, for instance, of community histories, however, would likely be problematic and essentially retrograde, pursuing an exclusionary rather than an inclusive approach to rationalising the curriculum.

An overarching impact of the curriculum reviews has been to politicise history in schools. It has often been the case in many parts of the world that "nation-building architects [have made] extensive use of history to promote those historical narratives that embody the politically correct teleology of the state" in question (Zajda, 2009:373). In Malawi, history education was a significant tool in Banda's consolidation and legitimation of political power between 1964 and 1994. Banda's successors have sought to undo the historical narrative he established and bring their own influence to bear on history in schools, which has included giving other dominant communities access to control of the narrative. The subject's incorporation into Social Studies at primary level, with its focus on government and

politics, possibly provides greater potential for politicisation. A critical theory perspective on these events would read them as the side-lining of students' interests in the use of the school history curriculum as a political battleground, which would run counter to the centring of the student and their individual interests in knowledge and development as set out in the syllabus of 2013. That syllabus' move away from the hitherto consistent focus on examinations appears emancipatory in terms of potentially lessening dependence on memorisation and teaching to the test; it may be that the subject's continued politicisation is undermining this ostensibly progressive development. Indeed, even after the adoption of the teaching syllabus in 1998 – superseding the previously focal role of examinations – and the introduction of the OBE curriculum in 2013, teaching to the test has continued to dictate history curriculum implementation in Malawian schools, in line with the "gate-keeping role" of examinations in the Malawian education system as observed by Chakwera *et al.* (2004). Further gate-keeping by examinations, of a different nature, appears in the tendency among history teachers, as remarked upon in chief examiners' reports, to rely more strongly on national examination papers than on the history syllabus when making pedagogical decisions (MANEB, 2017).

A conclusion from the above summary of these effects might be that curriculum reviews in post-colonial Malawi have promoted change without genuinely engendering reform. Notwithstanding the evolution in curricular content and teaching methods, other determinants of change, such as the training received by teachers at universities and colleges of education and the character of examinations, history textbooks and educational policies, continue to negatively affect the quality and relevance of history education in Malawian schools. It may be that the spirit of recent reviews continues to need time to diffuse into the various domains of history education in Malawi, notably into textbooks and tendencies to handle large volumes of content by teaching to the test.

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History Education during COVID-19: Reflections from Makerere University, Uganda

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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic forced most governments in Africa to temporarily close educational institutions in attempt to reduce the spread of the pandemic. In Uganda particularly, Higher Education Institutions, Universities and schools adopted the online and blended approaches to afford continuity of learning during the lockdown. This article provides a reflection of the opportunities, challenges and lessons learnt in teaching and learning of history during the COVID-19 pandemic. Qualitative data was obtained from a narrative inquiry of the researcher's own teaching experience and interviews with pre-service history teachers from Makerere University. Findings indicated that, while online and blended approaches facilitate history education through Makerere University e-Learning (MUELE) Learning Management System, WhatsApp exchanges, Zoom, emails, mobile phone text messaging and print media; there were persistent challenges such as limited Information Communication Technology (ICT) tools, digital illiteracy, digital divide, increased workloads as well as social-emotional stress and distractions at home. The article concludes with a key lesson for Teacher Education programmes to shift the way they train pre-service history teachers to embrace online learning with access to offline, downloadable, print learning materials to facilitate blended learning approaches. This is relevant in preparation of different generations of teachers to integrate blended pedagogy in History Education in response to the new normal caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: History Education; COVID-19; Pre-service history teacher; online learning; Makerere University.

Introduction

The outbreak of the COVID-19 and the subsequent lockdown of educational institutions affected educators, teachers and learners worldwide, with over 209 million learners in Africa physically out of school (UNESCO, 2020). In Uganda for example, more than 73,000 learning institutions closed where 15 million learners and 54,800 teachers could not engage in physical pedagogical conversations (Kabugo, 2020). One of the reasons for total lockdown of institutions of learning was to enforce social distancing as Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) for mitigating the spread of COVID-19. However, Mahaye (2020) reported that, schools losing long periods of learning due to the disease outbreak could result in a disruption of the curriculum and could cause learners to be demotivated to learn, even when the disease outbreak ends. Consequently, in an attempt to ensure continuity of learning during the COVID-19 lockdown, the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) in Uganda issued guidelines for provisions of sustained learning on the 20th of March, 2020 (MoES, 2020).

Following the provisions for sustained learning, primary and secondary schools engaged with print, self-study materials, audio, visual learning materials and transmissions through radios and televisions to facilitate the delivery of lessons during the COVID-19 era. While, at higher institutions of learning, universities were instructed to embrace the eLearning approach to save the academic year (New Vision, 2020). This, therefore, implied a transition from the traditional face-to-face teaching methods to technology-based learning mediated by Learning Management Systems (LMS), emails, Zoom, WhatsApp, Skype, Google classroom and mobile phone text messaging as online pedagogical interventions in the new normal. The abrupt shift in university pedagogy ushered in a COVID-19 pandemic shock as almost all universities in Uganda where ill prepared for unconventional approaches with related financial implications (Nawangwe, Muwagga, Buyinza & Masagazi, 2021). Therefore, university pedagogies during the pandemic proved costly as they involved embracing synchronous based learning for teachers and students to interact with each other in real-time (Atmojo & Nugroho, 2020). While, for asynchronous based learning, online pedagogical interactions happened at different times and in different contexts.

The study emerges from the History Education Unit, School of Education (SOE), Makerere University where the researcher is a teacher educator and facilitator of the history methods (history education) courses offered at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. In this research, the terms learners and students are synonymously used to mean pre-service

history teachers. This article aims to reflect on the teaching and learning of history during the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, the article provides a snapshot of the potentials and challenges encountered during the teaching and learning of history in this time. Consequently, lessons learnt are documented which might inform decisions and strategies for enhancing History Education in the new normal.

Consequently, the reflection questions were as follows: What are the potentials of teaching and learning history using the blended/online approaches during the COVID-19 pandemic? What are the challenges of teaching and learning history using the blended/online approaches during the COVID-19 pandemic? What are the lessons learnt from teaching and learning history using the blended/online approaches during the COVID-19 pandemic?

The proceeding section highlights a literature review on teaching and learning processes during COVID-19, drawing examples from the global, African and Ugandan History Education pedagogical landscape.

Literature review

Research conducted on intra-period, digital pedagogy responses to COVID-19 across 20 developed and developing countries revealed that, higher education providers have been diverse, from having no response through to social isolation strategies on campus and redrafting of the curriculum to fully online offerings (Crawford, Butler-Henderson, Rudolph, Malkawi, Glowatz, Burton, & Lam, 2020). Thus, Crawford *et al*. (2020) recommended that the higher education sector unite to postulate a future where students receive support digitally, without compromising academic quality and standards of the curriculum. Consistently, a study conducted by Allen, Rowan and Singh (2020) on teaching and teacher education in the time of COVID-19 indicated that teachers and teacher educators' move to online modes of delivery in order to keep students engaged in learning has significantly intensified their workloads and presents a considerable hardship for adoption to the new normal. Accordingly, Atmojo and Nugroho (2020) investigated how EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teachers carry out online EFL learning and its challenges. Their findings revealed that teachers must have sufficient knowledge and skills to teach online since it requires more time than face-to-face teaching. To this end, Pokhrel and Chhetri (2021) recommend that, education systems across the world invest in the professional development of teachers' ICT skills and effective pedagogy in the new normal. Moreover, Czerniewicz (2020) suggests the need for planning and engagement with simple

technologies that work for specific contexts since technologies are never neutral.

Tumwesige (2020) studied the systematic opportunities and challenges of diffusing e-learning in the context of Uganda. Tumwesige reports that, the difficulty of accessing learning technologies and the level of digital literacy skills between privileged and the deprived groups continue to widen the education and digital gap in Uganda. A study on how COVID-19 response measures in Uganda have affected the lives of adolescent young people was conducted in May-June 2020 (Parkes, Datzberger, Howell, Kasidi, Kiwanuka, Knight, Nagawa, Naker & Devries, 2020). The findings revealed that, most young people had no or limited access to the resources needed to engage with these materials and support. The research seemingly suggests a need for government and parental intervention to support pedagogical processes. While Sali (2020) studied the effects of Uganda government's COVID-19 response from a gender perspective, Nabukeera (2020), on the other hand, probed the instructional strategies in Higher Education in Uganda following a case of Islamic University Female Campus. Kabugo (2020) proposed a model for using Open Educational Resources to enhance Students' Learning Outcomes during the COVID-19 schools lockdown. Olum, Atulinda, Kigozi, Nassozi, Mulekwa, Bongomin and Kiguli (2020) assessed the awareness, attitudes, preferences, and challenges to e-learning among undergraduate medicine and nursing students at Makerere University in Uganda and observed that, internet costs, fluctuations, lack of digital skills among students and staff impede e-learning. Bongomin, Olum, Nakiyinyi, Lalitha, Ssinabulya, Sekagga, Wiltshire and Byakika-Kibwika (2021) found that, the COVID-19 pandemic had a significantly negative effect on the clinical learning experience of undergraduate medical students and recommended a review of the current teaching and learning methods to ensure safe and effective learning experiences. Ssenkusu, Ssempala and Mitana, (2021) expounded on how the COVID-19 pandemic has widened opportunities for creativity, innovation and intelligence within education through introducing pandemic pedagogies which are student centred, community and local resource focused.

Bunt (2021) investigated the planning and implementation of an online teaching programme within the History Education subject group at North-West University in South Africa. The study concluded with key recommendations that, teachers and educators empathise with students' learning spaces; make short audio and video recordings accessible on the Learning Management Systems: effect continuous engagement, communication and contact as critical features for successful online learning environments. Consistently, Dlamini (2020) reflected on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on History Education in Higher Education in Eswatini. According to Dlamini, the sudden adoption of remote

learning by teacher trainees at the college within a short space of time, had severe constraints such as limited access to internet that compromised the quality of education. Dlamini concluded the study with recommendations such as: 1) The need to adopt continuous professional development and training of staff that will keep History Educators abreast with technology and innovation. 2) The need to invest in appropriate resources such as new technologies, data bundles to improve the quality of online education. 3) The need to transform the education system through the adoption of creative strategies that would enable trainees to learn remotely. Although the results of the research conducted inform the pedagogical terrain in Higher Education, Teacher Education and history education in Africa during the COVID-19 pandemic, there is a paucity of research and gaps on teaching and learning of history in Uganda during the pandemic.

This article provides a reflection of the potentials, challenges encountered, and lessons learnt during the teaching and learning of history in the COVID-19 pandemic. Pre-service history teachers are trained to facilitate content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge for their future learners in secondary (primary) schools in Uganda and beyond. The proceeding sections describe the teaching and learning history (social studies) in primary and secondary schools during COVID-19 pandemic that greatly influences and feeds into teacher education (Allen, Rowan & Singh, 2020).

History Education (Social Studies) in primary and secondary schools during COVID-19

That said, social studies and history are the subject disciplines offered to students at primary and secondary school levels in Uganda. For example, social studies are offered at upper primary level (primary four to primary seven) while; history is offered at the Ordinary and Advanced secondary school levels (senior one to senior six). For the case of social studies at upper primary level, the content knowledge covered during COVID-19 included: locations of the districts in Uganda for primary four; location of Uganda on the map of East Africa for primary five; East African Community for primary six and location of Africa on maps of the world for primary seven (MoES, 2020). Correspondingly, the history content taught at the secondary school level, during the COVID-19 pandemic, amongst others, included the following. Senior one: finding out about the past, external contacts and pressures in East Africa between 1800 and 1880. Senior two: First World War rise of nationalism in Uganda, Devonshire white paper. Senior three: Islamic movements of the 19th century Christian missionary activities in West Africa. Senior four: African Nationalism. Senior five: French

Revolution of 1789. Senior six: Colonial administration (MoES, 2020). Social studies and history content was accessible to learners through teaching and learning mediums such as television, radio print media, downloadable curricular and newspaper papers.

Although teaching and learning of History Education (Social Studies) was somewhat successful during the COVID-19 pandemic, there were persistent challenges that affected the pedagogical process among home learners. For example, radios and televisions were teacher-centred with limited or no interaction between teachers and home learners. This was exacerbated with a lack of guiding questions and engaging activities to facilitate deeper learning and historical thinking among learners. Consequently, home learners never got the chance to ask questions or comment about the print materials and the online lessons delivered on radio and televisions. Moreover, the feedback or comments given to teachers or head teachers through sending SMS, WhatsApp, emails or writing reports, took time and was not instantly received. Thus, continuation of learning history from home meant that many parents, who previously relied on teachers for their children's education, had to guide and support their children's learning (Ezati, Sikoyo & Baguma, 2020). This implied that effective home learning about the past was dependent on parental support, which became increasingly difficult since most parents are illiterate and were busy looking for income and food to support their families.

Similarly, learning from home faced disruptions such as house chores; learners from rural areas were always in gardens while teaching was taking place (Senkusu et al., 2021). Home learning materials distributed through newspapers, televisions, radios seemed expensive for most learners from disadvantaged backgrounds and rural communities with a lack of electricity and short time span solar power sources (Nawangwe et al., 2021).

There is a need to change the terrain of teaching and learning history in the new normal. The rationale for this pedagogical change is to enhance deeper and meaningful learning achieved through active participation in interpreting the past, collaborative questioning and dialogic conversations between teacher- learner and learner-learner during and post COVID-19. Effective historical learning involves helping young people make sense of the past through engaging with pedagogical practices that evoke meaningful reflection, interpretation and historical inquiry (Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2021).

Additionally, Open Educational Resources and open-source educational tools such as blogs and wikis have been recommended during the pandemic period as user-friendly support tools that enhance collaborative learning and historical knowledge construction (Huang, Liu, Tlili, Yang, Wang, 2020; Bunt, 2021). Thus, cost free educational technologies enhance flexibility in learning while simultaneously addressing the challenges that students

cannot go to campus to study in a regular way during the COVID-19 period.

Having said that, the proceeding section focuses on eLearning in History Education at Makerere University during COVID-19.

Embracing eLearning in History Education at Makerere University during the COVID-19 pandemic

The Minister of Education and Sports, Mrs. Kataha Janet Museveni, instructed all universities to embrace the e-learning approach as an intervention to COVID-19 (New Vision, 2020). Thus, guidelines to enhance online learning were set up by the National Council of Higher Education (NCHE) in Uganda. The NCHE guidelines highlighted the requirement to carry out a needs assessment survey to establish the universities readiness to undertake online learning (New Vision, 2020). Firstly, universities were to ensure financial capacity and adequate human resources to run the online programmes. Secondly, take online infrastructure, facilities and appropriate course design into consideration as well as a good monitoring and evaluation system. The survey revealed that, Makerere University was ready to embrace eLearning given that academic staff were undergoing training in developing online courses as well as existing ICT infrastructure.

At Makerere University, an established Open, Distance and eLearning (ODEL) policy that supports and directs online learning has been in place since 2015. The university organised with telecommunication companies to have all the university portals accessed by the students at zero charges during the COVID-19 lockdown. Furthermore, to promote eLearning during the lockdown and beyond, Makerere University started engaging computer manufacturers on the possibility of obtaining affordable yet good quality laptops for students that could be paid off on a hire purchase basis over an agreed period (New Vision, 2020). However, while staff in the History Education Unit had personal laptops, most students, particularly pre-service history teachers, did not have the required funds to purchase the laptops, and this curtailed the eLearning plans and processes.

Consequently, Makerere University's ODEL academic staff, embarked on conducting capacity building training sessions on Zoom for all academic staff (history educators included) in the use of digital technologies and alternative assessment modalities. The continuous training sections were relevant in ensuring continuity of history teaching, learning and examinations to complete the semester and academic year. Thus, the training sessions focused on the assessment modalities and use of online materials to develop history teaching and learning content and activities uploaded on the LMS called

Makerere University e-Learning (MUELE) platform. Alternative assessment modalities for undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in the History Education Unit. These included: traditional assessment submitted online: essays, case studies, papers reviews and report writing. Online interactions: contributions to forums, chats, blogs, wikis, reading summaries, collaborative learning, critical reviews, online presentations, online debates and electronic portfolios. For the case of summative exams, take home papers and open books exams, reflective journals, History Educators were required to attach a rubric for each of the examination papers.

Although a number of challenges constrained the execution of the online assessment modalities such as: system overload and break down due to too many student users, power outages, delay in uploading examinations on MUELE, internet fluctuations, lack of internet bundles to keep home students online and late submissions of take-home examinations; eLearning, coupled with multiple assessment modalities, was successful and ensured the continuity of History Education during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In this article, reflections on the potentials, challenges and lessons learnt from History Education during COVID-19 comprised a narrative inquiry (Clandinin, 2006) of my teaching experience presented in the research methodology section.

Research methodology

The study adopted a narrative inquiry as a methodology to afford sharing of lived teaching experience (personal) and case study pre-service history teachers' experiences (social) on History Education during COVID-19 in the School of Education, Makerere University context. Narrative inquiry methodology processes present ways of inquiring into personal experiences, participants' experiences, as well as the co-constructed experiences developed through the relational inquiry process (Clandinin, 2006). Therefore, narrative inquiry enabled reflections and ways of thinking about the lived teaching experience from personal (own reflections), social interactions (case study participants) dimensions with openness to multiple voices aligning to the past, present and future (Clandinin, 2006).

Data collection methods included; narrative inquiry into my lived teaching experience as a history teacher educator, telephonic interviews from four pre-service history teachers in their second year of study and face-to-face interviews from four pre-service history teachers in third year (finalists) who had returned to complete the semester. Therefore, eight case study participants were purposively selected to take part in the study (Yin, 2009). The rationale for selection sampled case study participants was for two reasons:

firstly, they were those who actively participated in debates on various history concepts and pedagogical issues on the history methods course WhatsApp groups. Secondly, participants who owned mobile phones, confirmed availability and willingness to take part in the study. Moser and Korstjens (2018) assert that key informants should be selected based on their special knowledge, ability to gain access to participants within the group studied and their willingness to share information and insights with the researcher. For ethical considerations, the eight (8) case study participants were assigned numbers for easy identification depending on their years of study. These included participants 2.1, participant 2.2, participant 2.3, participant 2.4, participant 3.1, participant 3.2, participant 3.3 and participant 3.4.

Case study participants were required to share their experiences and narratives on History Education during the COVID-19 pandemic, with a reflection of the potentials, challenges and lessons learnt. Thematic analysis informed the data analysis process as themes were derived from the number of repeated times a particular idea/ item in response to the reflection question appeared in the data set (Bryman, 2012; Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2014). Therefore, dominant words, phrases and significant codes reflecting on the potentials, challenges and lessons learnt from the teaching and learning of history during the pandemic where identified.

Narrative inquiry of my experiences on teaching and learning of history during COVID-19

As a teacher educator at the university, I tutor the history methods (history education) course that initiates pre-service teachers to embrace multiple pedagogical approaches in history classrooms to cater for the diverse learning styles of their future students. History methods is a course taught to pre-service teachers in their second and third years of study. The History Education Unit embraced online and blended approaches to sustain learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, the blended learning approach involved a technology-based teaching system using MUELE, emails, Zoom sessions and WhatsApp discussions integrated with the face-to-face teaching approaches. In this paper, blended learning is defined as the integration of the conventional face-to-face learning methods with online and eLearning methods (Mahaye, 2020). Online and eLearning learning approaches on the other hand involve teaching and learning done in synchronous and asynchronous based modes of learning. Synchronous based learning is useful to create contexts and facilities with educators and pre-service teachers interacting with each other

in real-time (Atmojo & Nugroho, 2020). While asynchronous based learning can be used for low technology use through discussions and written responses undertaken at different times (Atmojo & Nugroho, 2020). Consequently, history methods online learning involved asynchronous based learning where pre-service history teachers could engage with course activities and assignments at their homes in different times. To this end, I developed online history content coupled with activities hosted on the MUELE platform. (See for example images 1 and 2).

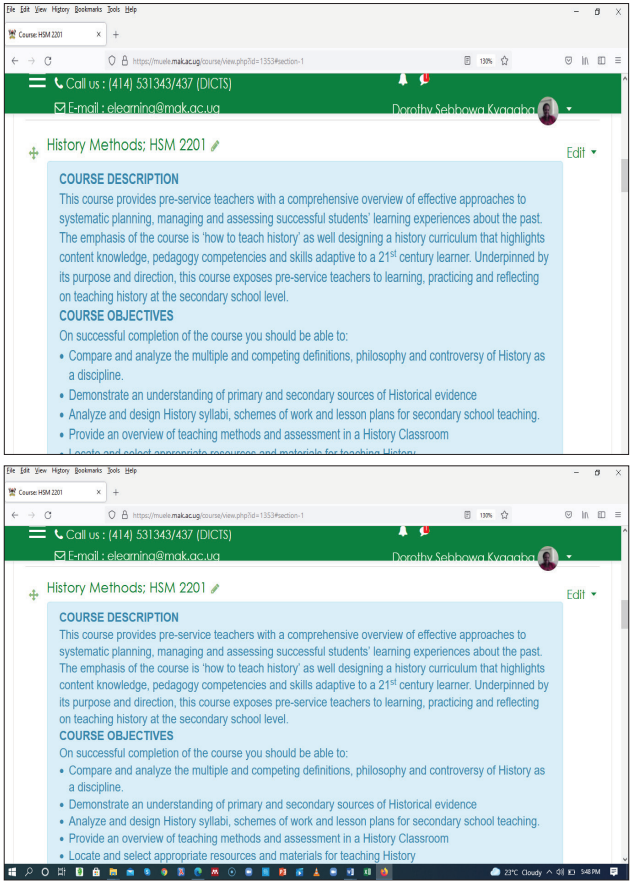

Image 1: Screenshot of the second-year history methods course hosted on MUELE
Source: https://muele.mak.ac.ug/

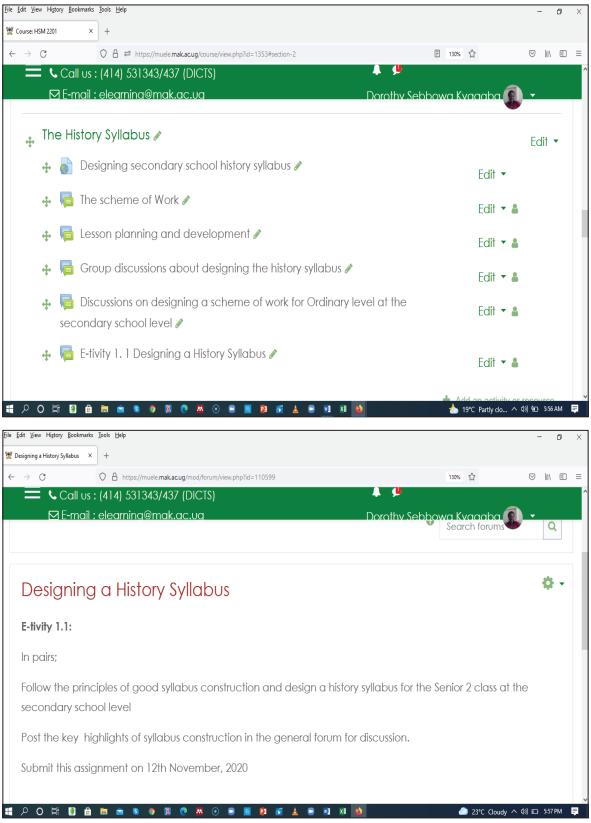

Image 2: A screenshot of the second-year history methods course with E-tivities
Source: https://muele.mak.ac.ug/

Following images 1 and 2 above, pre-service history teachers in their second year of study were required to enrol for the history methods course and engage with the teaching, learning content and online activities (E-tivities) on MUELE during the COVID-19 lockdown. The MUELE interface integrates various tools such as chat rooms, discussion forums, assignments and online quizzes, to make online teaching more efficient. The history methods course page was developed and maintained with course announcements, course description, course objectives, content outline, assignments, activities and a reading list.

Although I developed an online history methods course on MUELE, it was hard to ensure meaningful, in-depth learning with no practical illustrations of certain topics such as

designing a scheme of work and lesson plan. As such, very few pre-service history teachers posted questions in the chat, or engaged with online activities and guiding questions posted in the discussion forums.

As a teacher educator, I was concerned and asked students why they were not actively engaging with the history methods course and activities shared on the MUELE Platform. Many of them cited online constraints such as loss of or forgotten passwords for access, technical challenges, internet connectivity fluctuations, too many online assignments given at the same time. Worse still, some pre-service history teachers had not undertaken capacity-building trainings in the ODEL approach and others had a negative attitude towards online learning. As an educator, I suggest direction and provision of online space on MUELE to enable students to easily play with the user interface and acclimatise themselves with the online environment. Correspondingly, Mokoena (2013) argues that an educator must be sure to provide students with directions for online discussions that are simple, to the point that they are guided on what activity follows the other as well as appropriate technical support (user guides) for successful online learning.

Following the challenges with MUELE, presented in the preceding section, I embarked on alternative online teaching and learning platforms such as: Zoom, emails and WhatsApp. I requested the course coordinators/leaders to create WhatsApp groups and obtain emails from the respective pre-service history teachers. Thus, the WhatsApp group was formed and introductory messages and strict rules regarding the information were shared. Consequently, pre-service history teachers unanimously agreed that the history course notes and activities shared on Zoom, emails and WhatsApp groups afforded them easy access. Therefore, to facilitate a deeper understanding of the content taught on Zoom, I encouraged question and answer sessions afforded by chat, audios and breakaway sessions to facilitate group discussions of the topic under study. The Zoom sessions were collaborated with discussion groups on WhatsApp to elucidate the content knowledge and answer students' questions. Accordingly, (Guyver, 2013) argues that attaching relevance to history education requires teachers to transform historical content into lesson sessions and materials that identify and attend to students' learning styles and ideas.

However, I observed that, only 50 to 100 students, at most, out of over 250 attended the Zoom lecture sessions with others losing connectivity dropping off. The reasons for the low attendance might have been that some pre-service history teachers especially those from rural areas and disadvantaged backgrounds could not afford internet bundles, lacked laptops, smart phones, and computers while others engaged in agricultural activities during the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, some pre-service history teachers might have

faced a challenge of engaging with Zoom, as they had not been previously taught/oriented in the online learning mode. This is in conformity with Dlamini (2020) who observed that history trainees from the rural areas suffered the most, as they could not access the online lessons due to financial constraints, poor network coverage and negative attitudes towards ICTs. The remedy for this challenge was to download and print learning materials shared on Zoom to ease access to all the disadvantaged groups of students. Therefore, engagement with offline, downloadable, print learning materials should partially overcome the challenges related to ICT infrastructure and internet connectivity. Accordingly, Pokhrel and Chhetri, (2021) recommends that, in developing countries where the economically backward students are unable to afford online learning devices and data packages, it becomes increasingly relevant for students to engage in offline, print materials, activities and self-exploratory learning.

Given that, the pre-service history teachers had to engage with practicums of school practice and yet all schools where closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic; the School of Education adopted flexible supervision approaches to ensure the smooth running of teaching practice sessions. Pre-service teachers participated in microteaching sessions with a peer-to- peer teaching of a specific history topic/subtopic or concept of their choice under the guidance of the supervisor (teacher educator).

Following the partial lifting of the COVID-19 lockdown, the Ministry of Education and Sports in Uganda, provided guidance on the re-opening of universities for face-to-face teaching in a phased manner. This implied that cohorts of students would attend physical classes while others would stay online in alignment with the blended learning approach.

To supplement the narrative inquiry of my lived experience, I share the participants' findings and discussions in the proceeding sections.

Findings and discussions

The section presents and discusses the qualitative findings drawn from the case study of pre-service history teachers' reflections/narratives on the potentials, challenges and lessons learnt from teaching and learning history during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Potentials of learning history during the COVID-19 pandemic

Three major themes arose out of the data, namely: increase in self-study reading, learning

history facilitated by ICT tools and studying remotely at home is a learning space with less distraction from peers.

Increase in self-study reading:

Findings revealed that more self-reading and study of history textbooks, lecturers' notes and newspapers was done to facilitate the learning of history during the COVID-19 pandemic. As reflected in the salient qualitative sentiments below:

> *As students, we have done more reading of textbooks during this COVID- 19 period. Lecturers recommended a number of reading materials that we could access online, home libraries and internet. I have personally done extensive reading of documents and newspapers. A case in point is the course work that was given to us in Political ideas [course]; I completed it with the help of the New Vision Newspaper.* (Participant 3.2)

While another pre-service teacher remarked that,

> *I needed to supplement my understanding of the lecture notes shared on MUELE and emails through doing more reading of history texts. Some concepts were new to me yet I had no one to consult while at home.* (Participant 3.4)

The sentiments suggest that pre-service history teachers engaged in extensive reading and obtained content knowledge from history resources to supplement their lecture notes during the COVID-19 pandemic. These qualitative findings provide evidence that the COVID-19 period increased opportunities and unstructured time for individual reading and consultations from multiple sources of historical information in the online space. However, although the findings were representative of a limited number of case study participants, they provided useful insights into and evidence of increased self-study reading of history texts with minimal guidance of educators during the time of the pandemic, unlike the normal structured classroom setting.

These findings, however, contrasted with other research; Aguilera (2020) found that reading and concentrating from home during the COVID-19 period was difficult due to distractions from family members, noise and housework. Aguilera postulated that it was very challenging for students to engage in self-study reading since students view home as a relaxation space. Similarly, Tumwesige (2020) found that, 80% of Uganda's youth, including

university students, are from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, especially rural areas characterised with a lack of reading resources, and have no access to internet to obtain online reading materials. To this end, Pokhrel and Chhetri (2021) recommend online pedagogies that ensure flexibility with constant guidance and counselling sessions, since most students at home have undergone psychological and emotional distress, which prohibits their engagement in productive reading.

ICT tools facilitated learning history:

Qualitative findings indicated that, pre-service history teachers learnt history through the mediation of technological tools such as Zoom sessions, WhatsApp exchanges, emails and text messages during the pandemic. This is highlighted in the salient comments below:

> *I have learnt history during this pandemic period in innovative ways such as: participating in Zoom sessions organized by the lecturer; question and answer sessions on our history WhatsApp group, as well as reading lecture notes downloaded and printed out from MUELE. I am now ready to sit for the end of semester exams. I can't wait to sit in the tent in freedom square on graduation day.* (Participant 3.1)

While another pre-service history teacher lamented that,

> *Having waited for a long time I accessed my email from the School of Education Computer lab. I was able to save the lecture notes on flash disk printed them out and I read them while at home. However, I request lecturers to share notes on photocopies to ease and soften our life. Alternatively, students who cannot afford daily data are forwarded text messages so that they can receive communication in as far as the course notes are concerned.* (Participant 3.3).

The findings suggest that the COVID-19 pandemic period created opportunities for innovative ways of learning history through, Zoom, WhatsApp, downloading notes from MUELE and accessing emails. This therefore implies that, pre-service history teachers, engaged in extended questioning and answering sessions, group discussion forums, in Zoom breakaway rooms, MUELE and WhatsApp, increased their understanding of the history topics under study. These qualitative findings are in conformity with literature from Ali and Abdalgane (2020) and Bunt (2021) who found that the use of eLearning tools facilitated pedagogies of English literacy at a university in Saudi Arabia and History

Education at North-West University in South Africa during the pandemic. Correspondingly, Huang et al. (2020) and Czerniewicz (2020) recommend user-friendly, context and discipline specific ICT tools to enhance collaborative learning and knowledge construction between educators- students and students-students. However, findings indicate that access to ICT tools and data packages were expensive for some pre-service teachers who had to print lecture notes from the School of Education Computer lab. This sentiment echoes my earlier interpretation of engagement with offline, downloadable, print learning materials to address challenges related to ICT infrastructure and internet connectivity.

Studying remotely at home is a learning space with less distraction from peers:

Responses show that, pre-service history teachers studied conveniently at home with limited competition for resources and distraction from their peers. This is reflected in the qualitative sentiment below:

> *Facilities and resources at home have no competition at all. Moreover, there is no peer influence and distraction from course mates save for the noise coming from children in the neighborhood.* (Participant 2.1).

While another pre-service history teacher revealed that,

> *Studying from home reduces on incurring expenses such as public transport costs from home to campus, no accommodation costs at the hostels and halls of residence.* (Participant 2.4).

The findings are indicative of a positive dimension of studying history at home, with less distraction from peers coupled with no accommodation and public transport costs. This is in conformance with Dogar, Shah, Ali and Ijaz (2020) who argued that since the cost of public transport and accommodation constrain most students at universities in developing countries. The strategy of online learning during the COVID-19 pandemic proved a luxury and a great relief to both parents and students who do not have to incur daily public transport costs or accommodation costs in student halls of residences or hostels. On the contrary, Aguilera (2020) and Pokhrel and Chhetri (2021) observed that reading and studying remotely from home during the COVID-19 period proved difficult due to distractions from family members, noise, assisting parents in farm activities such as

agriculture, tending to cattle and household chores.

Challenges of learning history during the COVID-19 pandemic

Four major themes emerged from the challenges: ICT constraints, digital illiteracy, limited interactivity, social-emotional stress and financial constraints at home.

ICT constraints:

Findings revealed that, pre-service teachers faced access and log in challenges on the Learning Management System, MUELE. This is highlighted in the sentiments below;

> *I failed to log in to MUELE after several encounters as the system rejected my password at all times, efforts to reset password failed and I resorted to email. Moreover, I need to load internet data on my mobile phone on a daily basis which is very expensive to sustain as my family is suffering financially hardships due to the COVID-19 lockdown.* (Participant 2.2)

While another pre-service teacher indicated that,

> *There is a problem of system overload due to very many users on MUELE. Sometimes I log into MULELE and I lose direction and yet there is limited technical assistance for support and help. (*Participant 2.4)

The qualitative sentiments provide evidence of Dlamini's (2020) point that ICT constraints existed in higher education institutions in Sub Saharan Africa for decades, even before the rapid even before the rapid spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. Consistently, ICT related challenges such as lack of ICT tools, access and login constraints, and internet connectivity fluctuations have affected the online learning terrain ushered in by the pandemic. This, therefore, implies that educators and pre-service teachers, as agents of pedagogical change, need to adopt creative pedagogical approaches that can accommodate remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. From my own point of view, the challenge of internet connectivity fluctuations might be addressed by downloading history course content during off peak hours, working offline. Additionally, a MUELE user guide (content), short introductory video clips, ICT support desk and an online play space (without strict

rules and structures but for trial and errors) should be created on the LMS to address technical challenges as well as facilitate students' acclimatisation with online learning spaces. Correspondingly, Bunt (2021) advises history educators to keep video and audio recordings shorter than those for a traditional class for easy access on the LMS. Bunt postulates that since students learn from home during the COVID-19 pandemic they may not have access to platforms that require large amounts of data.

Digital illiteracy:

In some cases there is limited knowledge of ICT. For example, some students cannot connect to the MUELE application. The findings are indicative of the fact that, pre-service teachers did not have prior experience in learning online.

> *I did not know how to use MUELE and Zoom. I have a negative attitude towards using ICT tools in the teaching and learning process, they have never adequately trained us to use these tools. We were taught history using chalk and talk. It is always easy for one to teach the way one was taught. Therefore, my attitude has always been low in engaging with ICTs. The role of the teacher should still be vivid even with the existence of ICTs.* (Participant 2.3)

While another pre-service teacher said that,

> *Someone in the café in town helped me to create and email. I have always requested my friends to help me access my email. I do not want to engage with technologies because I have no skills to use computer, besides, they are very expensive to acquire, use and access.* (Participant 2.1)

This is in conformity with findings from Tumwesigiye (2020), who noted that the national challenges of poorly developed ICT infrastructure, high bandwidth costs, unreliable supply of electricity, and a general lack of resources to meet a broad spectrum of needs in Uganda, present an impediment to the delivery of content knowledge during the COVID-19 pandemic. Similarly, Dlamini (2020) observed that a lack of digital skills, in- appropriate ICT resources and data bundles among History Educators and teachers constrained the online learning of History Education in Higher Education in Eswatini during the COVID-19 pandemic. This, therefore, suggests a need for continuous capacity building and training of pre-service teachers, in-service teachers and teacher educators on the integrating with ICTs in history education. Professional trainings in integration of ICTs in history education

might sharpen digital skills and improve attitudes of both pre-service teachers and history educators.

Limited interactivity:

Findings highlighted a challenge of limited interactivity between pre-service teachers- pre-service teachers, and pre-service teachers- educators during the pandemic. In the case of pre-service teachers in their second year of study, there were limited online interactions.

> *I have not had any interaction with my lecturer. Sometimes, I ask questions on email and the lecturer takes long to respond. There is no immediate response from the lecturer in case of a burning question yet peers always provide wrong information on the WhatsApp group. Since we access notes from the emails or MUELE and print them out. The discussions on WhatsApp are not sustainable due to lack of data bundles. We just read the course lecture notes; cram the history concepts to pass the end of semester exams.* (Participant 2.3)

The sentiments suggest that online learning is constrained by limited interaction between the pre-service teachers and educators. Yet interactions in online learning forums promote deeper, meaningful learning, a sense of community and social connectivity between students and educators. This implies that history educators need to scaffold meaningful student interactions with online history activities that enhance group discussions, question and answer sessions and inquiries mediated by online platforms such as chat rooms, discussion forums, and WhatsApp and Zoom breakaway sessions. This is in accordance with Dlamini (2020) and Bunt (2021) who argue that shared negotiations and collaborative interpretations, where history trainees and history educators are actively engaged in the pedagogical process, are critical for successful online spaces.

Social- emotional stress at home:

The participants felt challenged by social and emotional stress (distractions) while at home. They were stressed, anxious and demotivated to learn since they feared getting infected with the COVID-19 virus. This is reflected in the representative comments below.

> *I have lost several relatives and friends to the COVID-19 disease. It is very hard for one to concentrate with studies if one's status is not known and yet one keeps interacting with*

> *community members. COVID-19 has brought too much uncertainty, we really need God's intervention.* (Participant 2.7)

While another pre-service teacher retorted that,

> *When you are at home, you have access to many more distractions such as constant visits from neighbors, community members, announcements of death and increase in COVID-19 cases on radios. Studying from home is exhausting. This is worsened by circulation of inaccurate information by fellow students through the WhatsApp groups.* (Participant 2.9)

While the qualitative sentiments suggest that, learning during the COVID-19 pandemic was constrained through distractions from home communities, the findings contrast with literature by Ssenkusu et al. (2021) and Pokhrel and Chhetri (2021) that presents the COVID-19 pandemic as an opportunity for educational institutions, families and communities to adapt unofficial pedagogies in terms of indigenous learning from home while participating in family, community and agricultural activities.

Financial constraints:

Financial constraints are often accompanied with a lack of basic needs such as food to cater for family members during the COVID-19 lockdown.

> *I can no longer engage in part-time teaching to earn money. My parents cannot work during this COVID-19 lockdown. We are financially constrained; at times, we have one meal a day other times we fail to get a meal. Besides, we have not received food from the government in our home; I cannot learn anything under such hard conditions.* (Participant 2.3)

The findings suggest challenges of financial hardships and lack of food as a basic need, which affected pre-service teachers' concentration in online learning. The above findings and sentiments are in conformity with Aguilera (2020) who found that, emotional challenges and financial hardships were major bottlenecks during the COVID-19 pandemic. Dlamini (2020) put forward that, the lockdown of schools and higher education institutions in Eswatini ushered in uncertainty, fears of income losses and isolation within staff and student communities which affected the quality of online teaching. Correspondingly, Ssenkusu et al. (2021) recommends engagement in indigenous knowledge of agriculture,

food production, cookery and animal husbandry to address the challenge of financial constraints and cater for food during the COVID-19 pandemic. Ssenkusu et al. argue that the pandemic created opportunities and sustained time for students to stay with their families and communities to engage in multitasking roles of agriculture to sustain their living and online learning.

Lessons learnt from teaching and learning history education at the School of Education, Makerere University during the COVID-19

There is a need for the continuous capacity building and training of pre-service history teachers and teacher educators on the integration of ICT in history education, ushered in by the new normal. Continuous training could lead to improved ICT skills, a change of attitude, mindset and the transformation of teaching and learning practices to accommodate innovative pandemic pedagogies (Ssenkusu et al., 2021) in history education. Equally, History educators should embrace discipline specific ICT tools such as mobile phones, WhatsApp, Zoom, Telegram, Google meet, Google docs, Voki, Screen- O-matic, Open Educational Resources and LMS with chat functions, discussion forums, wikis, blogs, big blue button, to cater for varied learning styles. Discipline specific ICT tools that require limited data to support continuous communication, active engagement, learner-centeredness and inquiries about the past are vital for a successful History Education online environment (Bunt, 2021).

Teacher Education programmes have to alter the way they train teachers to accommodate an online/blended learning approach in the new normal in order to prepare pre-service history teachers to transfer content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge to their future students. The new normal, dominated by technology and blended learning, requires history education to transform to online and learner- centred pedagogy to blend with the traditional pedagogical approaches. This therefore requires history educators to engage in proper planning, preparations, development of online content, interactive activities, ICT infrastructure and support policies of online/blended learning approaches. Accordingly, Atmojo and Nugroho (2020) and Bunt (2021) recommend proper planning with flexible deadlines, as history educators require more time to carry out a series of interactive activities, to keep pre-service teachers motivated and engaged to stay online, unlike in the normal physical classroom.

In the new normal, Higher Education institutions and schools should organise

with telecommunication companies to have all the institutional portals available to the students at zero rated data/charges for educational purposes. Additionally, to promote online learning during the COVID-19 lockdown and beyond, educational institutions should liaise with computer manufacturers on the possibility of obtaining affordable, yet good quality, laptops for students that can be paid off on a hire purchase basis over an agreed period. This will increase availability and ease of access to ICT infrastructure for educational purposes. The government must also invest in ensuring affordable access to the internet to support online education.

The digital divide in Uganda highlights an enormous inequality gap. This is reminiscent among the pre-service teachers as the highlighted challenges such as ICT constraints, unreliable electricity power supply, digital illiteracy and financial constraints continue to widen the education gap between the privileged and the deprived. The use of context specific tools such as radio, television, tax-free internet packages, print media and mobile phones, accessible to students and educators, might be a powerful way of bridging the digital divide in the education sector and also reach out to rural areas (UNESCO, 2020 ; Czerniewicz, 2020).

LMS such as MUELE ought to be user-friendly for students and faculty members. There is a need for downloadable guidelines and for personnel to offer technical guidance to students to ease access and login to MUELE. There is also a need for an online training manual and guide for use by staff and students. MUELE user guide (content), short introductory video clips, ICT support desk and an online play space (without strict rules and structures but for trial and errors) should be created on the LMS to address technical challenges as well as facilitate students' acclimatisation with online learning spaces.

Conclusion

The coronavirus pandemic highlights the ongoing need for online and blended approaches in history education to avoid total curriculum disruption and the difficulties of studying at home**.** Consequently, teacher education institutions and schools may need to transform their ways of teaching and learning history to accommodate deeper and meaningful learner-centred approaches in the new normal. This demands that institutions ensure that history educators and pre-service history teachers undertake constant professional trainings in online pedagogical strategies, digital literacy and obtain support to secure adequate technology and bandwidth (Dlamini, 2020). The key lesson learnt is for students to learn to

engage with offline downloadable print learning materials, and discipline specific low-end technologies that require limited data packages in history education. It is hoped that such technologies will partially overcome pandemic challenges such as of ICT infrastructure, and internet connectivity. Although this research is limited to Makerere University, particularly the History Education Unit, following the narrative inquiry of researcher experience and case study of pre-service history teachers' narratives and reflections on History Education during the Covid-19 pandemic; it provides insights that can strengthen the pedagogical terrain and universities' collective response to COVID-19 in the new normal and into the future. There is need for a more extensive study to establish how these qualitative findings relate to wider contexts in university settings.

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Practical history lessons as a tool for generating procedural knowledge in history teaching

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Abstract

Situated in the context of philosophy of history, this article explains the use of substantive concepts and procedural concepts to generate historical understanding and examines the relationship between the two forms of historical knowledge. The paper makes use of both primary (original views of authors) and secondary (views of other authors) materials. The paper notes that substantive knowledge and procedural knowledge play complementary roles in the acquisition of historical understanding. It is argued, in light of the dominant position of substantive knowledge over procedural knowledge, that attention should be given to procedural knowledge as it introduces students to the processes by which history

is constructed. The article proposes the use of practical history lessons as a conduit for developing procedural knowledge and attaining historical understanding.

Keywords: History; History curriculum; Philosophy of history; Practical history lessons; Procedural knowledge; substantive knowledge; Teaching of history.

Introduction

The unbalanced relationship between procedural knowledge (know-how knowledge) – knowing how to do something, and substantive knowledge (know-that knowledge) – knowing that something is the case (Bertram, 2009; Fordham, 2017) in the teaching of history is one of the main challenges in history education. This issue has come about as a result of the emphasis history curricula, textbooks and teachers place on substantive concepts at the expense of procedural concepts. Several research reports and seminal papers in history education have articulated historical knowledge as consisting of two major aspects. This follows the work of Peter Lee, who theorised that historical knowledge comprises substantive and procedural concepts (Lee, 1983). Substantive concepts make up the content of history that often characterise traditional history. The knowledge derived from these concepts, called substantive knowledge, refers to knowledge of the past: people, events, ideas, cultures, societies and organisations (Fordham, 2017). Most often, substantive knowledge is represented in the history curriculum or syllabus under various themes. They are the topics taught in class to help students "understand ideas and concepts which emanate from the study of a historical topic as well as the factual details they are presented with, if they are to 'transform' the learning experience into knowledge and understanding" (Haydn, Stephen, Arthur & Hunt, 2014:52). Procedural concepts "are ideas that provide our understanding of history as a discipline or form of knowledge" (Lee & Ashby, 2000:199) and characterise history as an active construction of knowledge (Vygotsky, 1978). Essentially, procedural concepts are knowledge-in-use structures that shape and guide the disciplinary inquiry of history (VanSledright, 2004, 2009). These include concepts like cause, effect, significance, change, continuity and evidence. The knowledge derived from these procedural concepts is called procedural knowledge, which concerns the knowledge of history as a discipline and how historians do history: the methods of historians, their sources of data, their epistemological assumptions, and their conceptual frameworks (Fordham, 2017).

Substantive and procedural knowledge form the core of historical knowledge and must, therefore, be complementary to each other in history teaching. Shemilt (1980) argues, in light of this, that the working concepts of history are inextricable from the stuff-and-substance of the discipline that support deeper historical thought. However, the available literature suggests a different case, pointing to the unequal attention given to procedural knowledge. Hammarlund (2012), for instance, argues that procedural knowledge often tends to be neglected as a focal point of history lessons. Similarly,

Levesque (2008) notes that procedural concepts are seldom perceptible in use; they are often left hidden in historians' investigations and even more so in teaching in schools, thereby leading to the naive assumption that they do not influence historical inquiry and are, thus, unworthy of study. Some research reports (Rouet, Favart, Britt, & Perfetti, 1997; Wineburg, 1991; Britt & Aglinskas, 2002) indicate that most students lack historical thinking skills that are obtained from procedural knowledge. Oppong (2018) argues that the lack of procedural knowledge among students suggests that students are not exposed to it in history instruction. Perhaps, this may explain why assessment in history is always skewed to favour first-order or substantive knowledge. It is reported that assessment tasks, especially external examinations, do not contribute positively to the development of historical skills, and are quite often focused on low-level cognitive skills without enhancing the promotion of historical skills (Hunt, 2007; Samuelsson, 2019). It is logical to assume that the pressure or the technical need to cover specific contents in a limited amount of time for standardised assessment purposes leaves history teachers with no other choice than to concentrate on substantive knowledge (Boadu, Donnelly & Sharp, 2020). However, Perkins (1992) has argued that history teaching, exclusively designed around substantive historical knowledge, can result in fragile knowledge and students' understanding of history could be limited and rigid. It is essential to note, however, that the situation has not been the same everywhere. In Britain, for example, there has been a shift from emphasis on the facts of historical knowledge to procedural knowledge since the 1960s when the Schools' Council, established in 1963, began to ask fundamental questions about the organisation and structure of the curriculum in England and Wales. The Council eventually developed a tradition of teaching history which emphasised constructivist models of learner engagement with the past, world history, the experiences of a variety of groups, and a focus on historical skills (Bertram, 2009:50). Also, in South Africa, research has shown that history curriculum reformers have embraced the procedural dimension of studying history (Bertram, 2009). The situation in South Africa is such that some scholars are convinced that "there is an inherent danger … that the focus on procedural knowledge can overshadow substantive knowledge" (Bertram, 2009:45).

We argue, like many other history education researchers, that the history teacher's role must not be limited to the production of the facts of historical knowledge for learners to consume; it must also include the effort to develop learners' skills of historical inquiry and their ability to analyse sources and evidence from historical perspectives (Bertram, 2009). Students must be introduced to the nature of historical evidence, the nature of reasoning from evidence and the problem of reconstruction from incomplete evidence

(Wineburg, 2001). The history teacher must teach students to appreciate the discipline as an inquiry cycle, which begins with learners asking key historical questions; then gathering sources to answer the questions; analysing, interpreting and organising the sources; and communicating the answers (Bertram, 2009). Learners also need to understand the procedures and assumptions that make history a discipline of inquiry. They must be taught to develop critical thinking, to acquire knowledge of classifications, principles and generalisations; to know the interrelationships among basic elements; and to appreciate the view that "historical truth consists of a multiplicity of voices expressing varying and often contradictory versions of the same history" (Bertram, 2009:51). In essence, students need to learn how to know history, as Seixas (1999) argues, and understand history as constructed and contested rather than as an absolute truth (Bertram, 2009).

In view of this, we consider practical history lessons as an appropriate approach to generating a grasp of procedural knowledge which could in turn contribute to historical understanding. This would not only avoid knowledge limitation on the part of students, but also provide the opportunity for students to appreciate the disciplinary nature of history. Hammarlund (2012) emphasises that learning to know and understand history is very much a case of 'learning by doing', just as learning chemistry or physics can only be achieved by engaging in some practical sessions. Just as one cannot become a chemist or physicist by only reading chemistry and physics textbooks, one also cannot learn history and become a practising historian by only reading history textbooks and listening to history lectures. One must do history by oneself to grasp and appreciate the methodological considerations involved. This explains the need for practical history lessons that allow history teachers and students to have time to engage in the practice of the historian. Practical lessons provide opportunities for teachers to engage students in the work of historians, as the disciplinary nature requires, and provide effective modelling activities for students. Using both primary (original views of authors) and secondary (views of other authors) materials, this article makes a strong argument for the incorporation of practical history lessons in history education.

Methodology

This paper is a positional one. A position paper is a piece of work that presents an arguable opinion of experts on certain fields about critical issues. Works of this nature usually express the views of the authors on the issues or problems they address. In order to strengthen their positions, these authors often draw on and make use of the ideas of authors with

whom they share the same views. Accordingly, the views expressed in this paper are the original opinions of the authors, supported by the views of other authors. In light of this, the paper made use of both primary (original views of authors) and secondary (views of other authors) materials in its compilation.

The nature and scope of philosophy of history

Philosophy is the systematic investigation of the principles and presuppositions of any endeavour (Philosophy Lander Education, 2004). Philosophy of history denotes the systematic inquiry into the principles and assumptions of history. History covers the totality of past human thoughts and actions, the accounts constructed about them, and how these shape the present and the future. The nature and scope of history demand two quite distinct categories or separate fields for philosophy or interpretation of history: critical or methodological or analytical philosophy of history and speculative or synoptic or comprehensive philosophy of history. The terms 'formal' and 'material' are also widely used to distinguish between the two kinds of philosophy of history respectively (Mandelbaum, 1952). Speculative philosophy of history attempts to understand the course of historical events. It investigates the content of history in an attempt to discover a general pattern or meaning underlying historical events which the ordinary historian finds difficult to detect. As Gardiner (1972) argues, the fundamental aim of speculative interpretations of history is to provide a general, all-encompassing account of the course of history, presenting it in a way which shows that the events that constitute or form the building blocks of the account form a coherent pattern or reveal the operation of certain pervasive laws or tendencies. The aim of this comprehensive account could also be to suggest that, considered as a whole, history has a meaning or purpose, whose nature can be made clear and intelligible. A speculative philosophy of history is, thus, a systematising of human knowledge and human thought within the realm of historical facts. Usually, a speculative philosophy of history is the personal interpretation, judgement or theory of the individual who formulates it (Gardiner, 1972). Formulators of speculative theories, for example, find reasons for events, and show how events at different times and different places resemble each other. They theorise about the common features of events, by making generalisations and statements that sum up the regularities which they discover. Based on the generalisations, theorists go to the extent of predicting the future. A speculative philosophy of history cannot be verified as can historical events or historical facts. Its validity lies only with its formulator or originator. Nevertheless, a speculative philosophy of history, if logically formulated, can

change the course of history. It provides an explanation of human events and a justification of history as a discipline. Thus, a philosophy of history can exert an enormous influence on the shaping of the world. A good example is Karl Marx's theory of historical materialism, which found political implementation in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and some of the developing countries.

The critical or formal aspect of philosophy of history deals with the methods and inquiry into the nature of history, the relationship between history and other disciplines, and the contemporary scientific and technological values of history. This is done with the basic aim of locating history on the map of knowledge (Dray, 1964). Critical philosophy of history investigates the logic and epistemology of history. It deals with such subjects or topics as methods and methodology in history, the nature of historical explanation, truth and facts in history, objectivity in history, and the argument that history is a science. Critical interpretation of history also considers such issues as the characteristic ways in which historians approach their subject-matter, the manner in which they argue for and validate their accounts and explanations, the kinds of concepts they typically employ and the frameworks and schemes in terms of which they order and arrange their material, the part played by imagination and understanding in their interpretations of human character and motivation, among others (Gardiner, 1972). The critical or formal aspect of philosophy of history is, thus, the systematic study of history as a story.

It must be appreciated that just as philosophy of science still generates interest on the part of natural or physical scientists, so does critical philosophy of history on the part of historians and philosophers. And just as philosophy of nature is now somewhat outdated, so is speculative philosophy of history (Dray, 1964; Gardiner, 1972). However, despite its nature, speculative philosophy of history continues to appeal to some scholars, probably because of the significance they attach to an understanding of historical events, or the strong expectation that history should be meaningful (Dray, 1964:2). Consequently, speculative philosophy of history is studied for its insights or significant viewpoints. The two kinds of philosophy of history play complementary roles. Speculative philosophy of history is like an experiment. Having made a suggestion about the way we should understand a fundamental concept, the formulator of the theory tries to fit the clarified version into the relevant linguistic environment of the concept, unrefined, and test it against the accepted facts which that concept is used to express. Contradiction and disparity count as refuting the thesis that the concept is as the formulator has supposed it to be for purposes of critical analysis.

It could be argued that not only does one realise that procedural knowledge and

substantive knowledge form part of the issues that concern philosophy of history, but one also finds that there is a relationship between procedural knowledge and analytical philosophy of history, on the one hand, and between substantive knowledge and speculative philosophy of history, on the other hand. The reason is that the concepts and methodological procedures involved in procedural knowledge are among those examined in analytical philosophy of history. Furthermore, both speculative philosophy of history and substantive knowledge are concerned with the substance of historical knowledge. Similarly, while the scholarly community of inquiry pays more attention to analytical philosophy of history and advocates for the systematic introduction of procedural knowledge (Barton 2011), evidence from classrooms shows a minimal commitment to procedural understanding as the conceptual tools that procedural knowledge produces are often unarticulated by teachers in history lessons (Samuelsson, 2019). Perhaps, these procedural concepts are not explicit in history curricula as their acquisition is often expected to result from the teaching of the substantive topics without a clear framework as to how both forms of understanding could be attained, a concern for which Boadu (2020) proposes an outcomes-based approach to history teaching. For instance, Levesque (2005) notes that history teachers in Canada commonly expect students to absorb procedural knowledge by osmosis, as they learn the substance of history.

Procedural knowledge and substantive knowledge: complementary or competing demands?

As noted in the introduction, historical knowledge embodies two frames; substantive and procedural concepts. Substantive or first-order concepts include accidents (such as deaths), calamities (such as pandemics), civilisations, democracy, migrations, nation-state, revolts, revolutions, societies and wars, among others. Procedural or second-order concepts, on the other hand, include cause, change, continuity, effect, evidence, and significance.

The question that needs to be asked and addressed is: Do procedural knowledge and substantive knowledge complement or compete in the teaching of history? The ideal response is that the two should complement each other for purposes of achieving the ends for which the study of history is designed. However, this is not the case in most history teaching. Although the two forms of knowledge should co-exist in school curricula to give history its specialised status, substantive knowledge has enjoyed successive prominence over procedural knowledge. History teachers preoccupy themselves with content coverage in history lessons without stressing or taking students through the methods that produce

the substantive knowledge. This implementation gap derives from the curriculum and examination structures of most countries which, in turn, compel history teachers to design and implement history lessons to fit those structures (Hammack & Wilson 2019; Samuelsson, 2019). This is to say that national curriculum content coverage requirements and mandated unit examinations place marginal importance on the acquisition of procedural knowledge in history teaching. Peck and Seixas (2008) assert that history assessment often lacks some of the qualities found in the subject. There is an obvious constraint on second-order knowledge acquisition. Therefore, if students are not assessed on how they acquire procedural knowledge, then it is acceptable, on the part of teachers, not to occupy instructional space and time with procedural knowledge acquisition. Accordingly, it can be argued that if students desire to acquire procedural knowledge in the study of history, then teachers' instructions are not the only option. Perhaps, students could acquire procedural knowledge through finding out, on their own, what frames have been used for the construction of already completed works. Most often, history course books do not describe the process through which a conclusion is supported by factual arguments (Hammarlund, 2012). It implies that the available books that students use in the study of history do not explicitly contain procedural knowledge that students can easily learn.

In view of this problem, research reports and seminal papers in history education have called for a shift in history teaching to address this gap. Consequently, school history teaching has witnessed a change that has often been described as a shifting of balance from content to skills. For instance, The School Council History Project and project CHATA (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches) argued that history curriculum development should move from traditional memory-based history to one that engaged students in an inquiry process that actively utilised historical procedural concepts in the construction of historical knowledge (Lee, Dickinson, & Ashby, 1996; Shemilt, 1980). However, it seems that content and skills have often been seen as conflicting opposites which has, in turn, led to raging debates when national history curricula are designed (Hammarlund, 2012). This observation is not only true, but also very disturbing, because procedural knowledge still appears to be where it is despite Shemilt's proposal that it should be given more emphasis. That is, procedural knowledge still does not feature prominently in the teaching of history in many schools (Oppong, 2018). Oppong's reasoning appears to substantiate Perkins' (1992) observation. Perkins noted that procedural knowledge is marginalized in most history classrooms. Shemilt (1980) has also stressed that the two concepts are inseparable in history as procedural concepts support the appreciation of substantive concepts. Hence, without procedural knowledge, it would be difficult to make sense of the substance of the

past, as they shape the doing of history (Newmann, 2012). They are inter-twined and are both fundamental to the work of historians. However, all arguments to promote procedural knowledge seem to have been acknowledged and accepted on paper but not in practice. The reason is that history students do not seem to be given the opportunity to engage in any historical activity that seeks to provide procedural knowledge (Martin, 2012; Oppong, 2018). As such, we need to seek alternatives to address the imbalance.

History as a science and practical history lessons: the argument

Several scholars explain history as a study of relevant past events and activities of humans in society (Adjepong, 2020). The emphasis on study draws attention to history as a scientific academic discipline. Some scholars do not accept the view that history is a scientific discipline. However, there is enough evidence to show that history is a science, like any other discipline that employs the scientific method in its pursuit of knowledge. The reason is that when historians set out to discover and interpret human actions and experiences, they employ critical thinking to produce scientific history or a historical work based on objective empiricism. The historian can critically verify and evaluate their facts and write history based on empirical evidence. Ajaegbo (2013:10) insists that "Empiricism is not the monopoly of [natural] scientists. Facts are not tested in laboratories alone; they can be investigated and cross-checked in the field as well". Ajaegbo (2013) concludes that in the pursuit of their profession, historians draw from many primary sources, employ the knowledge of other disciplines and endeavour to be as scientific or empirical as possible in their quest to establish historical truth. Certainly, without the historian's interpretation of the records, the records themselves could not help us understand certain basic facts about the human past. Thus, though some people argue that the historian should only reconstruct the past without offering any explanations for the facts, modern historians do interpret their facts to make their works more intelligible and relevant for both practical and theoretical purposes. And these interpretations, as Ajaegbo (2013) emphasises, are done scientifically and, as a result, produce scientific results, which make history a science, both as a body of knowledge and a method of inquiry, and the historian a scientist.

Of course, the view that historical interpretations are scientific, trying to answer the how and why questions of historical events, implies that history is a science. In fact, many historians, and scholars in related fields, confirm the scientific nature of history by insisting that there is no clear-cut distinction between history and the natural or physical sciences,

and, for that matter, history is a science. If we accept the view that science deals with objects, entities, things and their relations, and that the focus of scientific investigations is the study of change in objects, entities and things, then we should appreciate that history is also a science in view of the similarities in the scientific method and the historical method. Hence, history requires practical lessons as do the natural sciences. Practical history lessons could be achieved with recourse to the ontology of history and its associated epistemological and methodological dissensus. It is argued that the diverse ontological and methodological orientations, historians explore in their investigation of the past, present useful opportunities for teachers to guide students through relevant activities to understand the multiple ways of arriving at historical conclusions, which could furnish students with procedural understanding. The scientific method is both deductive and inductive in nature, and this is the same with the historical method. In both natural science and history, the deductive approach is usually adopted to handle questions of consistency – to treat issues of simple generalisations. In dealing with questions of evolution and change, however, the deductive method helps much less towards finding answers, and so scientists often resort to the inductive method. Lewis (1965) maintains that in studying how things emerge and why they change, or to understand how or why something happens, we look at the facts themselves, and that is to say that we apply the inductive method to historical data. Essentially, the historical method, which shares the spirit of the scientific method, is the procedure adopted in history to explain or elucidate a given present by stating its antecedents in time, or to describe how the present came to be what it is. This method involves the recognition of three things: an existent present; a point of departure or beginning; and a series of occurrences connecting the origin with the present (Teggart, 1960). Evidently, history is a science because, although it concerns itself with events, it also studies evolution and change in events in society and, as such conceived, leads to scientific investigations (Teggart, 1960; Boahen, 2000).

As a rider to the practical nature of history, students, teachers, and historians rely on sources of history to acquire historical knowledge. The term 'sources of history' refers to a vast and diverse body of materials (or conditions) that serve as testimonies or evidences of human activities and events of the past. The historian works with materials through the medium of traces which past events have left behind them. They were realities of the times in which they happened. Historical events leave impressions, some of which are recorded by observers and non-observers who might rely directly or indirectly on the reports of observers (Burston, 1972). In other words, the subject-matter of history is partially irretrievable. Thus, barring the invention of time-travel, no scholar can experience the past

first-hand or recreate its conditions in a laboratory setting. Historians rely on fragmentary records that survive from the period under study, which necessarily reveal only portions of the stories of the past. For these reasons, the guiding principles behind all historical writing has been selection and interpretation. Thus, thoughtful selection of topics and questions that seem most interesting accompany a reasonable interpretation of sources in order to construct meaningful arguments to guide historical writing. For students to meaningfully select and interpret available materials largely depends on the possession of prerequisite knowledge or skills to carry out the task effectively. Therefore, for students to appreciate the disciplinary nature of history, they ought to have knowledge of procedural concepts.

Again, access to the past is largely governed by artefacts and residue left behind by those who lived. These include diaries, letters, journals, public records, newspapers, archaeological artefacts, pictures, paintings, chroniclers' and historians' interpretations. Those who make a living inquiry into the past, divide the artefacts and historical residue into two types: primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include diaries and personal journals compiled by people who actually witnessed or participated in an event about which they report. Secondary sources include history textbooks or historical chronicles written by people who were not present at the events they recount but who have studied and interpreted the available primary sources. Historical sources form a type of evidence, chain, or trail that must be thoroughly pieced together into carefully reasoned interpretations of past events. This piecing-together that learners and teachers do to make sense of past artefacts and residues has been somewhat dominated by mere recital of historical facts by students. To avoid mere recitals and to do a more skilled interpretation of primary and secondary sources, special practical history sessions in schools are required in history education. In such sessions, teachers and students should be engaged in activities that historians adopt to make meanings from the artefacts and residue of the past. In so doing, students will acquire the appropriate skills of the historian. As Whitehouse (2015) observes, students must engage in historical thinking on the same basis as historians do. This will help to avoid reading historical texts in problematic ways.

A call for practical history lessons in schools is, therefore, not a misplaced one, but rather a need in history education. The pedagogical implication is that the teaching and learning of history should be based on discipline-based theory. This requires that teaching connects students to the active nature of doing history (Barton & Levstik, 2004:7). Therefore, practical lessons enable teachers and students to have hands-on-activity in the classroom. In these lessons, teachers are expected to practise with students how to deduce meanings from historical raw materials. For instance, in a particular session, students can

be taken through primary historical documents. Since, it is a practical session, teachers will have time to guide students to read, analyse, and write critically when evaluating those primary historical documents. This exercise requires really time, like a practical session, to unpack points of view and situate events within historical contexts. Students cannot easily achieve this in a didactic history class. And as Wineburg (2001) notes, students do not mechanically place historical sources in context, source them and corroborate them when reading documents. Therefore, the task is an unnatural act and needs to be explicitly taught to them. This suggests that students should specifically be taught how to digest primary documents as historians do, using, for example, Reisman and Wineburg's (2008) framework: sourcing, contextualization, close reading and corroboration. In the end, students will acquire these skills in practice. Levesque (2008:171) makes the point and argues that students who want to think historically must "engage in analytic practices allowing them to study and question the competing historical accounts they encounter and ultimately to construct their own historical arguments and interpretations, using the agreed-on procedures, concepts, and standards of the discipline".

To add to the study of primary documents, teachers could engage students in the study of other historical relics. How historians work with relics is also important for students to know. Practical lessons could be used to examine such historical remains. As science students work with materials to appreciate the nature of things, as they seek to become scientists, history students ought to be engaged in similar practical sessions as they pursue history to become historians. The practical study of historical remains allows students to, firstly, appreciate the processes of change in history and, secondly, understand the developmental pattern in historical theory. It must be noted that history employs a system of appropriate procedures for the attainment of historical truth. These procedures govern the search for materials, the appraisal and analysis of materials, and the presentation of materials. History students cannot depart from these procedures in the study of history. Consequently, the appropriate procedures that historians use to compile substantive knowledge in history will also be acquired by students through practical sessions. In the end, students acquire historical thinking elements like historical significance, change and continuity, progress and decline, evidence, and historical empathy. In fact, without these concepts, history education becomes knowledge acquisition and memorisation of dates and places.

Implication for teacher education, history curriculum and assessment

The call of this article also leads to questions about the current structure of history teacher education programmes, history curricula and assessment. Practical history lessons without the requisite reform-minded teacher education programmes, curriculum and assessment will create gaps in classroom implementation. This is to avoid teachers being placed in difficult situations when considering the implementation of the proposal of practical history lessons. The strength of teachers' disciplinary understanding, in conjunction with their visions, dispositions, and tools, influences the extent to which they are able or unable to implement reform-minded practices. To avoid a mismatch, teacher education programmes ought to be realigned with this proposal to equip history teacher-trainees with the requisite skills to carry out their work effectively. Given that many aspiring history teachers will enter teacher education without strong disciplinary understanding, trainee teachers should be trained in the rudiments of the discipline to acquire the right disciplinary understanding and the appropriate pedagogical content knowledge needed to execute the reforms in schools. Thus, history teacher trainee programmes should be redesigned to reflect the proposal being made. In the redesigned programme, history teacher candidates should be exposed to designed lessons that promote historical interpretation and learn how to make historical thinking central to their instruction. Similarly, it will be necessary to have practical sessions in teacher education programmes as it is being suggested. In this instance, teacher trainees should be supported by their university instructors to implement practices grounded in the discipline. Courses on the methods of teaching history should provide teachers with professional learning techniques in which they learn with and from their instructors (Westheimer, 2008). This will address the right knowledge acquisition for in-coming teachers. More recent research (Hartzler-Miller, 2001; van Hover & Yeager, 2003, 2004; VanSledright, 1996) has shown that having an understanding of the discipline is important to teaching historical thinking and historical interpretation in today's history classrooms.

Practising history teachers cannot be left out in this proposal. Practising history teachers need continuous professional development training in the thinking skills of the discipline because many teachers may lack adequate disciplinary knowledge and skill to carry out the reform. As Ravitch (1987) points out, it is not likely for history teachers who are themselves unfamiliar with procedural knowledge to engage their students in high levels of historical thinking. But with the necessary support of a professional development

community, practising teachers are likely to embrace the proposed reform.

The study also acknowledges previous research (e.g., van Hover & Yeager, 2003, 2004; VanSledright & James, 2002) that has revealed the challenges of teaching historical thinking within a larger policy context that prioritises standardisation and content coverage. Enacting a proposal that promotes procedural knowledge may pose a challenge to curriculum policy and standardised assessment. Curriculum policy on history education certainly ought to receive reform attention. In most history curricula, coverage of content knowledge is emphasised over disciplinary understanding. This is reflected in the curriculum pacing guides and assessments that prioritise names, places, dates and events in history rather than disciplinary thinking. History teachers are, therefore, compelled to cover the content in the pacing guides within certain time constraints. As such, to overcome any possible curricula challenge, the history curriculum must be redesigned to cater for both content and grounded structures as the discipline is made of. This is to ensure that the two knowledge requirements of the discipline are given equal space and time in the curriculum. Currently, most history curricula and assessments cover a significant amount of content. As already argued, both depend on each other and, therefore, should enjoy equal attention. Instructional materials such as handbooks and teachers' guides should be provided to support practical instructional sessions. School timetables should also have flexibility to accommodate the proposed reform.

The implications extend beyond teacher education and history curriculum modification to assessment. This is more important because if all the suggestions proposed are carried out, but the assessment of students by authorised institutions continue to focus on testing students' substantive knowledge, then the desired change will not be realised. Therefore, if it is established that students will not be assessed on procedural knowledge in their terminal or final examinations, then, obviously, history teachers will not prioritise the teaching of procedural knowledge as it is being recommended. The call here is to suggest that a practical lesson requires practical assessment just as it is done in the natural sciences. In this assessment, primary historical documents could be given to students as examination materials with the appropriate instruction to test specific skills contained in the redesigned history curriculum. Such an approach will provide all the necessary attention procedural knowledge deserves in modern history education.

Conclusion

This article has reappraised the unequal positions of substantive and procedural knowledge in the teaching of history in schools. As mentioned, substantive knowledge has historically enjoyed a predominant position over procedural knowledge in the history curricula of most countries due to their overemphasis of the substance of history as against its process.

It has been argued that both forms of knowledge must be developed together in order to produce students with a historical gaze (Bertram, 2009:59). The paper presents a reform structure to history education which demonstrates that history as a discipline has a practical dimension which is significant to a better understanding of the substance of history. Consequently, we have attempted here to propose that practical history lessons should feature in the teaching of history as this will encourage students' practical engagement with historical materials. Our belief is that practical history lessons will expose students to the process component of history and its associated procedural concepts and contribute to historical understanding. Ultimately, the use of practical history lessons in the teaching of history can make the subject more interesting to many students.

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Teachers Voice

Pretoria Archaeology Club for Schools: Bridging the gap between archaeology and the school history curriculum

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Archaeology and the knowledge gap

The Society for American Archaeology (n.d.) defines archaeology as "the study of the ancient and recent human past through material remains". Archaeology is one of those heritage-related subjects that should involve Black people narrating their own stories. Unfortunately, it has not received much attention from the Black community. The main reason for this lack of attention can be attributed to the fact that the subject is not included in the school syllabus. In addition, it has also been presented in a way that has excluded Black people. Archaeology has been excluded from Black schools (Esterhuysen, 2000), as well as at university level. According to Ndlovu (2009:92) "African students were not given adequate opportunity and support to partake regularly in fieldwork". This was due to past politics and the fear that giving equal access to education to Black learners would make them competent in the job market, politics, and economy (Esterhuysen, 2000). According to Zarmati (2020:247), from the 1850s, archaeology was used by Europeans "to define their perceived distinctiveness". In most cases, Black people were used as knowledge providers and subjects of study, and not necessarily the narrators or 'discoverers' of evidence. It has therefore attracted a great deal of politics in terms of involvement. This situation has also created an environment where archaeology is regarded as a discipline for White people (Ndlovu, 2009:91).

Vijand (2019:67) argues that the discipline has not been included in the school curriculum in general, except on an occasional basis when learners might be given a related project. This implies that the gap not only exists in Black schools but schools in general. Perhaps it can be argued that the knowledge gap exists because no mention of the discipline is made in some schools, while in other schools misinformation and misinterpretations

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about the discipline abound. Over the years, there has been some ground work by various academics to try to bridge this gap by making archaeology part of the history subject so that learners can have access to prehistorical knowledge. Archaeology has also been used as a tool for decolonisation and empowerment, especially for Indigenous people (Zarmati, 2020:247). Sadly, as discussed by Zarmati (2020:250-251), many factors have stood in the way of making the teaching of archaeology in schools possible. The main issues have been that teachers are not trained to be archaeologists and vice versa. Also, most history teachers do not have the archaeological knowledge background to teach it to learners. Zarmati (2020:248) also mentions that most learners confuse archaeology and palaeontology. In support of this, Zarmati (2020:248) further states that most people usually link archaeology to dinosaurs. This is very common, even among adults. The media has also played a role in how archaeology is perceived by learners and the public in general. Popular movies such as *Tomb Raider*, *The Awakening*, *The Mummy*, and *Indiana Jones*, to mention a few, have popularised archaeology. Popularising the field has, however, often caused misinterpretations of the discipline, leading many people to think that studying archaeology involves going on an adventure of raiding tombs or even discovering spooky mummies. Image 1 indicates the knowledge gap and misrepresentation that exist regarding the discipline.

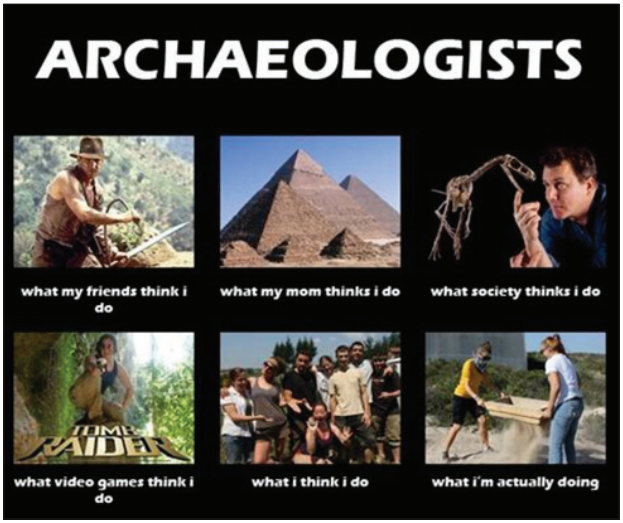

Image 1: Archaeologists meme
Source: Memes Monkey (n.d.)

Personal experience as an archaeology student

As someone who comes from the township of Mamelodi and who had no previous knowledge of archaeology, I became fascinated by this discipline when I learned of it during a university open day. I decided that I was going to study it even though my family and friends did not understand what I would be studying. In the beginning, I also did not understand what I was studying and became worried whether I would be able to make a sustainable career out of this field. I wanted a career that would help me make money but I was torn between my new-found passion and making a living. I soon realised that the field is multidisciplinary, and I could turn it into a sustainable career. One of the main realisations as a student was that there were very few Black students who took archaeology as a subject. It also seemed that White students were more knowledgeable about the field. It dawned on me that there was a racial knowledge gap since it seemed that the White students were more knowledgeable about the field. Because of this, I thought that perhaps the field was not for me. The study in general was not easy for me. I found it difficult to learn and understand certain areas of the discipline, but that did not deter me. Instead, I wanted to ensure that I become one of the few Black archaeologists in the country. Going on my first field school was a great experience for me; so much so that I wanted more Black students to have such an experience. Field schools include being away from the classroom and camping near the archaeological site that is being researched. They are set up to teach practical archaeological work outside the classroom. This is where students learn to dig or excavate, map, and survey, as well as learning about the various materials that can be found during an excavation, and what the materials can teach us about the people that existed before us.

The establishment of the Pretoria Archaeology Club for Schools (PACS)

As mentioned above, various academics have tried to find ways to include the subject in schools, especially high schools. After obtaining my honours degree in archaeology, I saw an opportunity to assist. Instead of trying to find ways to include the study of archaeology in the school curriculum, I deemed it necessary to establish a programme that would assist in providing knowledge outside the classroom. Seeing that archaeology was becoming a way to decolonise knowledge and make it accessible to various communities, as mentioned above, the programme would focus on doing exactly that. The idea was inspired by a community project we did as part of the honours programme at the University of Pretoria.

My community project focused on introducing archaeology to my former high school. During the programme, I conducted a short survey to determine how much the learners knew about the study of archaeology (see Image 2). The main question asked was: "What is archaeology?"

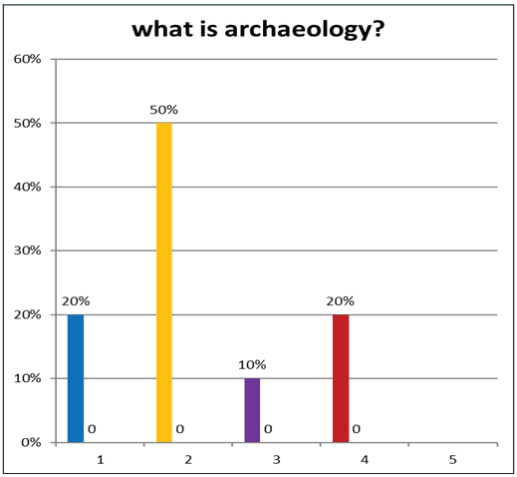

Image 2: Feedback from the community project conducted in 2013
Source: Maripane (2017:21)

The results indicated that:

- 20% of the learners could at least define archaeology from their own understanding;
- 50% of the learners had never heard of the word "archaeology" before;
- 10% of the learners had read about it somewhere but did not really understand what it entailed; and
- 20% of the learners had learned a bit about archaeology in primary school, but still had no clear understanding of what it was.

In 2016, with the assistance of a few students I was tutoring, I established PACS with the vision of making learning about the past interesting and enjoyable The club was registered with the Department of Social Development and focused mainly on reaching out to township schools as a process to address past marginalisation. The starting point of this

project was at my township in Mamelodi. The structure of PACS was inspired by the Young Archaeologists' Club, which offers children as young as six years old the opportunity to get involved in archaeological activities.

PACS works with various schools in order to create awareness and knowledge about the field of archaeology and other related subjects. Over the years, PACS has achieved its goals by making learners aware of the discipline of archaeology as well as its diversity as it relates to many other courses. The club has made learners and teachers conscious of the fact that archaeology is everywhere and that most of the things we do or create today will be regarded as archaeological hundreds of years from now. Although some scholars such as Zarmati (2020:246) have acknowledged its diversity, others such as Vijand (2019:67) have mentioned that its diversity makes it a difficult subject to teach, because it includes "different areas of knowledge". PACS has used this diversity to grab the attention of learners and the larger public.

The groundwork done by PACS has included hands-on activities that increased the learning experiences of the township learners we worked with. Such activities include mock surveys and excavations (see Image 3), collection and sorting of artefacts, and dating the artefacts. We soon realised that the learners were intrigued by the activities and in late 2016, we launched the first Archaeology Olympics. The Archaeology Olympics has attracted a great deal of attention not only in the townships but also among academics in the field. The Archaeology Olympics comprises of various games that are archaeology themed. Learners are divided into groups and compete against one another. Some of the usual games include 'Tools of the trade', where learners must match the tools used during excavations to their correct names; and 'The dating game', where learners must group or list items in chronological order. For this game, we usually use common items such as cell phones. The learners must list the devices according to which came first. This teaches them simple archaeology dating methods and chronology. Some of the games have included teaching learners how to conduct research by allowing them to research information on various archaeological sites using the Internet, which most have access to on a daily basis. The winning team receives medals with the PACS logo.

Image 3: Lesson on excavation and a mock excavation activity
Source: Maripane (2016)

PACS has gone beyond these activities and in 2017 we launched the Archaeology Open Day (see Images 4 and 5). The Open Day included various academics and university students who are experts in archaeology, palaeontology, and other heritage-related disciplines presenting their work in the townships. It is a platform where learners, teachers, and community members have access to information and are able to ask questions. This assists in teaching the community about the various activities involved in archaeology and other related disciplines.

Image 4: Learners at the Archaeology Open Day held at Mamelodi High School in 2017
Source: PACSUP. (n.d)

Image 5: Learners participating in an experiment during the Archaeology Open Day in Mamelodi
Source: PACSUP. (n.d)

PACS has also allowed learners the opportunity to visit real-life excavations at East Fort (see Image 6) with the assistance of Heritageworx and Prof. Van Vollenhoven. In addition, learners have the opportunity to visit museums such as Mapungubwe Museum at the University of Pretoria, the Origins Centre at Wits University, and Freedom Park. We are hoping to do more activities in the near future.

Image 6: Learners taking part in a real-life excavation at East Fort
Source: PACSUP. (n.d)

PACS has become a breakthrough initiative to make archaeology accessible to learners while the process to make it part of the school curriculum is underway. We have received much support from other archaeologists, which has made our work easier. We have also partnered with Ikamva Youth Programme, which aims to enable disadvantaged youths to pull themselves and each other out of poverty and into tertiary education or employment. Although the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic interfered with most of the club's plans, we are working on finding ways to survive amid the pandemic and to continue the work that we do. One of our future plans is to involve the Department of Arts and Culture in our projects, so that events such as the Archaeology Open Days and the Archaeology Olympics become bigger annual events that can be accessed by other learners outside of Mamelodi. We also want to venture into other projects to assist the community, such as assisting learners with school uniforms and stationery, especially after COVID-19 affected many people financially. We not only aim to teach archaeology and make learning about the past interesting and enjoyable fun, but also to support learners in various areas as we do so.

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Teachers Voice

Asinakuthula collective: Re-membering women's histories

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Asinakuthula umhlaba ubolile: we cannot keep quiet while the world is in shambles. Our name and slogan are derived from Nontsizi Mgqwetho's poetry, which was published in the 1920s in the IsiXhosa newspaper *Umteteli waBantu.* Her literary archive is a body of work that confronts the erasure and marginalisation of Black women in history. We as Asinakuthula are a collective of history teachers, researchers, students and creatives, who are deeply rooted in being stewards of Black women's stories, through public events, dialogues, and publications.

Two faces are placed on newsprint to form our logo: the portraits are of Charlotte Maxeke and Nontsizi Mgqwetho. The newspaper print behind their faces is from their 1920s pieces in *Umteteli waBantu*. This logo depicts the rarely seen faces of these women as well as their own words and serves as a record of their work and life. Nontsizi Mgqwetho's image is one of the few, if not the only, available one of her, which was first published in Peter Limb's *The People's Paper: A Centenary History and Anthology of Abantu-Batho* (Wits Press, 2012)[1]

To reach a broader audience, we utilise the advantages of technology by sharing the micro-biographies of select women we have chosen to highlight on social media, specifically Instagram and Twitter. The significance of building digital archives of South African feminists cannot be overstated, as documented in Gorata Chengeta's article, "Creating and caring for feminist digital archives in Africa".[2] The internet provides people with access to

1 P Limb (edt.). 2012. *People's Paper: A Centenary History and Anthology of Abantu-Batho.* Johannesburg. Wits University Press.

2 G Chengeta, "Creating and caring for feminist digital archives in Africa", Genderit.org, June 2021 (available at *https://genderit.org/articles/creating-and-caring-feminist-digital-archives-africa*, as accessed on 12 June 2022).

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narratives that make them feel validated right now. Asinakuthula members hope to create a resource hub that can be utilised to teach people about the role African women have played in history by building online platforms such as their website and an Instagram feed. This work builds on previous publications which have anthologised African women's histories and writings, such as the *Women Writing Africa Series* (published by Feminist Press and Wits Press) and Margaret Busby's *Daughters of Africa* and *New Daughters of Africa*. The importance of developing such a digital archive is not just to keep and preserve these women's history and victories but to explore ways in which these narratives can be safeguarded and recreated on different platforms for different publics.

Every year, we host two public events, the Maxeke-Mgqwetho Memorial lecture and the Imbokodo Masterclass. As a collective, we engage in continuous archival work, knowledge production, teaching, and learning in support of these two events. In addition, the aim of these lectures is to recognise the historical significance of these women's political and literary contributions to South Africa.

Given their history and contemporary focus on girls' education, the Collective partnered with St Mary's School, Waverly, Johannesburg to host the lecture at the school. This has been advocated by one of the History teachers who is also a member of the Collective.

In May 2019, the inaugural keynote speaker was Dr Gcina Mhlophe. She recollected the work and legacy of Charlotte Maxeke and Nontsizi Mgqwetho and re-emphasised how crucial the work of these women was. In 2020, COVID-19 restrictions prevented the conduct of the live lecture. Fortunately, with the support of the Kaya FM team we were able to organise a live broadcast on the Kaya FM Facebook page with Makhosazana Xaba as the speaker. Xaba is a poet, essayist, award-winning writer and Associate Professor of Practice at the University of Johannesburg. Her poem, "Tongues of their Mothers" has been the cornerstone of the Collective's work. In 2021 the keynote speaker was Dr Nomathamsanqa Tisani, a historian invested in subverting the ways in which History remembers women. The Maxeke-Mgqwetho Memorial Lecture seeks to recognize the significance of these (and other) women's political and literary contributions to South African history. Maxeke and Mgqwetho serve as a starting point for us to discuss women throughout history. They are the first examples of women who etched their names into history. Both of these women became active participants in the 1920s; they serve as an example to resist being bystanders to public discourse and political resistance.

Charlotte Maxeke holds a complex tapestry of stories that defies the dominant stereotype in historiography's limiting image of women as spouses and mothers. She is a

worldwide figure who spoke Dutch, Afrikaans, SeSetho, and English. Her experiences in England and America in the late 1800s enabled us to examine not only our South African identities but also the numerous identities of women. Nontsizi Mgqwetho, on the other hand, is a lesser-known artist. She was a poet in the 1920s who presented her poetry at public gatherings before turning to the newspaper as another avenue. "Mayibuye iAfrika," was one of the many poems she penned in *Umteteli waBantu* (Come back Africa).

These women's stories help us comprehend historical events like the turn of the century, what the establishment of the Union of South Africa meant for Black women, the emergence of the Black press in the early 20th century, the *Drum* generation, the Black Consciousness Movement, and the role women played in South Africa's democratic transition. By honouring Maxeke and Mgqwetho, their legacies will begin to give significance to the concerns that young women are asking today about the role of feminism and women's empowerment in South Africa. While the country's constitution safeguards women's rights and gender equality, there are defects that highlight the urgency for leadership positions to be occupied by women to contribute to the much-needed public dialogue.

The Imbokodo Masterclass is an interactive, full-day event in which students from various schools in Johannesburg come to learn about Maxeke, Mgqwetho, and other women's work. It would be hard to cover the vast history of these women and their time in a single day. This has created a need for a website that will act as a repository for additional content and resources, that will ensure the project's endurance by allowing fresh themes to be studied in the future. The digital archive that we are building will serve as a resource for History, English, and Art teachers who are looking for methods to incorporate women's voices into their present curriculum. The Collective will be launching a podcast in August 2022 as an extension of its work of storytelling. The pilot season will feature stories about Miriam Makeba, Charlotte Maxeke, Nontsizi Mgqwetho, Tsitsi Dangarembga and Gcina Mhlophe.

We, as a Collective, hope to further the conversation about how we tell stories and perhaps in future no longer talk about the erasure of women's stories but rather the ongoing challenges of writing History. We hope that future generations will have different conversations about the nature of gendered histories, as it is possible to shift the narrative when people collaborate as we have experienced in the Asinakuthula Collective.

Book Review

A Review of Negotiating Racial Politics in the Family: Transnational Histories touched by National Socialism and Apartheid

Barbara Henkes
E-book (PDF) ISBN 978-90-04-40160-0
Brill, Boston, 2020

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I must confess that I am not familiar with Henkes's prior work, but I have familiarized myself with whiteness on an autoethnographic level in my short academic career. One thing that irks me in literary works about whiteness is how authors sometimes distance themselves from their racial and socio-economic anthropology when conducting research. However, this was not the case when reading *Negotiating Racial Politics in the Family* (NRPF). Henkes writes with authenticity and transparency that gives her readers a glimpse into the inner workings of her mind and personality. The latter may seem insignificant from a purely academic perspective. Still, relatability may be the key that authors of whiteness need to bridge the gap white fragility can create between their work and its readers. The casual writing style makes the stories told emotionally and intellectually accessible without undermining the complex academic themes of race, family, and nation.

The focus of NRPF is soundly enveloped in the theoretical and conceptual parameters of the kinship network concept, which emphasizes the flexible nature of family and nation as imagined communities in the contexts of World War II (WW II) Europe and apartheid South Africa. This flexibility is evident in the analysis of the families' letters, diary entries,

photographs, film, and archival sources. In-depth narrative analysis of detailed and complex experiences provides intimate details that help better our understanding of people's thinking, beliefs, and behaviour in terms of race and nationalism. Thus, it is essential to place the narratives of interest within a rich socio-historical context to avoid losing perspective. Henkes maintains a balanced approach by providing a thorough background of WW II and apartheid's broader contexts from the introductory chapter throughout Parts I and II of the book. Part I analyses the discourse between members of three German families as well as the discourse between couples with members who migrated to the Netherlands during WW II. Part II is the analysis of the discourse between three Dutch families with members who migrated to South Africa at the beginning of apartheid.

The complex nature of national and familial kinship is explored in relation to the various loyalties and ethical responsibilities a person holds toward society and their family, specifically in the context of migration from one country to another. Part I shows how individuals who migrated from Germany to the Netherlands identified with both national identities. Their attempts to navigate a sense of belonging in their German families, while harmoniously disagreeing with German nationalism. Family members implemented strategies like sugar-coating or outright avoiding political topics in letters. Other times frustration, denial, and indifference slipped through the cracks of kinship attempts, reminding us of how fragile or strong kinship bonds can be depending on where one's loyalty lies. Examples of divided consciousness and racial othering associated with whiteness are highlighted in the analysis of the six European families. Examples of racial othering and divided consciousness are more evident in the family histories explored in Part II of NRPF. I noticed that Henkes uses the terms 'Whites' and 'Blacks' when referring to issues of whiteness, which I also did in past writings. However, these terms do have a dehumanizing tone to them. My suggestion to all whiteness authors is to refer to these groups as 'white people' and 'black people' in future literary works.

Some may feel that the navigations during WW II are more theatrical than the family histories analysed during the early phases of apartheid South Africa[1]. However, the intimate nature of the family narratives studied reminded me that we should never minimize the suffering and racial othering of others, no matter the context. The apartheid system was implemented because people thought segregation was a harmless solution.

1 E Locher-Scholten, "Negotiating racial politics in the family: transnational histories touched by national socialism and apartheid, by Barbara Henkes", *Fascism*, *11*(1), 2022, pp. 149-151.

Micro-aggressions play a significant part in keeping modern systems of oppression and racism in place[2]. Part II demonstrates how nationalist propaganda alongside white privilege (attained because of apartheid) motivated the cultivation of ethnocentric white identities in the Dutch migrants studied. Henkes effectively highlights how seemingly innocent or non-violent action or even passiveness and silence sustain ethnocentric belief and, by extension, systems of oppression. NRPF, in this regard, is a needed contribution to the international study of whiteness due to its insistence on highlighting the experiences of the individual, which was previously deemed mundane in whiteness studies and history.

NRPF is a relatable and accessible work of literature that does not shy away from the controversial and previously overlooked. Henkes's emphasis on kinship's flexibility in a familial and national sense shows that change and transformation are possible. However, introspection, reflection, and historical study are needed to challenge our perceptions about the 'other' within a bigger context. NRPF is a valuable tool for any academic or curious individual that wishes to broaden their understanding of white identities in socio-historical contexts of oppression. We are reminded of how important it is to break the silences that uphold oppressive practices, even if we risk rejection by our families or nation. White racial identities cannot develop or change if they are constantly surrounded by like-minded people and ideas[3]. The stories shared through the distant, yet relatable experiences of the families studied show that honesty is the first step we need to take if we want to stop racial othering and history from repeating itself.

2 CC Levchak, "Microaggressions, macroaggressions, and modern racism", CC Levchak, *Microaggressions and modern racism* (Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 13-69.

3 JE Helms, *Black and white racial identity: theory, research, and practice* (Greenwood Press, New York, 1990).

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R Siebörger, Incorporating human rights into the teaching of History: Teaching materials,

Yesterday&Today, 2, October 2008, pp. 1-14.

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From:

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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.

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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.

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

or

Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references

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

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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 D.Ed. 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, B Ndlovu (Journalist-singer)/S Ntini (Researcher), 2 October 2010.

Yesterday & Today Template guidelines for writing an article

1. **Font type:** Times New Roman.
2. **Font size in body text:** 12pt.
3. **Author's details: Provide the following in 10pt:**
   - Initials and surname
   - Institutional affiliation
   - City and country of institutional affiliation
   - Emails address
   - Orcid number

   Example:

   JM Wassermann
   University of Pretoria
   Pretoria, South Africa
   Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za
   0000-0001-9173-0372
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 heading of the Abstract: Bold, italics, 12pt.
   - The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.
5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract. The word **'Keywords':**10pt, bold.
   - 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. **Title of the 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: "JC Nkuna said" and NOT "J.C. Nkuna said".
12. **Page numbering:** Page numbering in the footnote reference text should be indicated as follows:
    Example: p. space 23 – p. 23. / pp. 23-29.
13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.
14. **Quotes from sources in the body text** must be used sparingly. If longer that 5 lines, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and **NOT** in italics.
    Example: An owner close to the town stated that: "the pollution history of the river is a muddy business".
15. Quotes **(as part of the body text)** must be in double inverted commas: "… and she" and *NOT* '… and she'
16. **Images: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures:** Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript's body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.
    Example: **Image 1: 'Image title'** (regular font, 10pt) in the body text.Sources of all images should also be included after the 'Image title'.
    Example: **Source: 'The source'** (regular font, 9 pt). Remember to save and name pictures in the separate folder accordingly.
    Important note: All the images should be of good quality (a minimum resolution of 200dpi is required; if the image is not scanned).
17. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text.
    Example: the end.1 **NOT** … the end1.
18. **Single and left spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.
19. **Dates:** All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: **23 December**
20. **2010; NOT** 23/12/2010 [**For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines**].
21. 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)'.