YESTERDAY & TODAY

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Yesterday & Today is a scholarly, peer-reviewed and educationally focused history education journal. It is indexed by the South African Department of Higher Education and Training. The journal is currently published in conjunction with The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) under the patronage of the Department of Humanities Education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria. Open access to the journal is available on the SASHT, the SciELO, the University of Pretoria's UPJournals platform, and the Boloka websites. The Website addresses to find previous and current issues of the *Yesterday & Today* journal are:

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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- History research that relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in History curricula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

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Contributors need to note the following:

- 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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History Education greetings,

Welcome to the December 2023 edition, volume 30, of *Yesterday & Today.* This edition appears against the backdrop of *Yesterday & Today* being included on the African Journals Online (AJOL) system. It is a wonderful recognition for our journal to be carried on this platform. This inclusion will serve to broaden the footprint of *Yesterday & Today* as the journal of choice for history educators on the African continent and beyond.

This edition contains seven academic articles:

- In their contribution Michael Stack and Byron Bunt engaged with designing an integrative game-based learning pedagogy for teaching and learning history in South African and Zimbabwean classrooms using *Napoleon Total War.*
- This is followed by the contribution of Pranitha Bharath who focused on tracing the substantive structure of historical knowledge in South African school textbooks
- In her article Thembisa Waetjen explored the building of an archive for "future pasts": undergraduates document their local Covid-19 'moment' in world history.
- The article by Peter Kallaway, an autoethnographic piece, titled, "I used to think … and now I think!" notes how a South African teacher educator engaged with a life in which history education was a companion.
- In a continuation with the history of education theme Anell Daries and Sandra Swart turned the research lens to an aspect of the history of higher education— namely, "Physical education in the Volksuniversiteit: The body politic and the political body in nationalist science, 1935-1937".
- Mpilo Dube, in his contribution, focused on the epistemic views of rural history teachers on school history as specialised subject knowledge
- In the final article, Gerald Hamann presented his work on a local institution in a history of Kuilsriver Primary School between 1908–2023.

In addition, this edition includes the normal book review and teachers voice sections. As per what has become a norm by now reports on history education conferences are also included. The first reports speak to the AHE-Afrika conference that took place at Kenyatta University

in Kenya, and the second one deals with the SASHT conference hosted by the University of Johannesburg. The wonderful keynote address was delivered by Prof. June Bam, titled, "Where to from here?—The metaphorical 'Good Wind' as a cognitive embodiment of 'deep listening' in the archive."

Happy reading, take care, and stay safe!

Johan Wassermann (Editor-in-Chief)

Developing a Game-Based Learning Pedagogy for Teaching History using Napoleon Total War.[1]

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Abstract

Current digital game-based learning (DGBL) methods for teaching history require a significant outlay in information and communications technology (ICT). This, in effect, constitutes a significant obstacle in implementing DGBL in the South African and Zimbabwean school context. Most schools do not have the infrastructure to equip entire classes with gaming-capable computers or sufficient access to electricity or the internet. This paper investigates how access to DGBL can be improved in challenged teaching and learning contexts by designing a pedagogy that is more readily adaptable to challenges presented in South African and Zimbabwean classrooms. The research uses a design-based research design where compatibility issues of DGBL are analysed with the aim of developing a more integrated approach that is then tested and evaluated in order to redesign the approach. The primary research question was: "How can Game Based Learning techniques and traditional history pedagogy be integrated to promote the use of Napoleon Total War in Southern African secondary school history classrooms?"

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1 This paper is drawn in part from M. Stack's Master of Education Research.

Two schools from South Africa and Zimbabwe were selected as research sites for the implementation of the solution. The interventions were specifically designed to operate with a minimum of ICT resources. The solution comprised a teaching approach that combined DGBL based on a single laptop and projector with the more traditional teaching methods that were observed during formal lesson observations prior to designing the intervention. The research concluded that *Napoleon Total War* could be used to successfully teach elements of local and international history curricula. The method demonstrated a positive effect on learner motivation and engagement and demonstrated the potential to support formal assessment through tangential learning and assessment tasks designed from DGBL lessons.

The study is significant in that it presents a methodology that can be more readily grasped by in-service teachers as it does not require significant gaming expertise and can also be used to complement their own teaching styles and approaches. A shortcoming of immersive DGBL in history is that it can risk learners mistaking learning for entertainment. With an integrative approach, it is clear to learners that while the medium can be engaging, learning is the primary aim of a DGBL-enhanced lesson. Furthermore, the research demonstrated that collaboration between researchers and teachers is essential to render DGBL research of practicable value in the classroom.

Introduction and Background

Definitions of key digital game-based learning concepts are needed to ensure vocabulary consistency. Films, music, and games are all considered "digital entertainment" when conveyed through digital media (Gee, 2003:20). A "digital game format" refers to games played on computers, consoles, and mobile devices (Saleme et al., 2021:3). Games, simulations, and interactive media are examples of "digital form" teaching material (Prensky, 2001:11). Castellar et al. (2016:91) defines digital game-based learning (DGBL) as using digital games for educational purposes.

Using digital entertainment to teach history is typically met with scepticism. However, two principles from three to five millennia before today's history teaching underpin the method. History shows that ancient Greeks and Romans used game-based learning to teach (Hellerstedt, Mozelius, 2019:3–4). Literary study suggests the second comparison was employed in ancient and medieval writings (Damon, 1961:261–266; 317–318). The comparison or teaching the strange with the familiar is common in history lessons. Piaget and Vygotsky proposed game-based learning in the 20th century (Plass, Homer & Kinzer 2015:259–260).

Through various gaming mediums, the digital game shapes history learners' context. Even without technology kids understand and play games.

History professors in South Africa and Zimbabwe are apprehensive about digital games, even if students like them. This is despite the fact that educational philosophy and contemporary research have recognised the motivation and engagement potential of digital games. The history classroom has not kept up with the fast digital transformation in the learner setting (Levin & Arafeh, 2003:v).

This research investigates why South African and Zimbabwean history classes employ digital games for DGBL and designs a classroom-tested approach. The study examines how to utilise *Napoleon Total War* to teach Napoleonic history using GBL and history didactics.

The technique is based on film and history school pedagogy and analyses how to adapt the DGBL's ICT requirements to make it relevant and accessible to South African and Zimbabwean teaching and learning.

The gap between history professors and students' digital literacy is a major concern since educators are expected to teach twenty-first century learning abilities (Bagarukayo & Kalema, 2015:171). Most Generation Z students in South African schools are digital natives, whereas many instructors are digital immigrants. Prensky (2001:10) coined "digital natives" and "digital immigrants" to distinguish technology usage and competency

between younger and older generations. Bennett and Maton (2010:322) argue that the digital natives-immigrants divide oversimplifies human-technology interaction. They stress that technology usage and competence vary with age. Students' technology experiences should be better understood. Warschauer and Matuchniak (2010:183) add to this approach by arguing that the socioeconomic digital divide affects technology accessibility, usage, and outcomes. Therefore, digital natives and digital immigrants are employed to distinguish technology usage and ability. There is ongoing debate regarding the accuracy of these categories and the need for a more complete understanding of technology use. Early career teachers are often millennials and digital natives (Tshabalala, 2013:27–28; Bagarukayo & Kalema, 2015:170). Millennial instructors will face a digital gap with Generation Z students.

History instructors in South Africa and Zimbabwe seldom employ DGBL despite a paucity of education theory and research (Mhlanganiso, 2017:75–79; Daramola, 2022:243). This is partly because history instructors encounter several problems in their teaching-learning setting (Chisango & Marongwe, 2021:159). Furthermore, "21st-century talents" are considered essential for success in modern society. These skills include critical thinking, communication, collaboration, and creativity. Game-based learning uses digital games to engage students and make learning easier (Al-Azawi et al., 2016:132). Gamification uses game elements like points, medals, and leaderboards to motivate and engage students (Deterding et al., 2011:9). These methods increase student engagement and motivation according to studies (Poondej & Lerdpornkulrat, 2020:56–66; Dicheva et al., 2015:1–2). This 'pedagogy' requires a history classroom with a projector or whiteboard, a gaming-capable computer, stable and fast internet, constant electricity, and digitally literate students and educators who are acquainted with PC gaming—both general gaming and specialised games (McCall, 2017:533). Even the best-resourced South African and Zimbabwean schools struggle to provide this 'utopian' teaching and learning environment.

This research analyses how DGBL pedagogy may be constructed to use only a computer, a projector, and power, eliminating the need for the rest. This is because the approach would utilise ICT infrastructure available in more teaching and learning contexts, making teaching methods more accessible and widely used in schools (NEIMS, 2021:1–11). Pedagogy would be difficult in teaching and learning situations without ICT infrastructure or energy, which limits this study. This requires further research on an 'unplugged' GBL pedagogy for history classes that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Total War games provide genuine representations and historical models for experiential learning. Total War games are known for their meticulously built internal learning systems

for all skill levels (Sukhov 2018:669). Limited research on DGBL with Total War deepens the gap between educational theory and practice.

DGBL reform is necessary because employing the familiar to educate the unknown affects educators who choose GBL for their schools. DGBL is a new teaching style that demands a lot of time and ICT hardware for educators to learn and apply in a classroom that is not suited for it (Guruli, 2020:7–11; Musingafi, 2014:81).

Thus, emphasising exclusively learner-centered strategies based on what is known to the learner hurts educators who find them too foreign to use in the classroom. ICT-rich DGBL replaces rather than enhances or integrates classroom practice. Observing research on school teaching practice was crucial to build the resource-constrained DGBL so that the new approach could be blended with history department classroom practices. DGBL integrates the orthodox with an adapted version of the less conventional to improve these procedures.

Dewey first examined how games may engage and teach. He advocated learning outside the classroom and opposed separating it from reality (Dewey, 1897:77–80).

Review of Pertinent Literature

GBL research is becoming a recognised academic field, however, the literature is fragmented and distributed across several academic fields (Connolly et al., 2012:662). A GBL study in South Africa and Zimbabwe confirms this: "One difficulty with dispersed literature is that not every study recognises the breadth of the field and range of application, and consequently misses significant academic contributions focusing too narrowly at the literature base." (See Freitas, 2018:74). The many aspects of GBL research have been explored in this paper's extensive literature review. Digital game-based learning (DGBL) and game-based learning (GBL) are related but distinct education concepts. Digital game-based learning focuses on using digital games for educational purposes, whereas game-based learning includes non-digital games and simulations (Wiggins, 2016:19; Sitzmann, 2011:492–493). Sitzmann (2011:514) found that digital game-based learning helps students learn declarative knowledge better than traditional techniques. Its ability to promote procedural knowledge and learning transfer may be restricted. However, game-based learning has been debated for its potential to improve education via digital and non-digital games (Prensky, 2001).

Twenty-first Century Skills

There has been considerable academic interest in the use of digital games in teaching 21st-century skills. While there is a consensus as to the definition of such skills, their implementation has been the subject of scholarly debate. There is a concern that an overt emphasis on 21st-century skills will result in a neglect of core skills. Jim and Velden assert that integrating 21st-century skills in schools would rather facilitate the acquisition of core skills by learners (Jim & Velden, 2012:1). However, it has been considered that such an integration would involve redesigning the curriculum and diminishing valuable teaching time for teaching curriculum content, concepts, and skills, whereas redesigning the pedagogy for teaching 21st-century skills could mitigate the impact on teaching time. Given the digital divide between teaching practice and the digital literacies of 21st-century learners, the suitability of school classrooms for 21st-century learning has been questioned (Levin & Arafeh, 2003:v). Given that the current teaching cohort is not considered in the research to be in a strong position, it has been recommended that a 21st-century pedagogy should comprise a part of teachers' professional development as well as pre-service training (Annetta, 2008:110).

Educational Theory and Digital Game-Based Learning.

Piaget and Vygotsky formalised Game-Based Learning in the 20th century (Plass, Homer & Kinser, 2015:259–260). Research shows that many digital games resemble Vygotsky's zone of proximal development and children's games' scaffolding and near developmental phases (Vygotsky, 1978:86). Digital games promote assimilation and accommodation in learning, following Piaget's cognitive disequilibrium hypothesis (Blake & Pope, 2008:61). Piaget's idea of game-based learning was influenced by his belief that children's cognitive development depends on play (Plass, Homer & Kinser, 2015:259). Lepper and Malone (1987) discovered that digital games may motivate intrinsically, linking them to Dewey's need for experiential and real-world learning (Dewey, 1938:12–22). Cziksemti's flow theory is best promoted via games (Cziksemti, 1990:6; Hamari et al., 2016:172). While multiplayer digital games provide great possibilities for cooperative learning, the literature divides digital game-based learning into two types. The first category is game-based and improved learning. Game-based learning uses games created for learning, whereas augmented games use commercial games meant for amusement to teach. Game-informed (gamification) is the second group. This group brings gaming into the classroom without

utilising digital games.

Since this research used game-based learning, it's vital to understand the difference.

Gamification

Gamification is the practice of applying game aesthetics, mechanics, and attitude to non-game environments to boost engagement and excitement. It has been found to stimulate desirable actions in loyalty programmes, advertisements, and recycling projects. The specific gamification tactics affect basic human impulses including competition, achievement, recognition, and self-expression. Gamification is rapidly becoming popular in the workplace. Gaming methods and game-style rewards are being used to motivate employees and customers (Al-Azawi et al., 2016:132–136).

The process of gamification involves applying game mechanics, design elements, and gamer mindset to non-game contexts to improve user experience.

Bringing gaming principles, design, and mindset to non-game environments to enhance user experience. Gamification's main benefits are: higher engagement, motivation, user interaction, and loyalty (APM Thames Valley, 2014).

Play may teach young people skills and a learning strategy in everyday life, but they will need additional methods to succeed in formal school. Teachers and scholars have used gamification to characterise this behaviour for over five years, however, their observation may be flawed (Erenli, 2012:1–8). Educational gamification uses game mechanics, player experiences, and cultural roles. Educational gamification influences student behaviour via game mechanics, player experiences, and cultural roles. Sandberg et al. (2011:1334–1347) found that many youngsters learnt video games by trying multiple ways. Thus, gamifying a course will substantially benefit primary school learners by harnessing the motivating power of games and applying it to education's motivational challenges so they may achieve (Su & Cheng, 2013:42–50).

Gamification has become more authentic in certain classes that have been turned into video games. ClassCraft and other gamification technologies provide an interactive story to the course design (Al-Azawi et al., 2016:132–136). Students build an avatar, play together, and earn experience and rewards by fulfilling classroom activities. Pupils are rewarded for helping classmates, completing difficult homework, etc. Like instructors, children may suffer consequences for interrupting class (Hamari et al., 2014:3025–3034).

Gamification's popularity is also shown by the rise of scientific publications on it. This suggests that colleges are studying gamification more (Hamari et al., 2014:3025–3034).

The word "gamification" refers to adding incentive affordances to services to create "gamelike" user experiences and behaviour changes (Hamari et al., 2014:3025–3034).

Gamification has three main components (Al-Azawi, et al., 2016:132–136):

- implemented motivational benefits
- mental/cognitive effects
- behavioural effects

Game-based learning

Game-based learning is increasingly being used to engage students in the learning process while also making it enjoyable, which can aid in cognitive development (Chen & Chang, 2020:2; Liang et al., 2017:217–220). GBL has been found to be effective in increasing student motivation and engagement, particularly when students reach a state of "flow" during gameplay (Lee et al., 2021:15593). Beyond simply reviewing or reinforcing material, video games have the potential to be a primary means of instruction for complex or previously inaccessible topics such as people management, software complexity, financial complexities, and nuanced social interactions (Wang et al., 2021:169).

Game-based learning has been used in a variety of contexts, including diverse evaluation and certification challenges, technical content, difficult subject matter, and inaccessible audiences (Oktovianus, 2020:1; Neri et al., 2020:2). It has been found to increase student interest and desire to learn, aid in complex comprehension processes, support what-if analyses, and facilitate strategy formulation and communication (Ebner & Holzinger, 2007:875; Ke et al., 2022:5).

One of the reasons game-based learning is engaging is that it mimics the experience of playing a video game, which is characterised by curiosity and enjoyment (Liu et al., 2021:4). Digital game-based learning can help learners gain fundamental skills and knowledge in subjects that are essential in the digital technology era, as games can create an effective learning environment that is both comfortable and motivating (Hsiao et al., 2022:87). Students who use digital games to learn report being more engaged and retaining information from experience (Al-Azawi et al., 2016:135). STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) education, as well as history education, may benefit greatly from GBL (Liu et al., 2021). For instance, many students find mathematics challenging and lose motivation due to the monotony of studying it in the classroom. However, students perceive mathematics to be more engaging when taught via digital games, and both instructors and parents believe that their children's mathematical skills will improve if they

use games to study the subject (Chen & Chang, 2020:2; Liang et al., 2017:217).

The Digital Game as Historical Source

Both the written word and the exclusive dominance of the academic word are used by academic historians to criticise popular history (Chapman, 2016:7). Chapman responds that "this approach hinges on two problematic assumptions: first, that the existing practice of written history is the sole method to grasp the link of past to present; and second, that recorded history matches reality" (Chapman, 2016:7). His study significantly cites Rosenstone (1995), White (1988), and Munslow (1988). He suggests investigating the historical game as a historical source to support their claim that a historical film is similar to historical research and writing. Because of historical film's popularity, the validity of popular history for academic inquiry, and their understudied status, they need examination. Chapman's formalist approach follows a framework that spans five categories that cover historical games' main formal structures: "simulation style and epistemology; time; space; narrative; affordances" (Chapman, 2016:20).

Spring and other historians doubt the historical significance of a digital historical game, because, like a film, it sacrifices historical truth to present a narrative or simplify game play. Her study examines how historical research may build popular games (Spring, 2015:207). Commercial games creators have adapted to a historically cognisant customer base according to Fordham (2012:4). Developers investigate and hire history experts to make games more historically realistic. The junction of historical games' counter-factual potential has shaped postmodernist historical study. Uricchio has leveraged Chapman's attention on form to move the conversation from games as representations to the way they mediate. Poststructuralists have moved from the positivist view that records and texts may represent the past to one that captures the past in language (Uricchio, 2005:332).

Digital Game-Based Learning and Teaching History

McCall's work on utilising DGBL to teach history has laid the groundwork for research in DGBL in history education and a digital game-based history pedagogy (McCall, 2017). This article's perspective is dialectical with his work. McGall's methodology assumes a well-equipped classroom with ICT which is a restriction in South Africa and Zimbabwe. While South African and Zimbabwean history curricula have time constraints for historical themes, it assumes plenty of time for digital games in class. McCall provides a good

introduction to tying digital games to history without mentioning a particular curriculum (McCall, 2017:173–177). Yu and other studies agree with McCall that games motivate (Yu et al, 2014:1–10). Cobb believes digital games are better for teaching than the historical film, although Cobb and Welston agree that teacher-guided democratic class play is superior to McCall's class playtime (Cobb, 2012; Welston, 2017:44). Cobb, like this study, believes historical games should be used to educate rather than replace history teachers. (Cobb, 2012).

The South African History curriculum seeks to "foster an awareness for and interest about the past" (Department of Education, 2011:8). This article discusses a history teaching strategy we believe will assist students to reach this aim. The strategy is dictated by Total War: Napoleon.

A local research project compared two grade 10 history textbooks from the curriculum assessment policy statement (CAPS) curriculum to Assassin's Creed Unity using Seixas' (2017:593–605) six second-order historical reasoning ideas. The findings demonstrated that instructors must educate historically literate students if instructional video games are to be used in official pedagogy, in line with South African government and Department of Basic Education (DBE) aims. The findings recommend a deeper study of CAPS-approved history textbooks, particularly the South African Revolution portion (Malkin-Page, 2016:193–197).

Recently, South African educators have shifted the curriculum from rote memorisation to active interaction with original materials , in order to educate pupils to think like historians and utilise sources to support their claims (Bertram, 2006:36). Historiography emphasises process over product. Students must remember that locating, integrating, and interpreting historical sources will make up most of their history grade (Dean, 2004:101).

History relies on original sources (McAleavy, 1998:14). This category includes letters, documents, books, photos, drawings, paintings, speeches, monuments, sculptures, buildings, tables, graphs, maps, poetry, diaries, songs, etc. Documents, interviews, and photos may assist historians in confirming or denying earlier claims.

Any 21st-century history class must measure students' abilities to critically study and evaluate primary sources to assess their comprehension of historical topics. Both primary and secondary sources need historical skills including extrapolation, assessment, synthesis, and bias detection (McAleavy, 1998:14). Primary and secondary materials, such as abridged texts, photographs, photos, political cartoons, video and audio recordings, and tangible artifacts should be used to teach these skills (Dean, 2004:102).

Over many years, the authors have seen that students struggle to identify key elements

and interpretations in such texts (Dean, 2004:102). To solve this difficulty, the authors suggest using a famous video game on colonial history to provide in-game chances for students to exercise source-based analytical and interpretive skills (Department of Education, 2011; McAleavy, 1998:11). The action would attract players, prompting them to research the game's content.

South African and Zimbabwean DGBL Research

DGBL research in South Africa is scattered, focusing on higher education rather than secondary school. No South African study has examined Napoleon Total War in historical education. DGBL approaches are contrasted to conventional ones in military education by Dreyer (Dreyer, 2017:103). Ng'Ambi investigated how GBL may engage health science university students (Ng'ambi, 2014:3–4). According to Roodt and Saunders, there have been limited studies on higher education students' GBL viewpoints (Rood & Saunders, 2017:7777). DGBL research in higher education has focused on teacher training. Warnich investigated how other evaluation methodologies may be used with DGBL (Warnich & Lubbe, 2019:88–118). In Bachelor of Education programme, Bunt has studied how puzzle games may promote critical thinking (Bunt, 2019:398). Malkin's examination of Assassin's Creed Unity and CAPS textbooks have advanced the discussion (Malkin, 2016:193–197).

Zimbabwean research focuses mainly on ICT, higher education, and to a lesser extent on secondary education (Kungeni, 2017:1–4; Tapere & Kujeke, 2019:339–344). However, elementary education studies also exist (Mukandi et al., 2020:126–133). The literature covers ICT and teacher training, school and subject area integration, and ICT integration. The problems of introducing ICT in Zimbabwean classrooms (Kungeni, 2017:1–4) and a large, broad study of GBL in secondary schools are documented. (Mhlanganiso, 2017:1–8).

Challenges Faced in the International Teaching Context

Several studies have examined teachers' views on DGBL in the classroom. Much academic study is focused on educators' views on digital game-based learning (DGBL) in education. Mozelius et al. (2017:30) found that teachers who used digital game-based learning (DGBL) had higher student engagement and motivation. In contrast, Clark et al. (2016:116) found that some instructors were wary about digital game-based learning (DGBL) due to concerns about student behaviour and classroom dynamics. Despite significant challenges,

educators generally see digital game-based learning (DGBL) as a positive tool for student engagement and excitement. Kebritchi et al. (2010:428) found that digital game-based learning (DGBL) improved student test results and critical thinking. However, the study also found that educators struggled to incorporate digital game-based learning into their teaching strategies due to limited technology resources and training.

Papastergiou (2009:3) found that instructors reported increased student interest and engagement after using digital game-based learning. Instructors worried about the time and resources needed to include digital game-based learning into their lessons.

Due to curricular restrictions, instructors feel they don't have enough time to use digital game-based learning or build games. The literature lists inadequate finances; unfavourable impressions of DGBL from senior management, parents, and educators; a restrictive and rigid curriculum; and a lack of learning support tools. Digital games may cause violence, hostility, and addiction according to research (Arias, 2014:58–59). This study is not definitive, since other research examines the limits of similar investigations. Digital game-based learning training has not been fully incorporated into official pre-service teacher training programmes despite ongoing calls for it (Annetta, 2008:229–237).

Challenges Faced in South African and Zimbabwean Teaching and Learning Context

The digital gap which derives from apartheid's education system, is South African history instructors' main hurdle in adopting DGBL. Only 20 percent of South African schools have internet (2021 NEIMS). Without a reliable internet connection, steam-downloaded PC games cannot be installed. Computer labs often have computers. Thievery and vandalism deepen the digital gap. Teachers' attitudes and technophobia due to poor ICT abilities deepen the digital divide (Chisanga & Marongwe, 2021:159). Piped water, libraries, sanitation, and power are lacking in many South African schools (Guruli et al., 2020:7). They also blame inequality and apartheid in education for the digital gap (Guruli et al., 2020:7). The digital literacy gap between educators and learners for digital natives, immigrants, and refugees exacerbates this barrier.

Many Zimbabwean schools have computers, ICT equipment, internet, and projectors, however, energy is inconsistent. Schools that cannot afford backup energy cannot utilise ICT during power outages. With grid supply issues in South Africa, this is not uncommon. Zimbabwe's urban-rural split is reflected in the digital divide according to research. ICT infrastructure is often more accessible to metropolitan state schools than rural schools

(Musafi, 2014:81).

Total War and Gap in the Literature.

Academic interest in teaching secondary and undergraduate history using Total War games has developed throughout the previous decade. Historical studies have examined Total War's depictions of ancient warfare (Waring, 2007:20–28). Research shows these are complex strategic games, therefore McCall warns against assuming that digital literacy equals digital game literacy. According to McCall's DGBL pedagogy, Total War titles require training (McCall, 2017:243–244). South African and Zimbabwean digital literacy skills are too low for extended gameplay-based instruction. Napoleon Total War is not the foundation of digital game-based learning, but Gatzidis believes it may improve history instruction (Gatzidis, 2014:55). Historical digital games are not created for education, thus they cannot replace traditional teaching methods. A methodology that replaces traditional history teaching techniques is unlikely to enhance digital game-based learning attitudes among South African and Zimbabwean history instructors. This study claims that implementing a game-enhanced pedagogy that considers the teaching and learning environment in South Africa and Zimbabwe would better connect digital game-based learning theory and practice in history courses. Minimal ICT usage makes a teaching more accessible than the literature's digital game-based learning. The incorporation of conventional teaching techniques will help history instructors learn digital game-based learning, apply it in schools, and improve its reputation as a history teaching tool.

Methods

The study forms part of a broader design-based research (DBR) project. As such, its focal point is the analysis and exploration stage of DBR where the context of the problem is explored. This study will consider how this will impact design of the solution. However, the solution design, testing, and evaluation stages are beyond the scope of this study. DBR is a cyclical and hermeneutic process in which a researcher identifies and examines a problem, creates an intervention, tests it, evaluates the findings, redesigns the answer, and cycles through the process until it is improved. DBR integrates learning theory with learning environment design. DBR produces "sharable ideas that enable practitioners and other educational designers express significant consequences" Thomas (2003:1). The study approach may provide findings that educators may use to solve teaching and learning issues.

This study approach makes it hard to generalise results beyond the research locations. This work addresses this restriction by addressing a broader teaching and learning environment than the research schools.

DBR differs from participatory action research (PAR), which encourages participants to conduct their own research with researchers' help (Wang & Hannafin 2005:6). DBR begins with the researcher's study and solution design. DBR creates theory and improves theory and practice, whereas PAR focuses on localised improvements (Wang & Hannafin, 2005:6). This work uses qualitative methods, including lesson observations during design and researcher ratings of research lessons or treatments.

Design-based research (DBR) uses iterative cycles of design, implementation, and assessment to improve educational initiatives (Reeves et al., 2005:107). The authors propose using design-based research to construct and evaluate a game-based learning framework for history education in South African and Zimbabwean schools. Design-based research may create an intervention that is grounded in theory, relevant to the context, and adaptable enough to meet the needs of multiple learners (Reeves et al., 2005:107).

Klopfer et al.'s (2009:1–6) design-approaches drove game-based learning methodology. These included aligning pedagogy with curriculum, including historical content, and using gaming aspects to motivate students. This study employed design-based research with several design, implementation, and evaluation iterations.

Design-based research helped the authors develop a game-based learning pedagogy that was relevant to the local context and effective in teaching history in South African and Zimbabwean schools.

The independent South African school and private Zimbabwean school use the Independent Examining Board and Cambridge International Exam curriculum, respectively. They were chosen for their comparable school atmosphere and strong history departments led by skilled Heads of Department. The educational method is designed for a larger South African and Zimbabwean setting to make it implementable in a wider class environment. The research colleges were chosen because they satisfied these standards and could offer a consistent electrical supply to meet research deadlines. A minimal ICT need of computer, projector, and power was addressed while designing the pedagogy. The second step of the design used lesson observations to integrate school history teaching approaches with a restricted game-enhanced DGBL. The solution's lesson material came from CIE AS-Level and CAPS/IEB Napoleonic subjects from the French Revolution. Due to the timing of the research, the lessons had to be altered to a Form 2 module on Napoleon Buonaparte as the AS-Level class had covered the French Revolution subject earlier in the year and the

original lesson plans fit the IEB history learning program.

Findings

Context

This work focused on the effects of ICT infrastructure restrictions in South Africa and Zimbabwe by proposing a DGBL pedagogy that requires only a computer, projector, and power. South African and Zimbabwean schools would struggle to seat 30 to 50 students on gaming-capable computers, but many have a projector and computer for history lessons. Pedagogy also considers learner context within and beyond the classroom. Not many students have access to gaming laptops at home, which hinders DGBL that depends on gaming outside the classroom. This also shows that digital literacy and digital gaming literacy differ within a school. One computer in the classroom, shown on a screen for the whole class, homogenises the gaming experience. Engaging with the game via the projected picture and instructor mediation eliminates the need for students to play the game in class and high digital and digital game literacy.

These schools were picked for their outstanding history departments with seasoned and younger instructors. Working with Stellenbosch University, educators helped design the answer. We chose schools with robust IT infrastructure. Projection, plugs, and speakers were standard in most classrooms, meeting study demands. Although this dissertation does not feature gender-based research, the co-ed school structure allowed for a study on computer gaming classes for boys and girls. Second and third terms in Zimbabwe and South Africa were the research windows. While long, this strategy minimised teacher time and allowed appropriate space for each study component. This gave the history department and research more freedom in coordinating teaching and curricula. This plan avoided upsetting Zimbabwe's third semester and South Africa's fourth term exam preparation. Historical teacher connections improved with the longer study window. Teachers must trust guest researchers and their expertise before letting them teach.

Findings of Lesson Observations

Both departments' history teachers used a range of methods. Many lessons used lecture presentation format, although just a portion of them. Teacher-centered and learner-centered role play were used for experiential learning. Some instructional material is used

in all classes. Each teacher brought their own humour to class. Many ICT resources were used. PowerPoint, YouTube, and iPads are examples. Group and pair work were used in class discussions. Teachers were acquainted with film and other historical materials. Their guided historical film analysis talents were shown. Drama presentations were an informal evaluation option. Teachers studied departmental notes with students and utilised them for explanation and class discussions.

Teachers promoted online research for essays and utilised sources to teach multi-perspectivity. Some educators made more alternative use of technology, such as Two Steps from Hell, as background study music or dance videos as a class management technique. Analogy was used in all history classes to explain unfamiliar historical themes. Teachers used the school, community, national, and worldwide contexts skilfully.

An Integrative lesson design was deemed possible due to the variety of effective teaching methods. The study was able to incorporate classroom approaches seen on-site that history department students would be acquainted with, rather than conceptually including, them. The goal was to teach in a way that students would understand and also enjoy the video game. This would scaffold NTW learning by using common teaching approaches to execute DGBL lessons.

Lesson Observation checklist:

- What is the teacher's approach towards technology in support of teaching and learning?
- What rules seem to be in place regarding the use of personal devices?
- What is the dominant hierarchy in the classroom?
- Describe the educator's teaching style.
- To what degree does the teacher employ a critical pedagogy?
- How are students using technology in the classroom?
- To what degree can the students be perceived as interested and engaged?
- What level of cooperation and interaction is achieved?
- How focused are the students?
- To what extent is the teacher already fulfilling the perceived advantages of video games?

Curriculum Analysis

The Zimbabwean secondary school HOD's Form 2 history curriculum was used to construct intervention lessons for IGCSE history. The curriculum changes often, but at

the time of study it included lessons on Great Generals and the kingdoms they built. The four Napoleon Buonaparte courses were replaced with research lessons. The curriculum emphasised his career and Napoleonic Warfare tactics and methods. Limited game-based learning-enhanced lessons replaced traditional courses for that learning unit. Since Form 2 students are juniors, the teachings focused on historical subjects. Thus, historical skills and source analysis were downplayed.

When South African high school grade 10 classes used the technique, the design was changed. The school's IEB programme follows the National Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). Due to grade 10's superior historical skills and completion of the French Revolution component, courses may concentrate on NTW analysis. Instead of replacing French Revolution courses, research classes extended them. The goal is to teach source analysis using a familiar medium so students may apply it to traditional sources.

Preliminary Impact on Solution Design

The main instructor approach techniques in this work are largely DGBL with modest game enhancements. They are based upon elements of critical pedagogy according to Freire and combines Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development with mediated learning. (Spener, 1990:1; Vygotsky, 1978: 84) This approach to digital literacy for educators and students relies on Bourdian knowledge of digital cultural culture (Rooksby & Hillier, 2005:24). Digital games in history classrooms are the 21st-century version of Freire's utilisation of learner culture and lived experiences to produce teachable knowledge (Spener, 1990:1–5). The digital game is used sparingly to promote research school teaching approaches, in order to develop a teaching method that instructors and students can understand. The method also enables learners to discuss digital gaming with a history education professional. We utilise NTW to motivate students inside and beyond the classroom. Unlike tangential learning, DBGL assessment may be developed by instructors to interest students.

NTW makes a familiar area of play a bridge to teaching academic history. Classroom learning of historical material and skills is scaffolded by NTW. The instructor mediates between the game and the students. Instead of prolonged game play, game elements are chosen to demonstrate and enhance teaching and source analysis. Game components are recorded using the gaming platform or screen capture software. This frees the teacher to concentrate on teaching rather than playing the game.

Since the game is constrained, educators may employ more common film and visual presentation and mediation strategies. Recorded content may be created ahead of time

to support instructional objectives. If game access or playability is a problem, YouTube recordings are available. Removing game-playing and putting it in the hands of the educator improves class management and teaching and learning.

Discussion

NTW may lose relevance to the new South African CAPS history curriculum when further modifications are phased in. This research's educational methods aim to promote DGBL using games that are more relevant to new historical information (History Ministerial Task Team Report, 2018). The Eurocentric character of many historical videogames makes it harder to locate games that overlap subjects. Creating historically compatible MODs for historical video games may solve the problem. Focus will shift from the French Revolution to Haiti (History Ministerial Task Team Report, 2018:91) An Empire Total War Haiti combat MOD has been created, capturing the landscape and military outfits. Haiti is harder to include into the main campaign or build a Haitian stand-alone campaign.

South African digital literacy statistics range and are disputed. While access to the internet, phones, and computers ranges from 10% to 86% (General Household Survey, 2020:47–48), internet and digital device use has expanded significantly in the previous 20 years, ahead of worldwide trends (Kemp, 2020). Limited improved DGBL in history teaching would be harder to implement in South Africa and Zimbabwe, but it would be more relevant than Eurocentric methods. Both nations' digital landscapes are developing swiftly according to reports. As digital access increases, this methodology will become more relevant to teaching and learning. As secondary schools' ICT infrastructure develops, the teaching may be adapted to its basic needs.

A restricted game-enhanced DGBL for history education that can be combined with more traditional teaching methods would maximise the educational potential of DGBL in South African and Zimbabwean history classrooms and encourage equitable access to this teaching and learning method. Due to its smaller digital gaming footprint, this technique is suitable for more South African and Zimbabwean teachers and students. As schools gain access to federal, international, and NGO initiatives, this component will be expanded. This article presents DGBL designs for South Africa and Zimbabwe with restricted scope. To assess its utility in history instruction, a separate article must test the design under actual teaching situations. Western digital games may not fit the South African and Zimbabwean environments. Platforms, genres, and access differ, therefore the classroom should be where all students can access classes rather than at home. The decolonisation of the South African

and Zimbabwean curricula allows MODs to promote Eurocentric game decolonisation and curriculum relevance.

Interpreting historical films as manufactured history is possible using film and history school concepts. Chapman (2016) was inspired by Rosenstone (1995) and White (1988), although the digital games and history school emphasises form over representation in historical games. Film and history are a better fit for school pedagogy and historical analysis since the restricted game-based learning improved history courses in this article employ pre-recorded conflicts and the campaign map. Form analysis is particularly significant for tertiary historical studies. Teachers and students may examine the game's historical validity and creators' historical sacrifices to create a tale and make it fun by analysing it as a depiction of the past, albeit an interactive one. The main difficulty is that current history students are conversant in digital culture to the point where digital historical games are their mother tongue while history is their second. The pedagogical design considers educators' and students' digital fluency in teaching and learning. The pedagogy overlaps with digitally enhanced education and DGBL.

Limitations

This research study is confined to the examination of a single Total War video game, with a special emphasis on Napoleon: Total War in order to facilitate the teaching of subjects outlined in the CAPS/IEB and CIE history curriculum. Nevertheless, despite its limited applicability, the pedagogical approach might be easily extended to other Total War games, although with potential modifications required for other genres. The pedagogical approach is formulated taking into account the limitations in resources that are often encountered in educational settings in Southern Africa. The research has been intentionally created with a narrow focus in order to provide a comprehensive examination of NTW. Nevertheless, this constraint enhances the applicability and practical significance of the study for educators in relation to NTW.

The scope of the study is restricted to a single educational institution in South Africa and another in Zimbabwe. The resource-constrained form of the teaching approach allows for its potential use in teaching situations outside the scope of the two schools. Notwithstanding the limited availability of resources in the design, the implementation of this technique would pose significant challenges in educational institutions without power or any kind of information and communication technology (ICT) infrastructure.

Conclusion

Due to the digital literacy gap between older instructors and students, reports and literature imply that education institutions and educators are unprepared to apply DGBL and other digital techniques in the classroom. This research argues that instructors' digital literacy skills are suitable for integrating the history curriculum with students' digital socio-cultural milieu. A second-language speaker is often the finest language teacher. Historical materials and artifacts are used in secondary history classrooms to teach and study history. This contrasts from how historians analyse the past using historical materials. Historians may choose sources with broader availability than in a history course. Teachers use a small number of well-chosen instructional materials. These are usually chosen by textbook editors and writers. Using these materials in the classroom requires mediation, guided analysis, and integration into teaching methods, activities, and evaluations. We propose using a digital historical game. Instead of playing the complete game in class, a history educator should mediate it to improve historical content and skill learning. The game should be included into history department teaching methods, class activities, and evaluations. This translation is necessary to utilise a digital game as an instructional tool, considering its main objective of amusement. This method would recognise in-service teachers' skills and experience and enable them to merge their existing practices with scaffolded DGBL strategies for professional development. Digital immigration lecturers who want to use DGBL in history teaching for pre-service teachers will find the method easier to understand and teach. The strategy would suit senior tertiary lecturers. While more digital natives are becoming teachers and academics, this strategy is required to introduce DGBL to schools. This technique must adapt to the setting, establishing the groundwork for future DGBL history teaching research.

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Tracing the Substantive Structure of Historical Knowledge in South African School Textbooks

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2023/n30a3

Abstract

This article argues that complex substantive knowledge in South African school history textbooks may challenge learners who struggle with reading and comprehension. While debates continue about the balance of substantive and procedural knowledge, both fundamental elements of history knowledge (Lee, 2004), this study employs a qualitative analysis of the substantive content within a Bernsteinian framework. Seven purposively sampled history textbooks, covering grade 3 to grade 9, across the foundation, intermediate, and senior phases of the South African school curriculum are analysed using Maton's (2013) language descriptions of context and semantics as conceptual tools. Additionally, nominalisation techniques (Coffin, 2006) are used to examine language in the text. Findings indicate significant growth in substantive knowledge manifesting through time, space, context, and semantics.[1] Substantive knowledge shifts from a rudimentary and contextualised nature to a more abstract and dense form, including domain-specific conceptual knowledge. Advancing grades produce decontextualised knowledge with heightened semantic density. Increased events under study accompany greater participant diversity. A History student working with these materials would need to be highly proficient in language skills and also capable of processing substantial volumes of abstract content knowledge. Alarming statistics from the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study

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[1] Findings extracted from the researcher's broader study, P. Bharath, "An investigation of progression in historical thinking in South African history textbooks" (PhD., UKZN, 2015).

(Department of Basic Education, 2023) reveal that 81% of grade 4 learners struggle with comprehension in any language, ranking South Africa at the bottom of 57 countries. It is likely that learners would encounter difficulties with the substantive knowledge evident in these textbooks.

Introduction

The study of history is important to understand the past and the shape of the present, and textbooks form a critical part of its delivery. In South Africa, the right to textbooks is part of the broader right to basic education, as guaranteed by Section 29(1)(a) of the Constitution, Basic Education Rights Handbook (2017:266–272). Section 5A requires the National Minister of Basic Education to prescribe norms and standards for the provision of learning and teaching support material including the obligation to procure and deliver textbooks. Since "school textbooks are the dominant definition of the curriculum in schools" (Crawford, 2003:3), the kind of knowledge presented forms the backbone of the learning content, helping teachers manage and direct their lessons, save time while guiding discussion, homework, assessment, and project work. The school history textbook continues to be a powerful pedagogic and learning tool as "local and international research has shown that the textbook is the most effective tool to ensure consistency, coverage, appropriate pacing and better-quality instruction in a curriculum" (Department of Education, 2000:9).

Wheelahan (2010:11) purports that the nature and structure of knowledge have curricular implications for the way it is classified, sequenced, paced, and evaluated in the curriculum, influencing equitable access. Current research foci are on the balance of substantive and procedural knowledge in the school history curriculum. Dean (2004) cites Schwab's distinction of 'substantive' and 'procedural' history with 'procedural' being the 'know-how', the methodology of historians, which are the procedures for conducting historical investigations; and 'substantive' being the 'know that', statements of fact or concepts of history constructed by historians in their investigations. Bertram (2008) contends that learners have to acquire both to be appropriately inducted into the discipline of history.

Lévesque (2008) claims that 'progression' in historical thinking should be simultaneous *within each* domain of knowledge and not from one to another, clearing the misconception about it being a movement on a linear scale of reasoning from substantive (lower-order thinking) to procedural knowledge (higher-order thinking). Counsell (2018), however, views a "knowledge-rich" curriculum as one associated with substantive knowledge. Drawing from Willingham (2017), Counsell (2018) maintains that attention should be on the relationship between academic content knowledge and reading, on the vocabulary gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged, and on the role of knowledge in making subsequent learning possible. South African history has been influenced by the progressive

British movement, the Schools' Council Project (SCHP,1976) which initiated a skills-based approach to the teaching of history internationally and countered the former chronological and factual emphasis. The change from memory-history to disciplinary-history was based on students' understanding of six procedural benchmarks outlined by Martin (2012) and Seixas (2006) as historical significance, use of primary source evidence, identifying continuity and change, analysis of cause and consequence, taking historical perspectives, and the ability to understand the moral dimension of historical interpretation.

History teachers are expected to advance historical thinking in their classrooms and, in so doing, advance school history as an analytical endeavour (Wassermann & Roberts, 2022:1). This is essentially the evidential methodology of history which requires learners to analyse and evaluate historical sources and evidence to formulate interpretations. Bertram (2009:45) asserts that while curriculum reformers have embraced the procedural dimension of studying history, there is a concern of an overemphasis on procedural knowledge over the substantive. Suggesting that textbooks and teachers place more emphasis on the substantive, Oppong et al. (2022:43) argue for a process where history is constructed. Ramoroka and Engelbrecht (2015) have identified the unbalanced relationship between the two knowledge types as a further challenge for history education in South Africa. They advocate for the methodology of "doing history", using the framework of historical thinking. My understanding is that learners who struggle with reading and interpreting knowledge may pose an impediment to this notion of 'doing history'.

After a decade of slow progress, South Africa is back to 2011 levels of achievement (PIRLS, 2023). The current South African educational crisis may be attributed to how knowledge is structured, in any language. The Minister of Education Angie Motshekga ascribed the poor interpretation skills to the effects of eleven African languages[2] and COVID-19 (ENCA News, 27 June 2023). Motshekga stated that learners were taught in a language that was not necessarily their home language.[3] Some teachers are not fully conversant with the language in which they are required to teach which has implications for the learners they teach. While policies can be reviewed and the drive to incorporate the African languages into teaching and learning exists, history textbooks and international tests are still structured in English.

Counsell (2018:1) maintains that little has been written about how learners gain either

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2 South Africa has eleven official languages which are recognised as equal.

3 Home language, the medium of communication at home, is not necessarily the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) at school.

of the knowledge types, the character of knowledge, its structure, its status, and its relation to learners and teachers. This area of research aligns with the sociology of knowledge which considers education within a framework of promoting social justice (Rata, 2016; Young, 2008). The present study seeks to analyse and describe the character and pedagogic potential of substantive knowledge content in seven textbooks.

Key research questions

The questions, "What is the nature of substantive knowledge in a range of South African textbooks and how do they support learning?", are central to this inquiry. A crucial aspect to consider is the demarcation between what is presented as a fact within the textbooks and the material that allows for contestation. Textbooks present certain dates and events as definitive with a certain consensus that already exists about factual information, raising questions if the nature of history is contested. It prompts the feasibility of disentangling the substantive content (the what) from the procedural (the how). The researcher finds demarcation techniques to identify the substantive knowledge by conducting a systematic content analysis of the historical events and themes under study in each textbook.

Background and contextualisation

Post-apartheid curricular shifts in South Africa in favour of an outcomes-based curriculum *C2005* in 1998 have contributed to the ongoing educational crisis. An initial strong focus on generic skills, lack of specific content knowledge, and the discouragement of a comprehensive textbook, led to its failure and replacement with the Revised National Curriculum statement in 2004. The content was reintroduced with a renewed focus on textbooks and reading. The present *National Curriculum Statement (NCS) Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for Grades R-12* came into existence in 2011 unifying all grades in a curriculum with a clear focus on content, term-wise teaching specifications, and a policy of providing one textbook per learner per subject. These changes were mirrored in history as it was first merged with geography in the learning area of social sciences, losing its former nature. CAPS reinstated them as distinct disciplines, each retaining its substantive content. Consequently, the CAPS social sciences (Department of Basic Education, 2011b & c) cover two distinct documents covering grade 4 to 9 history and geography in the General and Training Band (GET), and another for history as a standalone subject in the Further Education and Training Band (FET), encompassing grades 10 to 12.

The General aims of the South African curriculum

The National Curriculum Statement Grades R–12 (2011) is based on the principles of social transformation, active and critical thinking, high knowledge, and high skills: the minimum standards of knowledge and skills, progression in context, and content from simple to complex. The CAPS document (DoE, 2011c:11) highlights the concepts as historical sources and evidence, a multi-perspective approach, cause and effect, change and continuity, and time and chronology, thus conforming to international trends.

Standardized tests for history do not exist at the international level due to the contextual shaping of history knowledge in different countries. This shaping is influenced by factors such as national identities; values; social, economic, and political factors; and other ideological filters. Recent developments in the field of history education have seen increased focus on fostering patriotism and citizenship. Global transitions in leadership have altered national and international curricula and knowledge content, sometimes to the detriment of the 'other' (cultural and national) people. While this paper does not delve into ideological shifts, it examines the structure and status of historical knowledge in textbooks and its influence on progression through the grades in phases of the South African history curriculum. Moreover, it seeks to uncover the implications for a country that is routinely underachieving. It is not only among the worst in the world but often among the worst in the southern African region and in Africa as a whole (Bloch, 2009:17). It is also found that some well-resourced schools are still dysfunctional twenty-five years after democracy, which has been sufficient time to address historical backlogs and inequalities (Arendse, 2019).

Literature Review

Knowledge in text

According to Kissack (1997:215), "knowledge is inextricable from the medium of language in which it is presented". History knowledge is predominantly presented in English. The educational policy allows for English to be studied as a home language or first additional language. The CAPS social science policy documents refer the teachers to the language policy for guidelines on writing in history. The CAPS home languages document (DoE, 2011a:10) states: "We know from research that children's vocabulary development is heavily dependent on the amount of reading they do." It also advances that well-developed 'reading

and viewing' skills are central to successful learning across the curriculum, including social sciences, and that learners are expected to develop proficiency in interpreting a wide range of literary and non-literary texts, including visual texts.

The Durkheimian 'differentiation of knowledge' concept in the social realist program consists of the concepts of context-dependent knowledge that are acquired from experience (Vygotsky, 1962; Popper, 1978) and abstract content-independent knowledge (cited in Rata, 2016:171). Rata uses Young's (2010) notion of "powerful knowledge" to highlight its epistemic and specialised properties in assisting learners in abstract and context-independent ways. Winch (2013) uses the term 'epistemic ascent' to describe knowledge at different levels of abstraction and complexity in and outside of specific contexts (Rata, 2016:172). In the absence of a link between the unknown and the known which builds in a logical order, the textbook or teachers themselves may fail as pedagogues. Textbook authors cannot assume that all learners can process the information in texts successfully. History textbooks are powerful tools that can support effective learning, comprehension, and conceptual development. Therefore, how textbooks present knowledge has implications for how students learn history.

The history textbook as an instrument of learning

Seminal works like that of Loewens (1995) in the United States and Counsel (2018) in the United Kingdom are among the large bank of studies that have brought an increased focus on textbook content. South African history textbooks have been scrutinised for various reasons including racism, sexism, stereotypes, and historical inaccuracies (Auerbach, 1965; Du Preez, 1983; Esterhuyse, 1986; Sieborger, 1992; Bundy, 1993 as cited in Engelbrecht, 2005). Morgan's (2011) South African literature review focused on the politics of the curriculum, the perpetuation of segregationist ideals (Dean et al., 1983), the disappearance of White Afrikaner history from textbooks (Pretorius, 2007; Visser, 2007; van Eeden, 2008), white and black role reversal, including how the Afrikaner Nationalists were replaced by the African Nationalists (Engelbrecht, 2008). Bertram and Bharath's (2011) interrogation of history textbook content found an over-prioritisation of everyday knowledge over procedural knowledge and a lack of a sense of chronology, space, and time. The present study traces these constructs in the substantive knowledge of a different sample of textbooks, identifying what contributes to its complexity and how learners gain from it.

The language in textbooks

According to Short (1994:541), reading passages in history are long and filled with abstract and unfamiliar schema that cannot be easily demonstrated. The textbook is identified by Schleppegrell et al. (2012:72) as the primary source of disciplinary knowledge where the content and language of the text cannot be separated. Consequently, language becomes a challenge to learner progression in history simply because it becomes increasingly complex and abstract as learners pass through grades.

For linguistic analysis, Schleppegrell et al. (2012) use Martin's (1991) and Unsworth's (1999) studies of Australian middle school history textbooks to identify key linguistic features of historical discourse. Among these are nominalisations (transformation into a noun/nominal to reorganise clauses) and ambiguous use of conjunctions and ill-defined phrases which challenge students. It can be argued that the indications of complexity or progression are signaled by the patterns of grammar within and across texts. Nominalisation is a language resource used to understand how some texts present decontextualised language of academic knowledge. It is a process whereby events (normally expressed as verbs) and logical relations (normally expressed as logical connectors) are packaged as nouns. The manner in which authors of textbooks fashion the language of the text and the vocabulary choices they make, create challenges for learner understanding. The use of nominalisation in texts increases language density and abstraction.

There is also an understanding that the academic language of the school and textbooks is different from the informal, interactive language of spontaneous face-to-face interaction. This idea is developed by Cummins' (1984) distinction between two differing language types called BICS (basic interpersonal communication skills) and CALP (cognitive academic language proficiency). BICS refer to the 'surface' skills of listening and speaking (or everyday skills) acquired rapidly by students, while CALP refers to the basis for a child to cope with academic demands from different subjects (increasingly subject-specific, technical, and abstract). Cummins (1984) uses this continuum model to categorise the tasks pupils engage with from cognitively undemanding to cognitively demanding and from context-dependent (strong contextualisation) to context-independent (weak contextualisation).

A context-embedded task is one where students have access to a range of visual and oral cues, and meaning is easily acquired. A context-reduced task pertains to reading a dense text where the language is the only resource. Schleppegrell et al. (2008:176) argue that the language of texts, called academic language, presents information in new ways, using

vocabulary, grammar, and text structures that call for advanced proficiency in this complex language. New challenges are presented to students to learn to recognise, read, and adopt when they are writing. Teachers face the challenge of simplifying and decoding dense texts, while students are faced with new difficulties in recognising and reading the material.

Martin (2013:23) views these technicalities and abstractions in subject-specific discourses about high-stakes reading and writing. Within the field of systematic functional linguistics (SFL), he advances concepts of power words, power grammar, and power compositions for teachers to use as tools to build knowledge. Martin (2013) describes the transition from primary to secondary phases as a shift from basic literacy to subject-based learning which is composed of specialised discourse of kinds.

The theoretical framework

Sociologist and educational theorist Basil Bernstein highlighted the role of language in shaping educational disparities through his "code theory" which explores the relationship between social classes, language, and educational achievement. His "restricted code" is associated with the working class or marginalised communities and is context-bound, relying on shared experiences. In contrast, his "elaborated code" is linked to the middle class where learning is more abstract and context-independent. According to Bernstein (1971), these codes have different linguistic styles that have implications for learning and socialisation. He classifies school knowledge as formal and specialised, while everyday knowledge is more personal and localised where the context of the home plays a significant role in developing what the learner knows before they come to school. Bernstein (1999) views everyday knowledge as tacit, context-bound knowledge that can be oral and is relevant across contexts. School knowledge, conversely, is classified by Bernstein (1999) as explicit and hierarchically organised with a systematically principled structure. According to Bernstein (1996), school knowledge (academic) categorised as a vertical discourse, and everyday knowledge categorised as a horizontal discourse, are differently acquired and structured.

Studies have shown that the balance between the two types of knowledge can affect learners in different ways (Williams, 2001, as cited in Ensor & Galant, 2005). Research in various fields of study (Ensor & Galant, 2005; Dowling, 1998; Rose, 1999; Taylor & Vinjevold, 1999) has indicated that learners can be disadvantaged by the fusion of academic and everyday practice (cited in Bharath, 2009:39). It can be argued that this disadvantage arises from an exclusive or heavy reliance on the everyday discourse. Naidoo (2009:5),

in a study of 'progression and integration', indicated that some historically disadvantaged schools did not provide learners with the opportunities to learn high-level knowledge and skills, and that the dominance of the integration of school knowledge with everyday knowledge compromised the conceptual progression expected of school knowledge, thus disadvantaging learners. Disciplinary knowledge, therefore, is important for the acquisition of certain concepts. According to Hoadley and Jansen (2004), specialised formal schooling knowledge is acquired through specific language and concepts. They argue that when everyday knowledge overwhelms school knowledge there is a danger of learners not developing a systematic understanding of the discipline.

Maton's concepts of decontextualised and contextualised knowledge

Extending Bernstein's insights, Maton (2013) in legitimation code theory (LCT) highlights the significance of cumulative knowledge building by making 'semantic waves' in knowledge. These 'semantic waves' refer to the recurrent movement in 'semantic gravity' (context-dependence) and 'semantic density' (condensation of meaning) (Matruglio et al., 2012:38).

   The language of textbooks often displays stronger semantic density in that a lot of ideas are condensed within terms, while at the same time displaying relatively weak semantic gravity in that the knowledge can be out of the learner's context or decontextualised. The knowledge may not necessarily be dependent on a particular context, but can, instead, deal with more abstract principles or generalised phenomena (Matruglio et al., 2012). The teacher 'unpacks' the technical language in the textbooks by providing concrete examples, thereby strengthening the semantic gravity (contextualising the knowledge). Providing simpler explanations in everyday language further elicits meaning, and so weakens semantic density. Producing these shifts up and down semantic scales involves abstracting and generalising away from particular contexts to condensed, larger ranges of meaning into terms and concepts. The following tables summarise these ideas, clearly describing the movement of knowledge in both ways. Table 1 shows the shifts in semantic density and Table 2 shows the shifts in semantic gravity. I use Maton's concepts as a language of description to code and explain the position and movement of knowledge in the textbooks.

Table 1: Shifts in semantic density (Maton, 2013)

Semantic Density (condensation of meaning)	
Strong semantic density ←——————————→ Weak semantic density	
- Many ideas are condensed within terms in the texts - Knowledge is dense and abstract - Not easily accessible	- Simple, easily accessed meanings to words or concepts from experience or senses - Explicit and clear in possibly everyday language and explanation - Concrete descriptions

Table 2: Shifts in semantic gravity (Maton, 2013)

Semantic Gravity (context-dependence)	
Strong semantic gravity ←——————————→ Weak semantic gravity	
- Knowledge dependent on the context - Language explicit and concrete - Easily accessed - Local knowledge - Contextualised knowledge	- Knowledge not dependent on the context - Technical terminology and language - Knowledge abstract - Knowledge not easily accessed - Universal knowledge - Decontextualised knowledge

It seems that language plays a critical part in this explanation. According to Coffin (2010:2), "language can stand between a student and success in school learning". She illuminates how the texts students read and write denote or make visible how language functions in helping learners build content. Special attention is given to nominalisation as one of the language resources, as gaining control over it is essential for getting to grips with the decontextualised language in academic discourse (Coffin, 2010:5).

Methodology

Epistemological and ontological assumptions

The way we understand the world to be structured and constituted (the ontological), consequently sets boundaries around the way we gain knowledge of it (the epistemological). Knowledge-making in critical realism acknowledges that the study is a reasonable attempt

to deliver an interpretation of progression. It also acknowledges that some interpretations are fallible as new evidence and truths surface with greater time and investigation, but at the very least it offers information where it is scant (Wheelahan 2010).

This study does not claim generalisable results but rather offers an interpretation of the sample of texts that are analysed here. I attempt to be objective as a researcher involved in several coding levels; I do acknowledge that the absence of a second coder does constitute a limitation to the study. Another researcher could come up with different data from the same texts. I acknowledge that the reliability of the various instruments can be compromised if the coding of the texts is inconsistent because of human error, coder variability (within coders and between coders), and ambiguity in coding rules. However, I argue that in any study there is always a margin of error and that, as a social realist, I offer an interpretation which, to my knowledge, is based on honesty.

Data already publicly available in textbooks reduces ethical considerations. I include the publishers and writers in the reference list but refer to them as text 1 or grade 3 to text 7 or grade 9. Where I include scans from the textbooks, I include a full reference.

The approach and analysis

The study is located within the interpretive paradigm, utilising the methodology of content analysis. This method allows for the content of communication to serve as a basis of inference, from counts to categorisation (Cohen et al. 2007:197). To enhance the study's plausibility and credibility its design is fully described for replication:

- Preliminary level: I write detailed qualitative observational notes of each chapter in the form of a narrative. I note the distribution of content into several pages and paragraphs on a specific topic, their type, format, space, and the amount of information to gauge the complexity, quality, and depth. I categorise 'time and space' to denote context and chronology to describe differences. Maton's (2013) concepts of 'semantic gravity' and 'semantic density' provide a useful language of description to explain the shift in the context of knowledge (semantic gravity) or in meaning (semantic density).
- Demarcation techniques to identify substantive knowledge are employed. Topics, headings, word boxes or word banks, stories and explanations in textual format, pictures, maps, and other visuals including illustrations, sources, activities, and tasks are allotted into coding categories and organised into concept maps (see Image 2).

- Data is sorted by key terms, space (context under study), time and chronology (important historical dates), the number of participants, and important events.
- New vocabulary and nominalised words/concepts/terms and the readability of the texts are recorded and compared.
- Skills that learners would require as they engage with new content are recorded.
- Finally, comparative tables across grades are formulated outlining the differences in the categories.

Sampling
The selection and promotion of textbooks at schools

South African textbooks are the result of a complex interplay between the national curriculum, provincial education departments, textbook authors, publishers, and evaluation committees (Stoffels, 2007). CAPS-compliant textbooks that meet departmental criteria are included in the Department Catalogue for Learner and Teacher Support Material in either the GET or FET band. Teachers have the autonomy to select their textbooks which prioritise the curriculum, inclusion of learner-centred and activity-based exercises, as well as a teacher guide and aligned learner book. For this study, seven graded CAPS-compliant textbooks listed on the Department Catalogue for LTSM, from grades 3–9 were purposively sampled as they were conveniently accessible and purchased in bulk at the researcher's school, popular choices at local and district schools, and recommended by senior educators. There is no dedicated history textbook for grade 3 but their life skills textbook includes introductory ideas related to foundational historical concepts. The remaining choices for grades 4–9 combine both history and geography in one textbook, each featuring unique content, scope, and time. One chapter per text telling the history of South Africa in chronological order was selected for analysis.

The seven texts and seven chapters constitute acts of aggregation which Weber (1990, in Cohen et al., 2007) identifies as a compromise in reliability. Whole text analyses are desirable but are time-consuming with copious amounts of data generated. To avoid human error, the classification of the information ought to be consistent. Words are innately ambiguous and the danger of different coders 'reading' different meanings into them can arise. Thus, the researcher's 'language of description' is made explicit, coding and placement meticulous, and the data checked so that errors do not arise.

Findings

This study finds a clear progression of the substantive knowledge across the grades. The language becomes increasingly dense and abstract. Earlier themes of history 'about me' is very localised (context-bound) and presented in everyday knowledge. Later grades reveal in-depth, specialised, themes like the 'History of South Africa' which includes information about the apartheid struggle, highlighting the nature of the events leading to the collapse of apartheid, and the advent of democracy. The learners are transported in the text from their immediate environment to areas outside of their town, city, province, and country (decontextualised learning). Individual people are studied in depth while some are recognised in their groups, like the San. Depending on the role of the group or the individual and how significant their interactions were, they are remembered and respected by history, particularly the heroes of the political struggle for democracy.

Textbooks used in earlier years are found to be nontechnical and involve simple clauses that can be read with ease while texts engaged in later years present technical vocabulary with dense information. Observed in the texts are abstract terminology, finer print, and a greater number of pages. While posters, maps, photographs in black and white and colour enhance the visual appeal of textbooks, the complex nature of political cartoons is also showcased.

The concepts extracted from grade 3 to grade 9 expand in number and semantic density. The events in history are influenced by the arrival of settlers in South Africa. Their relationships with the natives also created cause for more events and shared experiences, creating multiple perspectives in history. The participants can be generalised in their collective names such as 'Boers' or 'Afrikaners' or they can be specific such as 'Albert Luthuli' and 'Nelson Mandela'. Both the generalised participants and specific people under study increase in the grade continuum. The blocks of learning to construct a story of the past are created in small increments, event by event, and number of people that construct a story of the past.

Learners in grade 3 learn about the local history of their environment, first engaging with everyday pictures of families and people. In grade 4, learners read about how stories can be constructed by gathering information from objects in the environment (evidence). They are shown how visual, written, and oral elements sourced from magazines, newspapers, and interviews with people can be utilised to understand the past. In grade 5, learners explore the San lifestyle by analysing images of the San people and depictions of archaeological discoveries, enabling their historical understanding of the San culture.

The context then transitions from the early settlements of the Limpopo Valley and the early African societies to the exploration of trade and globalisation in grade 6. At this level learners require advanced skills as they engage with map analysis, exploration, and trade. This is indicated by the nature and complexity of the questions posed to learners as they navigate through the texts pointed to. In the grade 6 textbook, the maps are used to introduce learners to simple positions of countries and continents, exploration, and routes followed by European explorers. The lens widens substantially to penetrate closer into South Africa, centralising the focus on the Cape. The story is taken to the Cape where colonisation becomes the theme of change. Everyday words like 'transport' and 'harbor' in grade 3 shift to 'European exploration' in grade 6 and then to 'Black Consciousness' in grade 9.

Engaging with concepts like 'colonisation' and 'dispossession' in the Cape also requires a certain maturity and ability to understand. Its purposive placement in the grade 7 year of study and the textbook serve to build on what was placed before this. The maps, pictures, and drawings that are presented in the grade 7 text build on earlier images found in lower-grade textbooks. Maps included also have more complex information. The grade 7 textbook requires augmented skills as learners are required to write explanations and produce paragraphs on their understanding of 'colonisation' and the 'warfare between indigenous populations and the immigrants'. These activities require an understanding of different sub-components or elements such as rainfall patterns, climate, population distribution, and temperature which influence the lifestyle and location of the people in South Africa. These circumstances resulted in competition for land, resources, and subsistence, as people of that era depended on cultivating their food. The advanced and complex thinking in some activities denotes a highly proficient learner whose ability must be aligned with the task expectation.

The context, background, circumstances, and events, as well as concepts like 'repression' and 'negotiation' in the higher grades require analysis and explanation. Reading and engagement become more rigorous in grade 8 with the introduction of diagrams and political cartoons which require greater analysis, explanation, and interpretation. Timelines advance to include more information across greater periods about events out of the learners' context (decontextualisation). There are more photographs and posters for reading and analysing which require an informed critical reader. Complexity in grade 8 written tasks is even greater, as learners are requested to create timelines, posters, and mindmaps which require an understanding of the dimensions, content, style, criteria, and structure of the text to produce it. Knowledge and understanding of the event must proceed before the

learner tackles the task. Learners have to write definitions and explanations that involve a comprehensive understanding of the background, changes to the economy, context, and circumstances surrounding the Mineral Revolution. They have to provide reasons for and evaluate the circumstances of the event.

In grade 9, there are extracts from autobiographies, interviews, and speeches that require that a learner be proficient in language to engage with high-level tasks. The tasks require learners to be able to read at advanced levels to undertake a study of the background to events such as the Sharpeville massacre, the Soweto Uprising, and the circumstances at Langa, Evaton, and Vanderbijlpark. Temporal and spatial advancement, as well as increased language competence, is noted in the transition from common sense knowledge (immediate) to uncommon sense knowledge.

Writing production required in grade 9 in this sample of textbooks is the most complex, with learners required to write essays on the background, causes, results, and effects of a particular event. They are also required to produce mind maps and present debates and posters on the topic in a very structured manner. These tasks require time to plan, design, and present.

Vocabulary becomes more semantically dense and specialised to history (universal historical concepts like colonialism). Language is couched in words, and words are sometimes simple and everyday language and at other times semantically dense and abstract. A word like 'colonisation' is a semantically dense concept that has a universal meaning. The concept of 'colonisation' is also a specific abstract idea that is tied to a multitude of contexts. For example, 'colonisation' in grade 7 has both a contextualised meaning (in southern Africa) and a decontextualised meaning where different countries have colonised continents further away.

The accessibility of words or concepts hinges on their connection to a learner's context, resulting in a strong semantic grasp (contextualised). Conversely, weak understanding due to multiple meanings or lack of everyday relevance results in strongly decontextualised knowledge. Increasing complexity is the overall trend of the advancing grades. The use of source analysis, bias detection, and critical argument in the type of essays learners are required to write is in line with Greer's (1988:21) contention that writing in history "needs to reflect the disciplinary thinking of constructing arguments and reaching conclusions through the use of evidence, critical thinking, and a detailed analysis of the context and origin of evidence" (cited in Schleppegrell, 2012). According to the CAPS Social Sciences Policy Statement (DoE, 2011c) for grades 7–9, the learner has to demonstrate length and complexity through the grades stipulated by the language document. Thus, history

knowledge with dense vocabulary, subject-specific terminology, and complex sentence structure can create challenges. Concepts need unpacking through supportive language instruction for enhanced comprehension, fluency, and historical understanding.

How the texts are nominalised

Nominalisation refers to the language resources within a text that adds to its complexity, abstraction, and density. The analysis shows a steady increase in nominalisation across grades, becoming a key principle for charting progression across texts. Words that are dense in meaning and specialised to history can be context-bound and understood if related to an event. This study, thus, claims that abstract concepts in a text remain abstract until their meaning is unpacked and substantiated. A concept like 'resistance movement' can best be understood in a context such as that of the apartheid era. It also requires extensive explanation and foundational knowledge. It is also clear that significant nominalisation is tied to ability, grade level, and the maturity of learners. Image 1 below shows how nominalisation effectively increases the abstraction and density of a text.

Image 1: A scan of Text Seven:217, showing how a text can become dense and abstract

Source C

Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Police at the time of the Soweto uprising, said this about the way the police acted:

The police have throughout acted with the greatest measure of self-control and applied a minimum of force in the face of the biggest defiance and provocation. Where fire-arms were resorted to, it was with due consideration of the circumstances. Where it was obvious that the use of tear smoke was ineffective and the rioters acted with even greater resolution, warning shots were fired. Where, however, it was quite clear that the police would be overwhelmed and their lives seriously threatened, they fired in self-defence.

(Source: Available from: http://www.gutenberg-e.org/pohlandt-mccormick/ PM.c1pl.html. Last accessed 1 July 2012.)

In Image 1, there is a visible increase in the density and abstraction of the text. 'Defiance' is used instead of 'defy', 'provocation' instead of 'provoke', 'consideration' instead of 'consider', and 'resolution' instead of 'resolve'. This type of writing would necessitate a reader who cannot only identify the word but can also grasp its meaning in the context. Image 2 below shows how nominalisation is built into the concept map. Seven conceptual maps are harvested for each of the textbooks and then each category on the map is collated on tables for comparison. Table 3 which follows Image 2 shows how increasing skills are collated on a table.

Image 2: Concept Map 1 of Text Seven (Grade 9) (Bharath, 2015:208)

Reading:
- Event chronological dismantling.
- Background and events: Sharpeville massacre, Soweto uprising, Langa, Evaton, Vanderbijlpark, Black Consciousness
- Sources: books, autobiography, interviews, speeches, cartoons, posters, time

Writing/texts produced:
- Explanations/ reasons for events.
- Essay writing on background, causes, results, and effects of events.
- Mind-mapping, preparing debates, presenting posters.

Substantive concepts specifically taught:
- Apartheid, oppression, racism, minority rights.
- Causes, leaders, events, long- and short-term consequences of apartheid and democratic movements (ANC, PAC).
- Reserves. Homelands.
- Resistance to apartheid, violence, and event leading to democracy;, role of Mandela.
- Purposive chronological/sequenced event description.
- Specific participants: Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela, Phillip Kgosana, Tsitsi Mashinini.,
- Generalise participants: ANC, PAC, Cosatu, Black people, white people, and freedom fighters.
- Clear narrative text structure: beginning (background), middle, or end.
- Clear description of many events (abridged, summarised and bulleted for easy reference on turning points).

Grade 9:
Turning points in South African
History: 1960, 1976, and 1990

Nominalisations: (26)
- Dominate-domination
- Form-formation
- Demonstrate-demonstration
- Resist-resistance
- Repress-repression
- Negotiate-negotiation
- Rise-uprising
- Solve-resolution
- Determine-determination
- Retaliate-retaliation
- Provoke-provocation
- Respond-response
- Liberate-liberation
- Ban-unbanning
- Democrat-democracy
- Situate-situation
- Define-definition
- Govern-ungovernable
- Move-movement
- Organise-organisation
- Employ-employment
- Federal-federated
- Emerge-emergency
- Press-pressure
- Constitute-constitution
- Dismiss-dismissal

Skills:
- Comparing and weighing evidence
- Analysing
- Describing
- Tabling
- Drawing maps
- Source-based investigation
- Explaining
- Discussing
- Summarising
- Identifying
- Mind-mapping
- Diarising
- Reading
- Interviewing
- Debating
- Arguing
- Formulating responses
- Compiling essays
- Designing and producing posters
- Assesing source reliability
- Detecting bias

Table 3: Skills Targeted in Textbooks (Bharath, 2015:217)

Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
- Matching - Reading - Understanding a timeline - Labelling - Comparing - Identifying	- Tabling - Recording - Analysing - Describing - Adding and totaling - Labelling - Interviewing - Explaining - Discussing	- Comparing - Analysing - Describing - Tabling - Drawing map - Explaining - Discussing - Summarising - Identifying -Mind-mapping - Diarising	- Comparing - Analysing - Describing - Labelling - Drawing - Explaining - Discussing - Summarising - Naming - Identifying -Listing and labeling - Utilising maps and scales - Timeline Construction - Source-based comprehension

| Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
- Comparing - Analysing - Describing - Tabling - Drawing maps - Source-based investigation - Explaining - Discussing - Summarising - Identifying - Mind-mapping - Diarising	- Comparing - Analysing - Describing - Tabling - Drawing maps - Source-based investigation - Explaining - Discussing - Summarising - Identifying - Mind-mapping - Diarising - Creating timelines - Poster-planning and presenting - Listing - Sequencing gold mining activities - Interpreting evidence	- Comparing and weighing evidence - Analysing - Describing - Tabling - Drawing maps - Source-based investigation - Explaining - Discussing - Summarising - Identifying - Mind-mapping - Diarising - Reading - Interviewing - Debating - Arguing - Formulating responses - Compiling essays - Designing and producing posters - Assessing source reliability -Detecting bias

Discussion of findings

Data from conceptual maps and tables indicate that substantive knowledge in the grade continuum commences as highly contextualised and progresses towards a strongly decontextualised form which becomes familiar only if the content is gradually unpacked.

The concepts specific to the discipline are the 'metaconcepts' of history that shape it. However, there are other 'concepts' or 'terms' such as 'dispossession', 'colonisation', and 'resistance' which fall into a general yet historical definition of the concept. These concepts are related to the topics that are being covered in the curriculum and text. On closer examination they are shown to be linked as a 'specialised' language to history. Words like 'gravity' and 'potential energy' are linked to natural science like 'respiration' and 'reproduction' are to biology. Similarly, concepts are linked to 'history' and while these may not seem different in complexity, each of the words or concepts is attached to levels of abstraction and understanding.

For instance, the historical concept of a 'timeline' at an introductory level is presented differently in higher grades. This is illustrated by the example below showing the use of a 'timeline' in a foundational grade. The grade 3 historian learns chronologically in events and language that is concrete and strongly contextualised. Higher grades present more complex timelines. In the grade 8 textbook, a single timeline presents decontextualised knowledge in subject-specific language. There are a large number of facts about many personalities, and their important contributions over a large space of time are presented in the same timeline. It requires not only an understanding of a timeline but also that the learner be highly proficient in comprehending various periods, events, and personalities. Image 3 shows a view of how a timeline is presented in the earlier grade:

Chronology and time appear as the main signifiers in the advancement of certain understandings. The struggle for democracy in South Africa can only be understood against the background of the apartheid history. In temporal terms this would amount to learning about the apartheid struggle before democratic victory. The concept of 'land dispossession' in grade 8 in South African history cannot be understood unless the earlier grade 5 explanation of the lifestyle, livelihood, location, and subsistence of the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa is properly understood. The African societies (Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe) in grade 6 cannot be thoroughly understood unless learners understand how the archaeological findings assisted in the construction of the story of the San. The very same procedures or archaeological excavations led to the discovery of Mapungubwe. Any conceptualisation of South African or African trade cannot be seen

Image 3: A view of how a timeline is used in an early-grade

Text One: Grade 3

Topic 1: About me: Pg. 1

Image 3 below shows a scan of Text One's introductory page: Showing a Timeline: About Me.
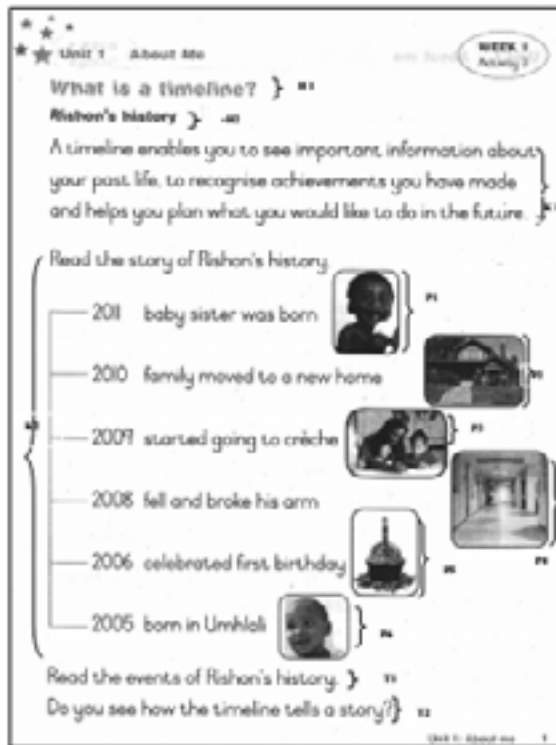
Sourced from: *Top Class Life Skills Grade 3 Learner's Book* by Boucher, S, Brown, J, Mostert, J, Hortop, S, Kelly, S, McLernan, H, Moodley, R & Mcaba, S 2011. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, pp. 1-1. Reprinted by permission of Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.

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from a historical perspective without first understanding the earliest ivory trade along the East Coast of Africa emanating from the early African societies. With the advent of globalisation, Marco Polo's travel is placed alongside the trade of African societies because both events transpired concurrently. The placement of these topics in the same chapter of the grade 6 text is purposive. The complexity of concepts aligns with the chronological progression of South African history.

The Federation of South African States was a consequence of 'colonisation' and 'land dispossession'. Therefore, grade 8 learners only learn about the 'federation' after 'colonisation' in grade 7. Maturity and development are also related to the kinds of concepts taught at different grades. For instance, 'political power' is only considered in grade 8 when the learner is mature enough to understand and assimilate this concept. It is only after this understanding of 'political power' that the idea of 'resistance movements', 'racism', and 'democracy' can be fully conceptualised. It appears that the order of concepts is contingent on the chronological advancement of historical events where learning about one event is a prerequisite for the next.

In grade 7, the 17th and 18th century social, political, and economic upheavals are explored after the colonisation of southern Africa. In grade 8, the Mineral Revolution and all its complexities provide details of the events in the 1880s. This lengthening and broadening tendency in history knowledge is further augmented in grade 9, when boundaries extend further to encompass the study of the turning points in South African history since 1948, including larger time study periods and greater numbers of participants after colonisation. Events, told from a variety of viewpoints, make for interesting multi-perspective history. Time and space, therefore, are important signals of progression in both substantive and procedural knowledge. History appears to be a subject that builds knowledge both 'vertically' and 'horizontally'. The number of concepts increases and within each concept is substantial or dense meaning that can be associated with various other contexts. This is why 'colony' can be understood as the Cape becoming a colony of Britain. It can also be associated with various colonies around the world without being confined by temporal or political borders.

Engineering a way to 'measure' and 'describe' the differences in the 'conceptual demand' of the textbooks is a challenging task. In this regard, Maton provides the concept of semantic gravity to describe the shift from contextualised to decontextualised knowledge, which he argues is essential to cumulative learning (Matruglio et al., 2012). Bertram (2014:7) recommends beginning with relatable, concrete narratives rather than abstract concepts, especially in lower grades. While this approach is evident in textbooks, it raises questions

about students' readiness to understand and engage effectively.

Recommendations

There is a need for a review of teaching and publishing strategies. Textbooks should feature accessible language devoid of abstract vocabulary and convoluted sentences. Publishing books at more accessible levels is a recommended strategy to promote learning across different languages. The significance of language translation is imperative in this context. Textbooks can be translated informally and formally for electronic circulation through social media platforms. Teacher awareness of context and language differences is important as they cannot assume uniform information processing capabilities amongst their learners. The teacher becomes the agent through which connections are made between existing knowledge and new material, effectively levelling the field and breaking down the context and content.

While customising instructional methods to accommodate diverse contexts and barriers to learning, interactive digital resources can be incorporated. The use of documentaries, audio books, videos, as well as QR codes to explain specific contexts can supplement resources. The Department of Education's initiative of departmental workbooks for grades 1 to 9 (mathematics and English) can be supported by history workbooks narrating South African stories, building on key methodologies and substantive knowledge. Subject-specific words can be creatively taught through the use of a history glossary book or dictionary. Graphic organisers can be used to 'tell' a story through symbols and pictures.

Additional research is warranted to ascertain the grasp of historical concepts by second-language learners, as well as the prevalence of these in matric history. Regular assessment and learner responses on comprehension abilities specific to history can elicit feedback on these levels. Targeted reading interventions for students who need support can be implemented. Reflective logs can give teachers an idea of how learners have learnt and how teaching can be improved.

Conclusion

This study argues that complex historical concepts and language in textbooks may hinder learners' interpretation of historical content. Some historical elements are linked to culture and language can impede understanding of different contexts and periods. Differences in instructional language can hamper the progress of less proficient learners and prevent them

from expressing their ideas and empathy regarding historical events. This can disconnect them from the subject content and reduce their enjoyment of the subject. The study brings to light the linguistic inequity in South Africa and the need to monitor learners who engage with one of the 11, now 12 official languages. Since materials of historical significance are conveyed in the English language, the question of how learners relate to them is relevant. Academic challenges may be attributable to language factors rather than cognitive deficit

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Building an archive for 'future pasts': Undergraduates document their local Covid-19 'moment' in World History

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2023/n30a4

Abstract

A substantial body of history teaching scholarship links student archival engagements and primary source work to various desirable educational outcomes, among them an enhanced capacity for historical thinking and imagination. A related scholarly literature considers the interface between pedagogy and public memory-making. This article enters and links these points of discussion by reflecting on a collaborative classroom project of digital archive-building, using the online Dublin Core-complicit platform Omeka. At the University of Johannesburg, during the first six months of 2021, first-year students in an online world history classroom produced, submitted, and categorised a body of primary sources—both textual and visual. These submissions reflected their own, ongoing experiences of Covid-19 and of lockdown policies. They used photographs and wrote in their home languages to convey the disruptions, innovations, hardships, and resiliences felt as young people within diverse lifeworlds. Aligned to photovoice methodologies, the exercise promoted a reflection of historical consciousness in two ways: first, by situating the pandemic of the present within a broad global history; and, second, by considering 'future pasts' as a politics of memory, research, and representation. The article describes the production of the archival database, 'Joburg21', and considers the pedagogical challenges and rewards of building a digital 'archive for the future'.

Keywords: Digital humanities; Historical thinking; Memory; Archival turn; Source work; Decolonising history; Covid-19; Remote teaching.

A vast history-teaching and curriculum policy literature promotes the benefits of awarding university students meaningful opportunities to encounter and grapple with primary source materials from archives. Source work is considered core (the *sine qua non*, the 'mantra') for the development of historical thinking and imagination.[1]

Through class activities that engage students in reading, appraising, analysing, organising, and contextualising archival documents, students become acquainted with the nuanced work and dilemmas of the historian's craft. As importantly, such activities empower students to appreciate a key distinction between history (the disciplinary undertaking) on the one hand, and the past (time and events before the present moment that include what is unrecorded and unavailable in published accounts) on the other hand.[2] It is therefore also the contingencies of history that can be conveyed through source work: contingency both of the past itself and of what is 'recovered' as historical narrative. Trouillot points to this tension as a key politics of the archive, which produces knowledge and silences simultaneously.

Recently, the 'archival turn' within historical research has brought this politics—a politics of memory-making in a world of power relations and inequalities of 'voice'—into focus also in pedagogy and its ethics.[3] Discussions about source work and its learning outcomes for history are being freshly drawn into dialogue with the fields of museum, heritage, and library studies.[4] This is also because archives have in many cases become more accessible with digital technologies and expanding online environments. These realities have enlivened further critical reflection on teaching with and from archives,[5] and are also

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1 BA Van Sledright, "What does it mean to think historically… and how do you teach it?" *Social Education*, 68(3), 2004, p. 232; KL Harris and R Van der Merwe, "'What's in the box?' – archives, history skills and honours students", *Yesterday & Today*, 23, July 2020, p. 30; T Andrews and F Burke, 'What does it mean to think historically?' *Perspectives on History*, 2007 (Newsletter of the American History Association): https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/january-2007/what-does-it-mean-to-think-historically (Accessed 8 May 2023).

2 M-R Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995). For a contrasting perspective on the same issue see Dray on Collingwood's positivist account of source 'incompleteness' and the 'non-existent past', in WH Dray, *History as Reenactment: RG Collingwood's Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 233–242.

3 W Hayden, "And gladly teach: the archival turn's pedagogical turn", *College English*, 80(2), 2017, pp. 133–58.

4 J Hoyer, "Out of the archives and into the streets: Teaching with primary sources to cultivate civic engagement", *Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies*, 7, 2020; M Neal, K Bridgman, and SJ McElroy, "'Many happy returns':Student archivists as curators of public memory", J Greer and L Grobman, *Pedagogies of public memory: Teaching writing and rhetoric at museums, archives and memorials* (New York, Routledge, 2016), pp. 117–131.

5 J Enoch and P Van Haitsma, "Archival literacy: Reading the rhetoric of digital archives in the Undergraduate Classroom", *College Composition and Communication*, 67(2), December 2015, pp. 216–242.

related to pedagogical issues raised by the exigencies of the pandemic classroom.[6]

Practitioners of teaching are continually searching for creative ways to inspire historical thinking in their curricula. Rationales for honing primary source literacies have resided in promoting skill sets: conceptual, ethical, theoretical, and practical.[7] These include, for example: disciplined and logical thinking, as students read and weigh up diverse and competing voices towards factual and contextual understanding and analysis; cosmopolitanism and empathy with strangers, as students come into contact with people living in foreign times and circumstances; critical awareness of interests, biases, and perspectives held by various creators of sources produced for different purposes.

Yet, ideals of teaching historical thinking do not always manifest in practice.[8] Moreover, effective transmission of this skill set is not the only concern. Samantha Cutrara points out that rationales for assigning primary source work can threaten to discount—and even implicitly disparage—the existing capabilities students bring into the classroom.[9] For example, they often discount the value of subjective readings and interpretations of documents that students bring with them, viewing these as naive and a deficit to be rectified. She argues that subjective readings have value because they may "allow for greater conversations about power and privilege through and in the discipline of history, in ways that the [traditional] Historical Thinking approach does not do".[10] What Cutrara invokes here, also, is the emotional and affective nature of archival encounters that can engage students in a more dynamic way with studies of the past.

Source work in the classroom does not always help students to connect a given document, object, or image to its own 'biography' and the factors that explain its preservation and availability. It may not raise questions about the rationales through which

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6 S Motala and K Menon, "The hill we climb: in search of a new pedagogy", *South African Review of Education*, 27(1), 2022, pp. 140–159; AP Lee and K Springer, "Socially engaged oral history pedagogy amid the COVID-19 pandemic", *The Oral History Review,* 47(2), 2020, pp. 227–239; TD Oyedotun, "Sudden change of pedagogy in education driven by COVID-19: Perspectives and evaluation from a developing country", *Research in Globalization*, 2, 2020, 100029.

7 SAA-ACRL/RBMS Joint Task Force on the Development of Guidelines for Primary Source Literacy, "Guidelines for primary source literacy", Association of [American] College and Resource Libraries, 2018, pp. 3–6. https://www2.archivists.org/sites/all/files/GuidelinesForPrimarySourceLiteracy-June2018.pdf (Accessed 10 June, 2023).

8 LM Westhoff, "Lost in translation: The use of primary sources in teaching history", RG Ragland and KA Woestman, *The teaching American history project: Lessons for history educators and historians* (New York, Routledge, 2009), pp. 62–76.

9 S Cutrara, "The subjectivity of archives: Learning from, with, and resisting archives and archival sources in teaching and learning history", *Historical Encounters*, 9(1), 2019, pp. 117–132.

10 S Cutrara, "The subjectivity of archives…", *Historical Encounters*, 9(1), 2019, p. 123.

collections are created, their aims, and function in a wider social context. Students are sensitive to and interested in the issues of visibility and silence for history writing in diverse and unequal societies. Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario Ramirez demonstrate the importance of local community archives as "responses not only to the omissions of history as the official story written by a guild of professional historians, but the omissions of memory institutions writ large …".[11] Archives, as they explain, can be spaces of affect and emotion. Repositories geared to retrieve experiences and voices marginalised in 'official' accounts can nurture a greater interest and sense of connection to the past. The authors report how students visiting one community archive were "'surprised' and 'inspired'" to find out about largely unknown histories and "excited to see themselves as part of history."[12]

What is pedagogically at stake in all this relates to questions of engagement but also a wider ethics (and not merely a technique) of remembering within the contexts of social inequality in which teaching happens. History educators have innovated methods to assist student reflection on government archives as products of history, inviting their awareness and remedial action. Tammie Kennedy and Anika Walker, for example, outline and assess a classroom project in which students generated sources that expanded collections of previously 'hidden' stories, through oral history research.[13] By contributing new accounts and voices to the available record, students had the opportunity to "explore how memory is political, context-dependent, and imbued with emotion and imagination rather than simply fixed, academic facts …".[14]

Michael Neal, Katherine Bridgman, and Stephen McElroy describe the value they observed in creating opportunities for students in an archival collection to retrieve, sort, classify, and summarise the content of previously unprocessed documents, making 'lost' voices newly available.[15] Similarly, Karen Harris and Ria van der Merwe describe a class assignment ("What's in the box?") in which they required students to identify, contextualise, and present documents from unprocessed boxes in a local and understaffed archive.[16]

As students contribute to archive-making, the constructed and contingent nature

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11 M Caswell, M Cifor, and MH Ramirez, "'To suddenly discover yourself existing': Uncovering the impact of community archives", *The American Archivist,* 79 (1), 2016, p. 62.

12 Caswell et al, "To suddenly discover…", *The American Archivist,* 79 (1), 2016, p. 71.

13 TM Kennedy and AL Walker, "A pedagogy for the ethics of remembering: Producing public memory for the women's archive project", J Greer and L Grobman, *Pedagogies of public memory: Teaching writing and rhetoric at museums, archives and memorials* (New York, Routledge, 2016), pp. 91–104.

14 TM Kennedy and AL Walker, "A Pedagogy for the ethics of remembering…" J Greer and L Grobman, *Pedagogies of public memory…* p. 91.

15 Neal et al, "'Many happy returns'", J Greer and L Grobman, *Pedagogies of public memory…* pp. 117–131.

16 Harris and Van der Merwe, "'What's in the box?'…", *Yesterday & Today*, 23, July 2020, pp. 30–43.

of archives may become more apparent. Some curriculum developers have framed this component of primary source literacy as the product of professional choices and individual decision-making. For example, a relevant learning outcome conceptualised in the American *Guidelines for Primary Source Literacy* proposes that students should:

> "*Understand that historical records may never have existed, may not have survived, or may not be collected and/or publicly accessible. Existing records may have been shaped by the selectivity and mediation of individuals such as collectors, archivists, librarians, donors, and/or publishers, potentially limiting the sources available for research.*"[17]

The wording here shows how some discussions of source work can elide archival politics. I am convinced by calls, like Cutrara's, for pedagogies that promote student "*learning into* …power and politics".[18] This may require grappling further with the idea of historical thinking. Some scholarship strives to address politics of historical thinking and sources in postcolonial teaching contexts to promote critical historical interpretations.[19] Other interventions address the politics of historical research to awaken agency in the present.

A compelling and, for my own classroom endeavours, relevant intervention that extends historical thinking as a concept, is Andreas Körber's elaboration of "future pasts".[20] As he explains, the focus of most teaching aims is "on chronology, causes and consequences presented firmly from a–mostly national–retro-perspective".[21] For Körber, there is a second teaching opportunity in conveying a sense of the present as a 'future past'.

The aim here compels teachers to take up issues of pedagogical ethics and to grapple with the current conditions of society. Students are encouraged to think of people (professional historians and others) in a future period as appraisers and narrators of our own times and our own actions. For Körber, "the concept of the future as an open possibility, to be rather freely manipulated by the individual itself" has less potential for historical consciousness than "[t]he concept of a future past, of a retrospective sense-making about the self,

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17 Outcome 2D in the *Guidelines for primary source literacy*. SAA-ACRL/RBMS Joint Task Force, *Guidelines…*, p. 5.

18 S Cutrara, "The subjectivity of archives…", *Historical Encounters*, 9(1), 2019, p. 118. (original emphasis

19 For example, A Ibrahim, *Historical Imagination and Cultural Responses to Colonialism and Nationalism* (Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, Petaling Jaya, Selangor, 2017).

20 A Körber, "Extending historical consciousness: Past futures and future pasts", *Historical Encounters*, 9 (1), 2019, pp. 29–39.

21 Körber, "Extending historical consciousness", *Historical Encounters*, 9 (1), 2019, p. 29.

anticipated in the present".[22] Such reflexive posture can:

> *"help in conceptualizing our questions to the past not only to refer to who we are today because of the past and to our possibilities of acting in the light of the past, but also to taking into account the consequences of our actions in the future and for the past of those coming after us."*[23]

In my own teaching of a first-year global history module at the University of Johannesburg (UJ), always a large classroom of between 400–500 students annually, I have been interested in exploring methods for developing historical thinking, sensitive to the insights of archival politics. In the next sections I describe a collaborative classroom project that was designed and implemented during the Covid-19 lockdown, integrated into conditions of remote teaching. It encouraged students to consider their experiences of the present as 'future pasts'.

It is important to note here that UJ showed extraordinary ingenuity in providing students for almost two years with devices and monthly allotments of 'data' (bandwidth) to enable studies to continue their studies during national lockdown. The inevitable challenges were compounded, nonetheless, by South Africa's chronic, almost daily 'loadshedding' (power outages) and the infrastructural and technical issues that constitute its digital divide. These are important elements of social and economic inequalities in a country with the highest Gini coefficient in the world.[24]

Building a digital "archive for the future" during the time of Covid-19

During the first half of 2021, I introduced a class project that straddled UJ's flagship themes promoting the 'fourth industrial revolution' (4IR) and a decolonised curriculum. Almost 400 students in an online Johannesburg first-year university history classroom built a

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22 Körber, "Extending historical consciousness", *Historical Encounters*, 9 (1), 2019, p. 33.

23 Körber, "Extending historical consciousness", *Historical Encounters*, 9 (1), 2019, p. 36.

24 The World Bank, "New World Bank Report Assesses Sources of Inequality in Five Countries in Southern Africa", 9 March 2022 https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2022/03/09/new-world-bank-report-assesses-sources-of-inequality-in-five-countries-in-southern-africa#:~:text=South%20Africa%2C%20the%20largest%20country,World%20Bank's%20global%20poverty%20database; see also, https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/gini-coefficient-by-country (accessed 10 June 2023).

digital archive by uploading images and narratives that reflected their own experiences and local life-worlds under Covid-19 and 'lockdown' policies. Students used phone cameras to document their subject matter and articulated the meaning of their images in home languages, contributing to a number of thematic collections that revealed personal and community hardships but also their wellsprings of resilience. We called the site 'Joburg21' to reflect place, year, and the youthful perspectives convened in its database.

This collaborative project was integrated into the fourteen-week-long history module, *History 1A: Global History of Humanity to 1500 CE* as its final activity and 'unit' of five units, each unit focusing on a 'revolution' or 'turning point' in global history. The aim was to engage students in historical thinking in two ways. First, the structure of the course with its emphasis on global 'turning points' worked towards an imaginary that assisted students in contextualizing their experiences of the present into a broader chronology of the past.[25] Specifically, our discussions aimed to situate and compare the pandemic of the present— and our 'everyday' experiences of it—within world-historical events. The most direct comparison was with unit four, which explored social histories of the fourteenth century's 'black death' as it affected everyday life, medical thinking, governmental policies, public compliance, and push-back in parts of Afro-Eurasia.[26]

Towards a second form of historical thinking, I aimed to encourage students to imagine their place in history but also their own historical agency in relation to Körber's conception of 'future pasts'. Here students understood that they acted as makers of history by producing and submitting sources, comprising their own subjective accounts and perspectives, to a repository "for the future" (Fig.1). I intended this aspect of the exercise to shine a light on the processes that constitute a politics of memory, research, and representation.

The digital archive-building project (Fig. 1) was crafted as an answer to two questions posed within the module, viz.: (1) How will future historians recount our own local moment of global change during Covid-19? (2) What sources will be available, and in what languages and words, for documenting the experiences and perceptions of young people in Johannesburg (that is, beyond official or elite voices)?

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25 JA Whitehouse, "Teaching history through turning points", *Curriculum and Teaching*, 37(2), October 2022, pp. 5–13.

26 Our focus on the social history of the fourteenth century bubonic plague drew on chapters and sections from J Byrne, *Daily Life during the Black Death* (London, Greenwood Press, 2006).

Figure 1. Banner for our online "archive for the future"

In 2019 I had written a successful teaching innovation grant to purchase a platinum version of the software package Omeka.[27] Omeka is an archive-building database and platform developed by the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media Studies at George Mason University. The product has open-source options, but also includes professional packages for purchase when large amounts of digital storage are required (as for this class project).

Recently, a number of history and library science educators have employed Omeka for engaging students with archives in different ways. Most have asked students to submit archival items of pre-selected texts, photographs, and object images into existing platforms with commentary, collate student work, or curate exhibitions using pre-submitted 'items'.[28] For Joburg21, students were the authors of the sources in a custom-made digital archive with a mandate to document their own experience of the present historical moment in different ways and to render these sources identifiable through Dublin Core metadata.[29]

Students generated and used photographic images—a minimum of five 'items' per student—using written text to describe the images and tell stories that highlighted the impacts and changes in their daily lives. As a group, they contributed around 2000 images

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27 See www.Omeka.net

28 C Hoelscher, "Constructing history: A student-created public history exhibit using Omeka", *Case Studies on Teaching with Primary Sources*, Society of American Archivists, Cast Study #11, 2019, pp. 1–6. See https://www2.archivists.org/publications/epubs/Case-Studies-Teaching-With-Primary-Sources (Accessed 14 June 2023); EL Cuenca and M Kowaleski, "Omeka and other digital platforms for undergraduate research projects on the middle ages", *Digital Medievalist*, 11(1): 3, 2018, pp. 1–21, DOI: https://doi.org/10.16995/dm.69 (accessed 14 June 2023); B Billeaudeaux and C Eisel, "Using Omeka to bring women's history to online learners", SK Stein and M Macleod, *Teaching and learning history online: A guide for college instructors*, (New York, Routledge, 2023); AC Marsh, "Omeka in the classroom: The challenges of teaching material culture in a digital world", *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 2013; N Ingram-Monteiro and R McKernan, "An Omeka S repository for place- and land-based teaching and learning", *Information Technology and Libraries*, September 2022, pp. 1–13. https://doi.org/10.6017/ital.v41i3.15123 (Accessed 12 June 2023).

29 See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dublin_Core

and narrative accounts in multiple languages, tagged with keywords. They mapped most of these submissions using geo-location software (Fig. 2). Finally, they catalogued their contributions using Dublin Core metadata.

Figure 2. Geo-mapping feature. Moving cursor over a peg opens a window summary for each item.

Students organised their photographic 'items' into ten thematic collections: medical care, spread of information, 'alternative' cures, vaccines, hardship, resilience, style and fashion, religious practices, friendship, family, education and economy.

Methods and processes

In developing the Joburg21 site, I was fortunate to have assistance from UJ's Centre for Academic Technologies (CAT), with 2–3 hours weekly of designated assistance by a staff member who crafted the site's theme and structure, designed its banner, and assisted with the arduous process of verifying student identities in their accounts.[30] The Omeka project did not translate into easy teaching, particularly in a remote context, with other acute challenges. I spent most evenings and weekends assisting individual students troubleshooting their accounts and attending to a range of frustrating technical problems. Regular loadshedding (scheduled and unscheduled) augmented the challenges of our online context.

Omeka offers several "roles" for those with accounts on the site. As 'super-

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30 This was the wonderful Anna Coetzee, see acknowledgments.

administrators', the senior tutor, CAT staff member, and I divided up 400 first-year accounts equally to check each one by hand: its activation status, adherence to instructions, to verify a student's identity and registration, and to assign a role of 'contributor'. We reached out to absent students or those for whom we had identified problems. Once this was set up, contributions could commence.

As contributors, students could navigate behind the site's public view to upload and submit items. The four tutors for the class were given rights as 'administrators', enabling them to navigate, search, publish contributors' items, and to amend minor errors and issues in order to enhance the site's public interface. Attending to these details also took up my time, for example, deleting inadvertently replicated submissions or duplicated images within a single submission; requesting revision for misplaced metadata; and the like. Tutors and I were responsible for publishing each 'item' as they assessed and marked submissions, after first determining its originality and ethical compliance.

Students were allotted just over two weeks for the photovoice part of the exercise, photographing their images and writing up brief explanations and descriptions for each. I encouraged students to write these short descriptions in the form of a story, bringing their own voice, creativity, and style to their narratives. These varied in length, from one to three or four paragraphs, depending on what they wished to convey. I encouraged my linguistically diverse class to use home languages in these write-ups, a relevant consideration for a classroom in which English is a second language for the majority (80%).[31] I offered ten additional marks (beyond the 100 marks possible) to students who wrote in a language other than English.

I wanted students to be able to tell their story in their own words and to produce an archive that reflected the larger cultural context of Johannesburg and surrounds. In class we discussed why language was a crucial resource in an archive for future historians. An archive reflecting home and community languages was vital because the Covid-19 lockdown and vaccination were at the time generating new vocabularies and terminologies. In their evaluations students 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that this linguistic diversity was "a valuable part of the project".[32]

Three different sets of written instructions and a training video I created to demonstrate the submission process explained the rationales and contours of the project and its various

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31 According to UJ data reported in 2022. With thanks to Vice Dean (T&L) Prof. Suzy Graham for sharing this data.

32 Out of a possible score of 4, students' approval of home language use scored 3.5.

technical steps. Instructions were downloadable and viewable in the online course management platform, Blackboard, but I also explained each instruction in special remote sessions using the available conferencing software. In course evaluations, over 60% of students disagreed or strongly disagreed that the task was "technically challenging".

As a first step, students created and activated Omeka accounts. Success on both counts earned students ten marks automatically, including those who weathered the frustrations and sought my assistance. The second step involved uploading their images and texts, and formatting them into retrievable sources within the Omeka database. This involved an intricate but relatively easy process of 'adding an item'.

As noted, each student was responsible for five items. An 'item' represented one source, that is, one completed submission within Omeka. This included an original image/ photograph or thematic set of photographs; identifying its location on a map using Omeka's GIS plugin; the entry of information according to the specific Dublin Core metadata descriptors; and a short narrative description or story, cut and pasted as one Dublin Core element. Students 'tagged' images with their own descriptive, multilingual search terms and assigned it to one of the ten thematic collections.

Because there were many elements of this assignment, marks (of up to 110 in total) were awarded for the different elements required. As mentioned, a student received ten marks for successfully creating and activating an Omeka account and up to ten bonus marks for the use of home language, including narratives that demonstrated linguistic 'code-switching'. Up to six marks were possible for each of five photo 'items'—a judgement of their originality and local nature, creativity of format and content, and their communicative power. Up to six more marks were awarded for accurate and complete assignment of Dublin Core metadata, mapping, tagging, and theme. Finally, up to six marks could be earned for the story or narrative description of a respective photograph. The Omeka project, run in the final two weeks of the module, constituted 20% of the students' mark for the semester.

Ethical considerations

This archive was designed to be a public contribution as a digital database and website, searchable by item, collection, exhibit, keyword, and location. Because the project involved students in archive building as producers of 'future-historical' information and as actors representing their own knowledge and experience, the issue of ethics was an important concern.

As an instructor of first-year undergraduates who had not yet been inducted into the

discourse of research ethics and who were accustomed to creating and sharing personal content on social media platforms, I was in the role of guardian and gatekeeper when it came to the ethics of crafting a public site. Several issues were at stake.

The first involved protecting the privacy and dignity of students themselves and of those close to them who might appear in their images and texts. This required training in research ethics and protocols of protecting human subjects (including themselves) and the concepts of informed consent and vulnerable populations. In the first instance, students were asked to share, discuss, and photograph only what they felt personally comfortable sharing, understanding that the archive would be available to potential viewers worldwide. They were also prompted to distinguish between a common social media shot (for example, striking a sexy pose in revealing clothing) and the professional demeanor appropriate to an academic documentary project. The assignment required that students avoid photographic subject matter that showed individuals breaking national lockdown rules or behaving in ways that could be deemed irresponsible by prevailing public health standards. They had to receive permission to publicly post an image involving friends or family. The national mask requirements further contributed to the anonymity of groups, and images of people in public spaces. Finally, although they could pin a public institution (for example, a shopping centre) on the map, students were asked to geo-locate more private settings (such as a home) in a very general manner.

We raised ethical questions around some further issues. The first concerned memory-making and the ethics of representation for public exhibits more generally. I created a tutorial and online quiz assessment around an article appearing in the December 2020 issue of the *New Yorker*, "How will we tell the story of the Coronavirus?". This article traces the dilemmas of professional curators tasked with gathering Covid-19-relevant items for the National Museum of American History, even as the epidemic unfolded around them.[33] My students were encouraged to reflect on the specific problems raised: how to ensure inclusive and diverse representations of experience; what criteria should be employed in selecting certain artifacts, images, documents, and sources; how to avoid sensationalist, traumatic, or inadvertently dehumanising (victim) images; the value of lateral representations of difficult subject matter; how to ensure dignity of subjects captured in photographs and written accounts.

A second ethical concern resided in the project's sponsorship by UJ, with best ethical

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33 A Dickson, "Who will we tell the story of the corona virus?", *New Yorker*, December 2020. https://www.newyorker.com/news/annals-of-communications/how-will-we-tell-the-story-of-the-coronavirus (re-accessed 17 June 2023)

practices important for the institution's reputation. Given the contested political climate in South Africa and elsewhere regarding vaccination, lockdown, xenophobia, and scapegoating—not forgetting the American President's endorsement of the therapeutic benefits of bleach—I was aware that our site could be a potential transmitter of misinformation. While I wanted students to express themselves genuinely, it was imperative to avoid giving further publicity to opinions and claims that undermined public health interventions or exacerbated fears or social conflicts. I thus warned students in advance that we would not publish items which aired unsubstantiated claims and might thereby pose dangers to individual or collective health. We would not publish items that constituted hate speech, that promoted products sold as miracle cures, or that incited breaking the law. Filtering out items that reflected such controversial points of view or conspiracy theories constituted a real limitation to the historical record which our archive was meant to capture since their local circulations were an undeniable part of our setting. This indicates how present moralities and politics necessarily constrained our own constructions of 'future pasts'.

A separate and minor, but still present, ethical issue was plagiarism. With 2000 images, it was impossible to thoroughly check each and every image and story for originality. The marking rubric encouraged tutors to keep an eye for implausibility, and I also personally went through the entire collection. Our gatekeeping strategy resided in what we published. We left out unpublished images that indeed had been cut and pasted from internet sites or which we deemed problematic for other reasons. Students could still receive some credit for meritorious elements of an unpublished submission. We judged that all except a handful of images were convincingly homegrown, demonstrating students' keenness to portray their immediate realities.

The various ethical constraints imposed did not appear to limit student self-expression in a disabling way. Students were able to account for many important spheres of life, sufficient to generate a rich collection of images. Students did not volunteer images or stories too personal to share. For example, while I was personally made aware of numerous students who lost close family and friends to the epidemic, this was not a theme that emerged in the submissions. Such, of course, presents a further limitation to the historical record of the Omeka archive in terms of representative experience. Here again, it was more crucial that students bring their own agendas for memory-making, with many unique and diverse stories, some of which coalesced around common themes.

Student outputs and responses

The contributions of students, both visual and textual, captured many elements of everyday life. I noticed that many chose to submit self-portraits. One student, for example, offered a memorable and humorous account of having his hair styled by his non-barber uncle, when local barbershops closed for business. The two pictures capture a lively backyard exchange between the two men, one armed with comb and scissors. This student, as others, populated the Dublin Core entry-blanks of the site to award his contribution a specific identity. This enabled Omeka to autogenerate and format a digital reference formula, both awarding him credit as the author of the source and hypothetically enabling 'future historians' to cite it.

As another notable contribution, a student showed a photograph of herself with her sister and mother at a picnic in the Eastern Cape. For her it commemorated the most recent occasion she had seen them—just before the pandemic lockdown was declared. In her description she wrote movingly about how this image helped motivate her to continue to focus on her studies, even as she was badly missing them and worried about them, fighting the temptation to return home. She referred to the photograph as her 'anchor' in the absence of her mother's immediate presence. The theme here, of distance and separation, was common among students, with emotions of sadness expressed. What was noticeable at the same time were expressions of resilience and determination, the ingenuity of students searching for (and often finding) points of grounding in the crisis.

While some students were far from family, others were challenged by remaining in busy and full homes where making space for study could mean working at night while others slept. Additional themes spoke to economic hardship in a neighbourhood or community. Images of deserted streets and schoolrooms were common, or those showing shortages of inventory on local shop shelves. Students also reflected on the experience of worshipping in isolation due to a closed mosque or church, indicating how a weekly source of upliftment and support was now taking place virtually on zoom. Images of generic clinic spaces and masked people waiting in vaccination queues were among the submissions. Many photographs invoked the ongoing efforts to grow and maintain friendships across social distancing (for example, screenshots of WhatsApp conversations or photos of masked outdoor encounters). A couple of students showed themselves proudly getting the 'jabba', while others focused on ever-present bottles of hand sanitiser and the written directives about interpersonal spacing posted on walls and floors.

As the module instructor, a revealing theme that I found both sobering and inspiring

was evident in the many images students took of themselves in their respective lockdown study environments. Selfies taken at desks, on beds, attending zoom classes, sometimes dressed, often in their pajamas, were ubiquitous as submissions. One showed a student at his computer attending the World History online class—my class—in which my own face on the screen is recognisable. Another showed a student's handwritten message to himself—Never Lose Yourself—hanging beside his wall calendar. Some students posed with objects of importance in their personal spaces: a Quran, a stack of books, a pet, a stuffed animal, a set of gym weights, and a candle by which to study. Many students described how learning to study remotely was learning in its own right and displayed pride that they had improved over the semester. Some elaborated on the temptations of 'escapes' and procrastination via internet entertainments such as YouTube. Encountering such images and texts awarded me my first genuine glimpse of students' private life *as* students learning remotely.

These contributions showcased sets of experiences and narratives, rooted in the daily lives of students. Students understood that such 'archival sources' served to document a period within human history, a history they were presently living, and which could be used to increase the understanding of the Covid-19 'moment' among people living in the future. As such, the project of documenting elements of a 'future past', as a collective and collaborative effort, had resonance and relevance within the World History space.

What did students themselves think about the exercise? The Academic Development Centre helped customize a student course evaluation survey that included several questions about the Omeka project. They could not, and did not attempt, to measure learning outcomes (in relation to historical thinking and imagination or an understanding of 'future pasts') but rather took note of students' experiences and opinions of the archive-building exercise. One hundred twenty students participated in the course evaluation (unfortunately delayed into the break period), representing just under a third of the class. Students were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with a statement, and how strongly for each, with a maximum score of four to indicate unanimous strong agreement.

The most ambivalent score for a question in the survey (question 3.2) showed only general agreement that the Omeka project "should remain part of the World History module" in future years. There were fewer than average responders to this question and this may itself reflect some ambivalence about the project. The more specific indicators had better response rates and higher levels of agreement:

- The lecturer used online tools and resources that supported my learning (3.9)

- The lecturer made the purpose of learning in this module clear (3.9)
- The lecturer used online tools and technology to explain concepts (3.8)
- The lecture made learning materials available in an accessible format (3.8)

As mentioned earlier, there was agreement that home languages were a valuable aspect of the Omeka project (3.5) and that the technical challenges were not prohibitive. Most gratifying was a score of 3.8 for the question "The Omeka project allowed me to express my own perspective on things". My interpretation of this is that a strength of the project lay in its inclusiveness and invitation to self-expression, with students awarded space to document their own experiences and views. Qualitative evaluations in the form of anonymous comments confirm enthusiasm about these aspects of the archive-building project. For example:

> "I had some challenges with the Omeka but with her [the author] it was easy. She replies very fast on our emails and I enjoyed doing the Omeka Project because it was a platform where I was able to write something from my own perspective."

> "…Omeka assignment made me feel like a real historian."

> " [I]t was understandable and made me fell in love even more with the module."

> "It was a great experience to do."

Some students commented on how the assignment enabled higher marks and how they felt successful as a result:

> "[I] never have i thought i would enjoy history…let alone pass it with a solid distinction"

Some enjoyed the assignment but felt the project should not continue for other reasons:

> "The omeka assignment was very good but …[I was not happy with] the marks I received and the omeka assignment should not be considered as of next year."

Student evaluations are designed to gage subjective experience of a module. Overwhelmingly, over five pages, students registered levels of enthusiasm about the module, greater than any module I have previously taught. I attribute this, in part, to the Omeka exercise and the way—in the context of a remote classroom—it served to integrate the students into a class community, as well as into the course's thematic content.

In the context of remote, and otherwise isolated and lonely learning, Joburg21 provided a bridge, a connection with others, and an acknowledgement of a shared situation. Students registered excitement about the public nature of this project ("we're going global guys") and their capacity to give voice to their experiences of the epidemic and associated social constraints. Many students showed interest in what their peers had submitted, perhaps because it contributed to a feeling of common ground. Because Omeka demanded a set of specific tasks and trainings, this brought students into online classes and into email contact with me regularly for support. My own enthusiasm for, and engagement with, this project was clearly evident to students, encouraging their engagement with the project:

"[her teaching] made me fall in love with history"

"she made the module more fun"

"I think online learning is a great experience."

"She should keep on teaching like this, the future of history is in safe hands!"

"She offered support to those who could not understand and made sure we all move together as she did not want to leave others behind."

As regard learning outcomes that might have been related to historical thinking and reflection on 'future pasts', student evaluations do not offer a useful measure. What they do reveal, however, are levels of engagement and connection to learning in a history classroom. For a large class of first-year undergraduates, an activity that sets the stage for thinking about sources, archives, and their politics in subsequent classrooms, may be counted as important wins. If emotional and personal engagement with historical methodologies can be awakened, with burning questions posed about the past and about the production of history, students may indeed begin a process of "*learning into* … politics and power" as well

as into the ethics of history and of public memory-making.

Conclusion

In an online exercise of digital archive-building during the first semester of 2021, my first-year undergraduate class grappled with the idea of 'future pasts', and reflected on the problems of archival sources as the basis of academic historical knowledge and writing. Instead of reading or otherwise working with pre-selected source materials, they generated sources for a collaborative repository of memory, documenting accounts of their experiences of the corona virus. Placing the project within a World History module enabled discussions and comparisons of our own times within global human experiences of revolutionary change across the centuries. It encouraged imaginative thinking about dilemmas that epidemics have posed for people living in the past, in their everyday lives of family, community, and religious practice; issues of trust in government and in 'the stranger', and of medical technologies; and in the self-fashioning of youth identities. Building an archive promoted thinking about research methodologies and appreciation for how archives and sources are products of human agency and time within specific contexts.

It is crucial to note here that new legislative constraints for developing an archival database raise immediate questions about the viability of future Omeka work in my own classroom. The strictures of the Protection of Personal Information Act (POPIA) narrow, but also blur, clarity about the scope for what participants in a collaborative project are legally enabled to share in various spaces that may be considered public, whether in a classroom or as part of an online database.[34] This, for historians and other humanities scholars, raises some old and ongoing concerns about historical representation, accessibility, and equality of voice in new conditions. Too-stringent management of source content reposited and preserved—in any online or public space—limits the capacity to make genuine sense of diverse and complex historical experiences and thus must be understood in political terms. In a world in which ChatGPT is able to effortlessly harvest big data off of internet sites, it would seem that limiting public expression and representation in the name of ethics can by no means be declared a clear moral victory. New impositions which shape the perimeters of 'whose story' gets told or rendered invisible must raise questions about the impact on history writing and method. These are questions that can and should be posed in the classroom as well as in the legislature.

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34 The Joburg21 site is offline.

As an exercise, contributing sources towards 'future pasts' is demonstration of a kind of historical thinking in which students are able to consider their agency and identities in relation to the 'gaze' of 'those who come after'. This can promote a lively classroom, since—as Cutrara suggests—it draws upon students' existing expertise and subjective views of the world as strengths to be celebrated. I am not suggesting that such an undertaking replace other excellent pedagogical practices and projects, but digital technologies like Omeka enable new ways of encouraging students—as *history* students—also to engage with emotion and passion, as well as discipline and intellect in the urgencies of our own times.[35]

Acknowledgements

"I used to think … and now I think!": Notes from a South African teacher educator

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Abstract

What is the role of the school and the teacher in the context of democratic social transformation? How has it changed globally and in the South African context during the past fifty years? Is there room for optimism among teacher educators in the 21ˢᵗ century? I offer some modest reflections on my own career in the hope of provoking some debate from colleagues.

> *"A life history is a life story located within its historical context." (Ivor Goodson)*[1]
>
> *"I used to think that public school were vehicles for reforming society. And now I think that while good teachers and schools can promote positive intellectual, behavioral and social change in individual children and youth, [American] schools are (and have been) ineffectual in altering social inequalities." (Larry Cuban)* [2]
>
> *"Nearly half century of experience in schools and the sustained research I have done have made me allergic to utopian rhetoric." (Larry Cuban)* [3]

Keywords: History of Education; Autobiography; South Africa; Teacher education; History education; Educational policy; Apartheid; Historiography.

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1 I Goodson, *Studying Teachers' Lives*, (London, Routledge, 1992), p. 6.
2 L Cuban, "What Schools Can Do in a Democratic Society", R.F. Elmore, I Used to Think … And Now I Think (Cambridge, MA, Harvard, 2012) p. 25.
3 Elmore (2012) p. 28.

Introduction

Writers like I Goodson have emphasized the significance of biography in the study of education for its inherent value but more specifically for the light it might throw on the broad project of democratic public education. All educators know that systems of public education operate on the good will and commitment of those personnel who go beyond the everyday necessities of school life to explore the broader implications of their *calling*. This is no longer a term that teachers feel comfortable with—but anyone who spends their daily life in a school knows that it does capture an important reality. I have been fortunate to work with many such dedicated educators in the course of my career—in schools, colleges of education, universities, bureaucracies, and a variety of other networks. This reflection on my own career and my own professional journey represents a challenge to others to share similar perspectives with colleagues in order to harvest this rich professional knowledge that has often been ignored by the planners and bureaucrats of the new education in South Africa and elsewhere—to the detriment of our children and our education system. In order to frame my story, I have used the format of Richard Elmore's recent collection drawing on the experience of American colleagues under the title of *I Used to Think… and Now I Think!*[4]

As a teacher and teacher educator from the mid-1960s to the first decade of the 21st century, with a commitment to anti-apartheid education, I shared the belief of many educators nurtured in the progressive climate of the 1960s, that committed and effective educational practices provided the platform for an equal, fair, and just society. A classroom practice which demonstrated a democratic ethos would inevitably deliver a more just society—whether the enemy was racism, capitalism, sexism, or classism. In the South African case the enemy was apartheid and apartheid education and the broad platform for change in the 1980s was "People's Education". Thirty years after the transition to a democratic state, and the transformation of the education system, many of the ideals that we fought for are far from being achieved. Indeed, despite the rhetoric of democratic commitment and equity, there is considerable evidence of the failure of education as a tool for transforming society—in part because the schooling system itself does not work effectively. Despite relatively high levels of funding by international norms for public schools, the bureaucracy

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4 RF Elmore (2012).

is inadequate, many teachers are unmotivated, the results are poor, and the levels of student preparedness for the job-market are inadequate.

But the problem is not just about the effectiveness of the education system itself. It is equally a problem concerning the burden of transformation that was placed on the schools—the unrealistic expectations of the capacity of education systems as tools for transforming society. There is increasing evidence globally that schools are not on their own capable of transforming society towards greater equality. With major shifts in the nature of political ideolog towards contemporary free market norms, the capacity of the schools to deliver a more just society in social and economic terms is fundamentally limited.

However, I continue to think that schools have a powerful role to play in society, and that the role of teachers is of supreme importance in creating critical and compassionate individuals and citizens who will be able to make an important contribution to a democratic society and to the economy, but I do not think that schools on their own can change the nature of social inequality in meaningful ways—either in the USA or in South Africa. Indeed, over time I have come to recognise that schools and schooling do not represent an unqualified or unrestricted "good" for all members of society; instead they represent a major site of contestation for individuals or groups to obtain an advantaged place in the labour market and social order. If we place unrealistic expectations on the public schools and expect them to CONTRIBUTE to a socially equal society—as was the case in South Africa after 1994—we simply set them up to fail and then blame the institutions and the teachers for this failure.[5]

I was committed, with so many post-World War II educators, to the political importance of schools for shaping a just society. What journey is necessary in order to place these beliefs in a realistic context, and what consequences does this have for the role of the public schools and of teachers in society? What do we say to young teachers entering the profession in the 2020s?

What did I think THEN… and what do I think NOW? And why? I will attempt to tackle these issues via a chronological review of my career as a teacher, as a postgraduate student, as a university-based history teacher trainer, as a comparative educationalist/policy analyst, and an educational historian at various stages of my career.

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5 D Labaree, *Education, Markets and the Public Good: The selected readings of David Labaree* (London, Routledge, 2007).

What I thought as a teacher

It is difficult to reach back into the past and reimagine one's own frame of mind/assumptions/ambitions as a teacher in late 1960s, white schools in South Africa. As a product of a Cape Education Department school in the small village in the Eastern Cape, with a brief stay at a Catholic Boy's School in East London for matric, I was deeply a product of the century-old system that I was joining as a teacher. I was a graduate of Rhodes University (BA Honours) in History [1961-64] and the University of Cape Town (Secondary Teachers Diploma [STD][1965]). I was dimly aware of a policy that favoured me as a white student and as a holder of a Joint Matriculation Board matric certificate from a private school which allowed me to enter university despite my relatively poor matric results. As a young teacher I was conscious of the fact that my background was different from most of my white colleagues as a result of my home background with a father who was schooled in early socialist London politics who had come to South Africa prior to World War I as one of the first generation of motor mechanics.

At university my experience of excellent teachers such as Prof. Winifred Maxwell and Mike Nuttall (subsequently Bishop of Natal) in the Rhodes History Department make it clear that there was important political work to be done in the history class even if my understanding of what that work might be or how to accomplish it was extremely vague.[6] An additional aspect of my life as a student in the Eastern Cape was the impact of meeting African students for the first time through student politics, many of them in the ANC Youth League, at the Federal Theological Seminary and the University of Fort Hare, something that fundamentally shaped the way in which I would thenceforth see the world. Through my experience in the Student Christian Association (SCA)[7] and the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)[8], I became ever more aware that I lived in a politically divided society and that we were incredibly privileged to be in a place where we could associate with black students who came from a very different tradition but who were

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6 It is probably significant to note that many of my lecturers at Rhodes went into voluntary or forced exile soon after this time—these included Norman Bromberger, Eric Harber, Cedric Evans, Peter Rhodda, and Clem Goodfellow.

7 See JW de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1979), pp. 154–5,167–8.

8 For an imaginative reconstruction of the student politics of this time see CJ Driver, *Elergy for a Revolutionary* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969). Many of the students I met at this time either went to jail or to exile or both. Also see Martin Legassick in South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* (Cape Town: Zebra,2004>>) Vol I : Ch 12; Vol II 857-880.

open to embracing us as whites in a spirit of non-racialism and opposition to apartheid. In retrospect it is important to recognise that all of this was taking place against the background of civil rights politics in the global context of the Kennedy era in the USA. Joan Baez's "*We Shall Overcome*" seemed to apply to our world just as much as America. I came to realise through these experiences how impossible it was to support apartheid and how it might be possible to contribute as a teacher to the great task of change! It was clear that school history was an ideologically contested terrain (I would not have known these words at the time) and that the political implications of my career were potentially significant.

The Secondary Teachers Diploma (STD) (1965) at the University of Cape Town was entirely unhelpful in regard to a preparation for these roles. At a time when apartheid education was engulfing and reforming the entire system of education and when my student friends from Fort Hare were in jail for being members of banned organisations, apartheid and race in education were never mentioned in our lectures. The course on history teaching entirely ignored the political context we were entering. While at UCT I gave lectures in the CAFDA Night School programme to assist adults to obtain a matric qualification, which gave me a glimpse of what could be achieved outside the formal schooling system and on the margins of the apartheid laws which prohibited whites from teaching blacks in non-formal contexts.[9]

I stayed on in Cape Town as a young teacher. Once in the classroom, first at Simonstown High School (a working-class white school at the naval base near Cape Town) and then at Wynberg Boys High School (1966–1969), I had to learn on the hoof what my profession entailed. Wynberg was one of the key white boys' schools in Cape Town which competed for supremacy in rugby competitions, and this sporting ethos seemed to dominate the school. In the case of Wynberg (where in due course I became head of the history department) successful history teaching was about getting boys to memorize "charts" which summarised historical events and then to reproduce this information in factual tests. These were all part of a process of preparing teenagers for the all-important matriculation examination which was the driving rationale of the entire system. Whatever else there was to learn about being a teacher, it was clear that successful matric results were the prime currency of success for schools and for teachers. But while I was learning these things I was enjoying the experience of total involvement with a school and the fulfilment that this can bring, even in a context that I felt was rather hostile to my beliefs.

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9 DM Wilson, *Against the Odds: The Struggle of the Cape African Night Schools,1945-1967*, (Cape Town, Centre for African Studies, 1991).

What I am aware of is that *what I used to think* at that time was that despite the need to play the game and please the authorities (and the parents), the reach of my position as a history teacher had far greater potential than this. It was not the teaching and testing of student knowledge of the content of the "charts" that challenged me but rather the potential for stimulating the boys to a critical appraisal of what we were engaging with. In the era of the Beatles, studying the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the Origins of World War I, Europe in the twentieth century, or South African history with all the bias of the textbooks, all provided a framework to challenge the assumptions of the students about democracy, liberalism, socialism—all the big ideas and movements of the century, Best of all it provided me with a means of testing their ideas about the dramatic political context in which we were living (Verwoerd's assassination was reported to us while I was teaching one of these classes.) What surprises me when I think back on these years is that there were no complaints about my teaching from parents or students—*to the best of my knowledge.*[10] My attempts to encourage critical thinking in the history class led to stimulating debates at times, but I have no way of knowing to what extent my efforts to achieve some kind of anti-apartheid political awareness were successful. I thought I was doing well, but I imagine that all young teachers flatter themselves with such thoughts.

Whatever I did on that front, I was careful to protect myself to ensure that my learners' exam results were acceptable. In the higher classes we would cover the syllabus between January of Std. 9 and March of Std. 10—during this time the critical/analytical method would be used as far as I was able and to the extent that it was possible. For the rest of the final year students would concentrate on perfecting examination techniques and writing model answers drawn from previous examination papers in order to be ready by November for the public examinations. In retrospect I like to think that they were learning historiography without being fully conscious of it—that all knowledge is suspect and that some interpretations of history are more valid than others—and that evidence counts in evaluating these issues. I am not at all sure how conscious I was of these aspects of my work. I was a young teacher trying to work out who I was and what I thought in an extremely complex world, and my teaching must have reflected all those confusions. In other words, I used to think that teaching my subject, history, in an "unbiased manner", which stimulated critical thinking amongst students, was the objective of my teaching in the context of the apartheid classroom. All my energy was engaged with the practices of the classroom and the

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10 One thing I did learn in this extremely ridged traditional boys' school environment was the value of a headmaster who protects his staff against interfering parents.

school and in the complex processes of getting young people to acquire academic literacy.

Looking back, I realise that a key feature of this time was that I was working in complete isolation. There was no guidance from my educational lecturers, from the school inspectors, from the white teacher organizations, from a network of like-minded history teachers, or from my colleagues in the school context. There were no structures to assist either black or white teachers with these challenges.[11] Essentially, I was just thinking about doing a good job as a teacher—maybe *surviving* as a teacher—and trying to work out what it meant to succeed at the task, without too much reference to any formal understanding of educational contest. 'Policy' whatever that was, just seemed to be the normal state of things!

As a postgraduate student in London

Between 1969 and 1972 I was fortunate enough to study at London University. First, at the Institute of Education, and then at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). This gave me the opportunity to consider the broader question of the relationship between educational policy, politics, economics, and history at a time when the great Progressive Education revival was taking place in the USA with figures like I Illich,[12] J Holt,[13] P Goodman,[14] E Reimer,[15] and P Freire[16] opening new and radical perspectives on the role of school in society, and B Bernstein[17] and M Young[18] active in the field in the UK. All this in the context of the 1960s cultural revolution and the revival of progressivism in education, the anti-war movement—and more broadly, the Cultural Revolution in China and Education for Self Reliance in Tanzania.

The first thing that needs to be said is that the courses I took at the Institute of Education, London University, entirely ignored these revolutionary developments—Philosophy of Education was buried in the archane world of linguistic philosophy and

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11 In subsequent years I became aware of the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA) and the South Peninsula Education Fellowship (SPEF) as forums for radical debate, but as a white teacher in Cape Town I was not even aware of the existence of these groups.

12 I Illich, *Deschooling Society* (London, Calder & Boyars, 1971)

13 J Holt, *The Underachieving School* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972).

14 P Goodman, *Compulsory Miseducation* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1964)

15 E Reimer, *School is Dead*, (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971)

16 P Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972)

17 B Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control* (London, Routledge, 1971).

18 MFD Young, *Knowledge and Control* (London, Collier-Macmillan, 1971)

eschewed any engagement with real world problems in favour of "second order thinking". [19] Psychology of Education, as far as I remember it, seems to have been largely confined to a consideration of learning theories. In retrospect it is difficult to understand how any of this contributed to students' understanding of the turbulent contemporary politics of education or to a critical interpretation of educational policy. The learning that I did acquire at this time came from my experience of London Schools—a Secondary Modern in North/East London and a Boys' Preparatory School in St. John Wood, which was a gateway to City of London, Westminster, Harrow, and other public schools. In short, my experience of English education gave me a very clear picture of how class operated in an industrial society at the end of the golden era of post-war social welfarism, and how, despite the rhetoric of socialism and comprehensive schooling, great challenges still remained in terms of redefining opportunities for working class children. It was clear to me—naïve as I was—that working class, mostly black and Pakistani, kids that I taught in the East End would gain little from their experience of schooling. Entertaining them was the most one could hope for.

The School of Oriental and African Studies (where I did an MA in African History) presented a different picture of the Institute of Education. I was a student there for a year at a time when the great revisionist era was dawning with the application of neo-Marxist theory to an understanding of South African history. I was fortunate enough to be exposed to the heated seminars, presided over by my tutor Shula Marks, at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, where the new knowledge was being explored and contested. Key participants in those weekly seminars included exiles like Harole Wolpe, Martin Legassick, Stanley Trapido, Baruch Hirson, and many others, opening up new perspectives for me on the historiography of South Africa by placing class instead of race at the center of analysis and challenging many of the ideas that I had taught as "the truth" in my classes at Wynberg Boys High. But my background in traditional history gave me a useful perspective on the new debates. It confused me but did not overwhelm me. The other great advantage of these experiences, looking back, is that in tune with the general spirit of the times there was a focus on academic interdisciplinarity. Sociology, labour studies, economics, and anthropology all provided a network for committed scholars who passionately shared the new interpretations of an analysis of the anti-apartheid struggle—which provided an

19 The bible was RS Peters, *Ethics and Education* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1966); see also D Adelstein, "The Philosophy of Education': Or the wit and wisdom of RS Peters", Trevor Pateman (ed.), *Counter Course* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972), pp. 115–139.

excellent bridgehead for beginning to understand the role of education in the social order. That background was to form a fundamental base to the rest of my academic career and assist me to interpret historical and contemporary events as I moved into the next phase of my life in 1973 as a lecturer in the History/Education Departments at the University of the Witwatersrand where my brief was to mentor postgraduate secondary school history teachers. These were heady times and enabled me to begin to connect my academic interests to the great political realities which were enfolding around us at the time.

What did I think? That the ferment of academic critique was assisting us to understand what had gone wrong to create the apartheid education system and how we might engage with critique. The educational future was vague and not often directly discussed, but it seemed to assume something like the path of Labour Party/Welfarist policy in post-war Britain—characterised by a strong emphasis on equality and redress which we somehow thought, in the era prior to Thatcherism, would provide the inevitable path to a more just world. The great Comprehensive School experiment in Britain which aimed at a more equitable distribution of educational goods—as far as I understood it—seemed to provide the template.[20]

As a university History teacher - trainer at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) (1972–1982)

Teacher training at Wits in the 1970s was as full of drama as academic work can be, as the university was at a crossroads for local and international scholars, as well as researchers, community activists, and trade unionists of all kinds who were engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle. Although we were initially only allowed to accept white students for teacher education, as the decade proceeded considerable numbers of Indian, Coloured, and African students arrived along with a dribble of international students. In the heated context of the rise of the United Democratic Front (UDF)[21], the Black trade union movement (FOSATU/COSATU) and the student resistance that culminated from the SOWETO riots of 1976,[22] education came to receive more attention from government, business, community organizations, and NGOs than has been the case before or since. The Wits Faculty of Education, located only a few kilometers from the townships of the

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20 R Pedley, *The Comprehensive School* (Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1963)

21 J Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991* (Cape Town, David Philip, 2000).

22 B Hirson, *Year of Fire, Year of Ash, The SOWETO Revolt: Roots of a Revolution* (London, Zed Press, 1979).

Witwatersrand, where the core of resistance to apartheid education was to unfold, was drawn into these events. Or it should be said that a few of the politically conscious members of the Faculty were so drawn. For the rest it was just business as usual.

It is nevertheless true that these were extremely intense times for all those who were concerned with the future of education and its relation to the political struggles that engulfed the country. The global academic debates of the time associating *Schooling and Capitalism*[23] provided a measuring stick for research enquiry into the situation unfolding around us. Much of that research was more characterised by heat than depth, and theory rather than empirical investigation, but it was extremely influential in drawing increasing numbers of university education faculty into serious debate and analysis of the present situation and the future policy implications for a changing South Africa. These debates were aired at the annual Kenton Education Conferences which gradually drew more women, Black and Afrikaans academics to supplement the original white male, English speaking line-up.[24] The radical nature of the debates—the robust and heated nature of the exchanges emulating the style of radical exile politics—had the effect of intimidating many would-be participants.

Into the *melee* I brought the background I had acquired in London and the political economy approach to education that was familiar internationally at the time. This mirrored many of the trends that are reflected in Elmore's collection. Much of the debate reflected theoretical debates going on in the arena of global analysis—which ignored specificities of the SA situation. This was in part because it was almost impossible to do on-the-ground research in communities or schools given the tumultuous state of affairs in the country after the SOWETO uprising and the effective ban on entering African schools for research purposes. In part the paucity of empirical research reflected the limitations of those of us who populated the academic policy terrain. We only had the vaguest of ideas about the nature of what relevant or engaged research might mean. In Johannesburg I was privileged to have frequent access to schools across the social and race spectrum to supervise students, but in retrospect I had neither the skill nor the focus to capitalise on this access for research purposes.

What we *did* probably had more effect on teachers than our research. I inherited the

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23 R Dale et. al. (eds.), *Schooling and Capitalism*, (London, Open University Press, 1976); S Bowles & H Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America*, (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

24 Many of these papers appeared in *Perspective in Education*. Also see W Flanagan, C Hemson, J Muller & N Taylor (eds.), *Vintage Kenton*, (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1994).

chairmanship of the History Workshop,[25] and we established a lively non-racial community of history teachers across the Witwatersrand who were concerned to expand their knowledge of the new history research on South Africa, and engage with the New History for schools that was being developed at the time in the UK and elsewhere—with a focus on discovery methods and interactive teaching methodologies. Large Friday evening meetings drew these teachers together in an exciting new network of professional exchanges. A collective to produce new school textbooks which would reflect the new historiography was one of our achievements.[26] Together with student history teachers we were also involved in large scale Saturday schools and vacation courses set up by the South African Institute of Race Relations to provide supplementary coaching for black matric students whose education had been disrupted by the township strife.

The second field of engagement in the early 1980s when there were ongoing crises in the schools of the Witwatersrand was our initiative to launch a new teachers union that was not tied like the established unions to historical links with the state. This was to be a non-racial teachers union that cut across the barriers of professionalism imposed by the apartheid government. The National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) was the modest outcome of that initiative and it did provide one of the building blocks for the new South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in the early 1990s.[27]

I thought that I was engaged in changing classrooms and promoting a new kind of education in schools that highlighted critical thinking and enquiry. That seemed to be about as much as could be expected in the conditions under which we were working. On the whole, as far as we thought about it, we were simply committed to the delivery of equal education to all South Africans. There were few questions about what that meant, barring that black schools needed to have more of what white schools had. Few of our black colleagues in the schools would have differed with us. There was never any hint of a call for a different curriculum for black schools—for a curriculum *relevant to black children*—as that was precisely what the apartheid education project had proposed. Even in the field of

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25 This was the History Workshop for school teachers that had its origins in a network set up in the 1960s by Prof. Napier Boyce, rector of the Johannesburg College of Education. This History Workshop needs to be distinguished from a social history group of the same name set up by Dr Belinda Bozzoli based on the model of the British History Workshop.

26 The *History Alive* series were the outcome of these efforts. See for example, P Kallaway (ed.) *History Alive 9*, and *History Alive 10* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter, 1984–5).

27 I was also involved in the establishment of a similar initiative in Cape Town, Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU)—see P Kihn, "Comrades and Professionals: Teacher Ideology and Practice in the Western Cape,1985-1990", in P Kallaway, *The History of Education under Apartheid* (New York, Peter Lang, 2002) pp. 325–336.

history education I can never remember any serious critique of the curriculum other than that it needed to be less biased toward an Afrikaner nationalist viewpoint. (By the 1980s that bias was in any case less clear than it had been in the early years of apartheid.)

In retrospect we probably had a rather romantic view of what our students could achieve in the schools. We were very optimistic about what was possible even if we were aware that the teachers in the schools often thought that we were unrealistic in our expectations.

The University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape—1982 to 2008

By the time I moved to the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 1982 and later to the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in 1993, my focus had shifted, as part of the Kenton process, away for the training of history teachers to the field of educational policy development, education and development, comparative education, and history of education. The immediate task in the early 1980s was to critically appraise the new government reform initiative (the so-called De Lange Report)[28] that sought to modernise apartheid education by shifting the focus away from racial identity to the language of the market that was now very familiar to World Bank planning documents. At the same time many of us were involved in a variety of ways in the processes surrounding the People's Education Movement which sought to redefine education under the umbrella of the UDF and liberation politics.

Aside from developing courses for PGCE, B. Ed and MA students in key aspects of the history of South African education, this work embraced an attempt to link local educational policy to the great issues of educational change in the Third World, with specific attention to the role of education in development studies. There was a focus on colonial education and its implications for postcolonial development. The influential work of structuralists like AG Frank, I Wallerstein, and J Saul [29] initially provided a window for understanding radical critiques of neoclassical economics and the assumptions of trickle-down economics. This gave us the tools to think about the negative influences of growth economics, though it

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28 HSRC, *Provision of Education in the RSA: Report of the Main Committee* (the De Lange report) (Pretoria, HSRC, 1981).

29 AG Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969); I Wallerstein, *The Age of Transition: Transition of the World System 1945-2025* (Atlantic Heights NJ, Zed, 1996); J Saul, *Decolonization and Empire,* (Johannesburg, Wits Press, 2008).

only provided partial answers to how to address these assumptions as few economists in South Africa applied themselves to the implications for educational policy. Exposure to these debates at international conferences (Comparative and International Education Society [CIES], World Council of Comparative Education Societies [WCCES], and the Oxford Education Conferences gave us the confidence to challenge World Bank dogma on educational policy, but it did not provide us with the tools or the power to challenge policy changes in the new political environment that was unfolding by the late 1980s.

Above all I think I gradually came to realise how ill-prepared we were for the dramatic changes that were taking place around us. We had no idea what policy development was all about, as none of us had ever had access to the policy-making circles in apartheid South Africa. In retrospect I realise that there were many officials who had knowledge that was essential to the policy development process, but for political reasons they were not available to the new generation who were trying to develop education for the future. Hardly any of the Young Turks who had a lot to say about alternative education/radical education/ popular education had any experience—professional, bureaucratic, or research—to bring to the table when the first National Education Policy Investigations (NEPI) consultations began in the early 1990s.[30]

In that context it became very clear that the ANC in exile had not given much thought to educational policy. Where there had been some effort in this direction by Research on Education in South Africa (RESA)[31] or SOMAFCO,[32] it seemed to have little direct relevance to the nuts and bolts of policy development in the new context. Despite the establishment of Educational Policy Units (EPUs) at a number of universities with the assistance of international aid the whole process of educational reform was largely taken out of the hands of local practitioners and academics and placed in the hands of international consultants who "understood" the nature of World Bank and IMF policies and how educational governance worked in the climate of global discourse in the 1990s—structured as it was by neoliberal discourses.[33]

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30 For a summary of this see National Education Policy Investigation, *The Framework Report* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1993).

31 See E Unterhalter, H Wolpe & T Botha (eds.), *Education in a Future South Africa* (Oxford, Heinemann, 1991).

32 S Morrow, *Education in Exile: SOMAFCO, the African National Congress school in Tanzania, 1978 to 1992* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2004); R Govender, "The Contestation, Ambiguities and Dilemmas of Curriculum Development at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College 1978-1992" (Ph.D, UWC, 2011).

33 L Chisholm, *Changing Class: Education and Social Change in post-apartheid South Africa* (Cape Town, UCT Press, 2004); EB Fiske & HF Ladd, *Elusive Equity: Education Reform in post-Apartheid South Africa* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2005).

In that context the policies that had been taking shape in the trade unions around National Qualifications Frameworks (SAQA) came to dominate a debate about the need to collapse the boundaries between training and education supposedly in line with radical notions of emancipatory pedagogy. This discourse came to dominate discussions about educational change, nudging aside the work of the National Education Policy Investigation.[34]

As the social democratic vision of the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) was displaced by the Growth, Employment, and Distribution Plan (GEAR) during the 1990s, plans for radical educational change were suspended in favour of a narrower range of reforms that focused on three areas: (a) governance; (b) curriculum; and (c) teacher education. These reforms reflected changes in British education at the time which were outlined by K Jones in *Right Turn: The Conservative Revolution in Education*.[35] The new forms of school governance embodied in the South African Schools Act (1996) introduced notions of school governing bodies that had been piloted in New Zealand and Australia in the context of New Right policy reform. These innovations were linked to notions of democratic participation in schooling in keeping with the ethos of People's Education in the 1980s where parents and communities had demanded greater participation in school's affairs. What was not sufficiently understood at the time was that these policies simply consolidated educational privilege around communities (now increasingly non-racial) which had access to the former white elite schools (the so - called Model C schools). Colour privilege was replaced by class privilege, and the mass of township and rural schools were not sufficiently transformed to ensure that equality was prioritised.[36]

The second major field of reform lay in the area of curriculum, where the recommendations of the American educationalist W Spady were embraced with a view to radically reforming curriculum and pedagogy from a discipline-based to something called an outcomes-based learning approach. This had the merit of matching the goals of Curriculum 2005 with the National Qualifications Framework that had come to dominate planning in the field of vocational education and training with the goal of collapsing the boundaries between academic and professional knowledge. Many of us opposed these

34 A Fataar, *Education Policy Development in South Africa's Democratic Transition 1994-1997* (Stellenbosch, SUN Media, 2010); S Allais, *Selling Out Education: National Qualifications Frameworks and the Neglect of Knowledge* (Rotterdam, Sense, 2014).

35 K Jones, (London, Hutchinson Radius, 1989); P Kallaway, *Education after Apartheid* (Cape Town, UCT Press, 1997).

36 Fiske & Ladd (2005). Also see M Hunter, *Race for Education: Gender, White tone and Schooling in South Africa* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019).

changes but were brushed aside in the enthusiasm for what were thought to be progressive and radical innovations that would benefit the mass of school children and remove the legacy of apartheid education. It took nearly ten years to undo the damage that this caused and to return to a more conventional approach with the CAPS curriculum of 2010.

A third major area of reform was teacher education. Colleges of Education, which had been responsible for the training of primary school teachers, were closed, and all teacher education was henceforth based in universities on the argument that there was a need for a coherent national system to ensure professionalisation and quality control. In effect, in keeping with such reforms elsewhere, these changes were driven by the need to cut expenditure on education in keeping with World Bank norms and standards for teacher education. What in effect followed was a massive loss of institutional capacity and expertise in this crucial field just at a time when there was a powerful need for new teachers who were motivated with the professional attitudes that had been the hallmark of the best of the Colleges.[37]

Many teacher educators, including me, were strongly opposed to many of these reforms but found it very difficult in the climate of the times to be able to voice these critiques in any influential way outside of the walls of academic and research circles. The climate that was created by these events led to a more cautious approach to innovation and the development of a more nuanced research community.

Conclusions

It is easier to formulate what one thought in retrospect and with the advantage of hindsight than it is to make sense of what one thinks at the present time. This is perhaps in part because one has limited perspective on the present, but it is also without doubt because the nature of ideology and politics is much more opaque/confusing in a neoliberal age in 2023 in contrast to 1964.

It is harder to identify clearcut ground rules of ideology and to disentangle the bluster of political programmes from the ethical need to resolve problems of policy in relation to issues like poverty alleviation, work creation, development—and education. To be honest, I am no longer sure what policies would be best to ensure the "empowerment" of our young people. But looking back I am confident that what was needed was not the new

37 Y Sayed, "The case of teacher education in post-apartheid South Africa: Politics and priorities", in Chisholm, (2004), pp. 247–266.

smart solutions that were brought by consultants with Word Bank formulas in their hands, as these seldom yielded their promise. What was needed at the time of political transition was a careful consideration of past experience and context and its applicability to present challenges. Many of the major solutions to these issues that have dominated the history of twentieth-century education hold the possibility of solutions for the present South African situation.

I was extremely impressed at the extent to which the De Lors report of the *Commission on Education in the 21st Century* was able to highlight the shortcomings of the educational reform processes across the globe in recent years and its relevance for an understanding of the South African experience. It pointed out in 1996 that educational reform is a delicate matter.

> *"While neither underestimating the need to manage short-term constraints nor disregard the need to adapt existing systems, the Commission wishes to emphasize the necessity of a more long-term approach if reforms are to succeed. By the same token, it stresses the fact that too many reforms one after another can be the death of reform, since they do not allow the system, the time needed to absorb change or get the parties concerned involved in the process. Furthermore, past failures show that many reformers adopt an approach that is either too radical or too theoretical, ignoring what can be learned from experience or rejecting past achievements. As a result, teachers, parents, and pupils are disorientated and less than willing to accept and implement reform.*
>
> *Attempts to impose educational reforms from the top down, or from outside, have obviously failed. The countries where the process has been relatively successful are those that obtained a determined commitment from local communities, parents and teachers, backed up by continuous dialogue and various forms of outside assistance. It is obvious that the local community plays a paramount role in any successful reform strategy."[38]*

This could have been written with specific reference to a critique of the South African situation.

I still think that social democracy is the way to a just society for a multitude of reasons that cannot be addressed here—but I have to admit that since the 1990s this does not seem to feature as a viable political ideology. It is essential to admit that the programme

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38 UNESCO, *Learning: The Treasure Within: Report of the Commission on Education in the 21st Century* (Paris, UNESCO, 1996), pp. 28–29.

of social welfare reform cannot be applied in South Africa as it was in post-war Europe, as leaders like Nelson Mandela and many of his generation imagined would be possible. Equally, we cannot apply the solutions of post-war Asian Tigers to SA development (the *"wirtschaftwunder"*) as in the case of post-war Germany or Japan as these were the product of special times and conditions which cannot be recreated in South Africa in this new century. Their policy experiments in education are therefore only of limited value and need to be handled with extreme care in different contexts.

None of this detracts for the immense need for research and debate on the fundamental issues facing state education policy in the 21st century. All our beliefs and hopes are much more modest in 2023. Most significantly, we need to recruit a new generation of young people into the teaching profession who will bring renewed commitment to the struggle for education—both in the classroom and the schools, the universities, and places of teacher education. Without the commitment of that new generation of educators our dreams from the time of the anti-apartheid struggle will not be realised.

We cannot, in all honesty, tell students that teaching will transform society as we were able to confidently assume in the optimistic days of the 1960s. We can only offer a much more modest proposal—that teaching is one of the most satisfying careers available to young people as it is our investment in the new generation, and that working with young people is always a joy. We cannot offer young teachers and educational researchers the promise of dramatic social transformation as a result of pedagogical transformation, but we can offer them the unique opportunity to promote positive intellectual, behavoural and social change in individual children and youth which might provide some of the building blocks to a better society.

I thought in the early 1990s that the new democratic order would bring empowerment to teachers and allow them to control their own lives in ways that had not been possible under apartheid. I assumed that this would be a benefit to all. The hard reality was that the vast majority of teachers had not been prepared for the kind of freedom that the planners envisaged. In addition, the major African teacher union—SADTU—that had been crafted from the UDF affiliated unions with their origins in the 1980s, was soon absorbed into the ANC/COSATU/SACP Alliance and became tied by the Alliance to policy decisions of the government that were often at variance with the common sense of teachers in the field/ the interests of a real democratic teacher's ethos. The major representative of the voice of African teachers therefore failed to provide a critique for educational policy and a space for the voices of teachers. At no point in the construction of the new system of education

after 1994 did SADTU provide the space for teachers to air their views on the new policies. Teachers were once again silenced by the new order which was in many ways as directive and controlled as the previous system, though the new "norms and standards" were at their best about standards of efficiency and delivery. In both cases conformity was the central issue and in both cases the voices of teachers were largely silenced.

I do not have a naive belief in the virtue of teachers' voices, but I do think that we would be much more likely to succeed in our educational endeavours if we had a greater commitment to listening to what they were saying. If modern methods of surveillance had existed in the 1960s my career could never have taken the shape that it did. What are the implications for a new generation of talented and motivated young teachers?

Overall I think that I learned a great deal more from my engagement with agencies outside of the university than I did from my studies on education or even my association over many years with professional educational research associations—local and international. My association with the SCA, NUSAS, the History Workshop, the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB), NEUSA, Kenton and the Southern African Comparative and History of Education Society (SACHES) was fundamental to my experience and ability to contribute to my profession. All this presents academics in the field of educational studies with a set of formidable challenges if they are to inspire a new generation of educational activists.

What do I think now? I still think of the state as the guardian of 'education for all' because only the state has the resources to ensure equity in education. But if we are realistic in the early years of the twenty-first century we have to accept that state policy is trapped in a political set that does not support such a dedication to equality in education, no matter how policies are dressed up to give this impression.[39]

Looking back I have often been challenged by friends and parents who asked whether their children should take up teaching as a career. Few of my children's friends took this option as they made their way to university and into the job market. Working at the University of the Western Cape for nearly two decades after 1994 exposed me to all the immense challenges that the new educational system was facing. Our teacher trainees, often from backgrounds in dysfunctional schools in township or rural black areas, had often not seen a fully functional school with the resources that we took for granted in the background that I experienced at Wits or UCT. When I first arrived at UWC in 1992 there were nearly a thousand students in the PGCE class who had to be taught in relays as there were no venues

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39 Programmes like UNICEF's "Education for All" or the US government programme on "No Child Left Behind" are typical of such visions.

large enough to admit the whole class at one time. We did our best in the circumstances in a Faculty of Education that attracted a number of extremely talented and committed lecturers under the inspired leadership of Prof. Wally Morrow. But we all realised that the challenges were immense and were often sobered by the lack of support our students found in the schools where they did practice teaching.

It is without doubt a tough world out there in the schools that lie outside of the privileged circle of former privileged white schools. But we did our best to provide teachers with the tools to take on that challenge and were proud of the work that we did. We thought that we were providing the foundations for a new and better system of education to what had gone before, but we gradually came to realise that much of what we thought was not reflected in the policy developments that are described above.

Yet, along with Elmore and Cuban I retain my belief in fundamental the role of teachers and schools in the construction of a just society in which dedicated teachers strive to assist their students to build a better world. Yet, I also desire to underscore L Cuban's cautionary comment: "Nearly half century of experience in schools and the sustained research I have done have made me allergic to utopian rhetoric."[40]

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40 Elmore (2012):28.

The body politic and the political body in nationalist science: Physical education at Stellenbosch University in the 1930s[1]

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Abstract

Stellenbosch University (SU) was the first university in Africa to introduce a dedicated physical education certificate course in 1937. In defining the Physical Education Department's *raison d'etre,* the first head of the department, Dr Ernst Jokl, declared that his main aim was to transform SU into the recognised centre for scientific physical education in South Africa. Beyond this purpose, the institutionalisation of physical education resonated with the institution's Afrikaner-nationalist ethos. At the *volksuniversiteit*, standardised physical education was intended to contribute to the strengthening of the corporate

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and individual Afrikaner body. While Jokl played a pivotal role in the establishment of standardised physical education at SU, his tenure was abruptly terminated following controversy surrounding medical examinations of female physical education students. In examining the events that led up to Jokl's swift departure, we explore the origins of physical education at SU and the ways in which the university's institutional culture shaped the trajectory of this nascent discipline. In essence, we argue that Jokl's exit was precipitated by his 'scientific methods' that required students to undress for their medical inspections. While all the students underwent the same examination, the uproar was rooted in the fact that women students were subjected to the inspections. While he argued that his approach was an extension of his scientific endeavours, Jokl transgressed the traditionalist and strongly gendered values of SU and the idealised Afrikaner nation that it sought to both represent and shape.

Introduction

At the start of the 1937 academic year, the first full-time physical education students were enrolled at Stellenbosch University (SU).[2] As part of a mission to establish a Physical Education Department, the rector of the university, Professor Raymond William Wilcocks,[3] and a mathematics professor, Ebenhaeser Theodore Stegmann,[4] sought to secure the appointment of a man called Dr Ernst Franz Jokl.[5] The institution which Jokl, who was employed from 1 July 1936, was to form part of became a central bastion of Afrikaner nationalism in both the intellectual and sporting arenas in the early 20th century.[6] Despite the fact that Jokl was instrumental in the establishment of standardised physical education at SU, his employment was terminated a mere nine months into his tenure. This was due to a controversy over his medical examinations of female physical education students. In closely analysing the events surrounding Jokl's short term at SU, we will reveal a central contradiction between the scientific practices that Jokl introduced and the conservative ideals of the university. Moreover, we will demonstrate the extent to which the needs of an idealised Afrikaner *volk*[7] held sway at SU. For the university, physical education was intended to enhance the expertise of qualified teachers, uphold the values of the broader Afrikaner society, and improve the physical condition of the white population in South Africa, as we will show. In contrast, Jokl sought to craft a 'science of the body' that required close contact with and analysis of the human physique, beyond gendered, ethnic, or even

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2 HB Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966: Honderd jaar hoër onderwys* (Kaapstad, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1966), p. 117; Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, "Department of Sport Science celebrates 80th birthday", Stellenbosch University, 25 July 2016, (available at http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4035, as accessed on 7 May 2020).

3 Born in 1892, RW Wilcocks served as Stellenbosch University Rector from 1934, following the reinstatement of the position. See Stellenbosch University, "Maties voice Prof RW Wilcocks: SU Rector 1933-1954", Stellenbosch University, (available at https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/team/prof-rw-wilcocks/, as accessed on 30 June 2021).

4 ET 'Ebbie' Stegmann served as chairperson of the Stellenbosch Rugby Football Club from 1940 to1957 and chairperson of the Stellenbosch University Athletics Club. See GG Cillie, "Stegmann, Ebenhaeser Theodore", CJ Beyers, *Suid-Afrikaanse biografiese woordeboek deel IV* (Butterworth, Butterworth & Kie, 1981), pp. 645–646.

5 Anon, "'n Fundamentele sportaanstelling aan die universiteit", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, pp. 24–25.

6 CJ Roux & JM Wassermann, "'Jokkel' - Ernst Franz Jokl's contributions to physical education in South Africa circa 1933-1950", M Bobrík, B Antala & R Pělucha, *Physical education in universities: researches–best practices – situation* (Bratislava, Slovak Scientific Society for Physical Education and Sport and FIEP: Bratislava, 2020), pp. 151–152.

7 Translates to 'nation' or 'people' in an ethnic sense.

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national lines. Reflective of his training as specialist in sports medicine,[8] Jokl's ambitions were best demonstrated in the syllabus outline that he had developed for the burgeoning course.[9] Despite his contribution to the establishment of the discipline at SU and the fact that he was qualified to conduct the medical examinations of physical education students, Jokl's position as a lecturer within a conservative academic fraternity thwarted his scientific objectives before they could come to fruition. In examining the events of 1937, we argue that the conservative traditions of the Afrikaner *volk* and *volksuniversiteit*[10] dictated the trajectory of this nascent science. We contend that physical education was not only expected to buttress but also to bend to the dominant traditions within the university. These traditions were ethnically aligned, staunchly religious, and deeply gendered.

This study is based on archival research conducted primarily within an institutional archive. As the study explores the history of physical education at SU, now presented by the Department of Exercise, Sport, and Lifestyle Medicine, primary sources used in this article have been accessed through the Stellenbosch University Archive; the SUNDigital Collection; Compact Storage; the Africana section in the Stellenbosch University Library; and the National Archives of South Africa (Cape Town Archive Repository).

Physical education at the *volksuniversiteit*

The roots of physical education at SU are located within a complicated institutional history. Formerly known as Victoria College, SU was awarded university status in April 1918, becoming one of the first independent universities in South Africa.[11] SU established a close affiliation to the emergent Afrikaner nationalism of the early 20th century and was positioned "to enable

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8 Stellenbosch University Archive (hereafter SUA), Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937–1/4/1938, Brief van Dr E Jokl, 16 April 1937, pp. 24–25.

9 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 17.

10 Translates to 'nation's university' or 'people's university'. See Stellenbosch University Library, Compact Storage, 053.936 HUI, Academicus, "Stellenbosch as volksuniversiteit", *Die Huisgenoot*, 17 January 1930, pp. 17–25.

11 Stellenbosch University, the University of South Africa and the University of Cape Town were granted university status on 2 April 1918. AM Grundlingh, H Oosthuizen & M Delport, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018* (Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University, 2018), p. 235–236; Stellenbosch University, "Timeline", Stellenbosch University (available at https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/timeline/1918/, as accessed on 20 May 2022).

the Afrikaner to take his rightful place in the professional life".[12] Afrikaner roots stretch back to the 17th century when the Dutch East Indian Company established a settlement at the tip of southern Africa.[13] Shared tales of suffering and exclusion experienced in the aftermath of British imperial conquests and the Anglo-Boer/South African War (1899–1902)[14] served as a "binding agent"[15] that unified a deeply stratified and class-based society under an ethno-nationalist banner.[16] Moreover, from the 19th century, concern for poor white communities took centre stage across religious, political, and intellectual circles.[17] Presented as a physically and mentally 'unfit' subset of white society, poor whites preoccupied culture brokers, politicians, and intellectuals. In an attempt to launch a national investigation and provide possible solutions for the poor white crisis, the Carnegie Commission was established in 1927 and its report on *The poor white problem in South Africa* was published in

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12 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935–19/3/1937, Rapport van die uitvoerende komitee, B. Die komitee rapporteer, p. 89.; T Dunbar Moodie, *The rise of Afrikanerdom: power, apartheid, and the Afrikaner civil religion* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975) pp. 96–114.; A Bank, "'Broederbande' [Brotherly bonds]: Afrikaner nationalist masculinity and African sexuality in the writings of Werner Eiselen's students, Stellenbosch University, 1930-1936", *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38(3–4), 2015, pp. 180–197. https://doi.org/10.1080/23323256.2015.1069715; A Bank, "Fathering *volkekunde*: race and culture in the ethnological writings of Werner Eiselen, Stellenbosch University, 1926–1936", *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38(3–4), 2015, pp. 163–179. https://doi. org/10.1080/23323256.2015.1075854; R Gordon, "Apartheid's anthropologists: the genealogy of Afrikaner anthropology", *American Ethnologist*, 15(3), 1988, pp. 535–553. https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1988.15.3.02a00090; AM Grundlingh, "SU and changing nationalistic trends in language over a century", AM Grundlingh, H Oosthuizen & M Delport, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018* (Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University, 2018), p. 29.; CS van der Waal, "Afrikaner networks for *volksdiens*: Stellenbosch *volkekundiges*, 1926-1997", *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 45(2), 2022, pp. 75–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/23323256.2022.2095519
13 H Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: biography of a people* (Tafelberg, Cape Town, 2009).
14 T Simpson, *History of South Africa: from 1902 to the present* (South Africa, Penguin Random House, 2021); B Nasson, *Uyadela wen'osulapho: black participation in the Anglo-Boer War* (Randburg, Ravan Press, 1999); B Nasson, *The South African War, 1899-1902* (London, Arnold, 1999); B Nasson, "Commemorating the Anglo-Boer War in post-apartheid South Africa", *Radical History Review*, 78, 2000, p. 149.
15 AM Grundlingh, "The trajectory and dynamics of Afrikaner nationalism in the twentieth century: an overview", F Freschi, B Schmahmann & L van Robbroeck, *Troubling images: visual culture and the politics of Afrikaner nationalism* (Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2020) p. 28.
16 AM Grundlingh, "The trajectory and dynamics of Afrikaner nationalism in the twentieth century…", F Freschi, B Schmahmann & L van Robbroeck, *Troubling images…*, p. 28.; T Blaser, "'I don't know what I am': the end of Afrikaner nationalism in post-apartheid South Africa", *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 80, 2012, p. 3. https://doi:10.1353/trn.2012.0048.
17 WA Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. health report. health factors in the poor white problem* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).

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1932.[18] The five-volume report not only gave an account of the state of the poverty-stricken and largely rural white population but also forged a plan to redeem them.[19]

SU's investment in Afrikaner advancement stood in stark contrast to the ethos of the university's local counterpart, the University of Cape Town, which reflected British-aligned imperial ambitions and later a liberal ambience.[20] While the institution "offered white students nationwide the chance to receive tuition in Dutch … in addition to English, as well as the opportunity to help anchor and develop the emerging Afrikaans language as a fully-fledged academic language",[21] the presence and experiences of women students and staff were relegated to the margins. From its establishment, SU emulated the patriarchal ideals of the broader Afrikaner society, which left leadership roles to men. Apart from staff members such as Lydia van Niekerk who became the first female professor (in Dutch) in 1922,[22] Erika Theron who became professor of social work in 1956,[23] and Isabelle Nel who became the first female professor in physical education in the country in 1971,[24] women "did not feature prominently in university matters".[25] With regard to the student population, the first

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18 JFW Grosskopf, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part I. economic report: rural impoverishment and rural exodus* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932); RW Wilcocks, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part II. psychological report: the poor white* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932); EG Malherbe, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part III. educational report: education and the poor white* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932); WA Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. health report. health factors in the poor white problem* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932); JR Albertyn & ME Rothmann, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V. sociological report: (a) the poor white in society (b) the mother and daughter in the poor family* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).

19 WA Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. health report. health factors in the poor white problem* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1932).

20 AM Grundlingh, "SU and changing nationalistic trends in language over a century", AM Grundlingh, H Oosthuizen & M Delport, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018…*, p. 29.; H Phillips, *UCT under apartheid: from onset to sit-in: 1948-1968* (Cape Town, Jacana Media, 2019), pp. 11-15.

21 H Heese, "The origins of Stellenbosch University", AM Grundlingh, H Oosthuizen & M Delport, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018* (Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University, 2018), p. 3; FJ Cleophas, "Race and politics in sports science", J Jansen & C Walters, *Faultlines: a primer on race, science and society* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2020), p. 192.; FJ Cleophas, "A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department, 1936-1939", *Sport in Society*, December 2021, pp. 618–631. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.2013203

22 AM Grundlingh, "SU and changing nationalistic trends in language over a century", AM Grundlingh, H Oosthuizen & M Delport, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018…*, p. 34.

23 JA Tayler, "With her shoulder to the wheel: the public life of Erika Theron (1907-1990)" (Ph.D., UNISA, 2010), pp. 180–183.

24 I Anthonissen, "Die bewegingsopvoedkundige, H. Isabelle Nel: 'n historiese-filosofiese studie" (M.A., SU, 1997), p. 19.

25 AM Grundlingh, "SU and changing nationalistic trends in language over a century", AM Grundlingh, H Oosthuizen & M Delport, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018…*, p. 34.

female student to graduate from Victoria College, Katie Tindall, was one of eight students to graduate with a BA degree in 1897.[26] As the number of women students enrolled at the college steadily increased[27] from the 1890s, many outperformed their male peers and were awarded for their academic success.[28] Notwithstanding their increased visibility on campus, women were still excluded from full participation in student life. As discussed by the then rector and notable chair of the Afrikaner Broederbond,[29] Professor Hendrik Bernardus Thom,[30] one of the only 'trump cards' that male students could use to marginalise women was excluding them from admission to the converted debating societies. Up until 1909, when the first five women were inducted as members, women were only welcomed as guests, especially if they wanted to deliver a song.[31] As will be discussed in this paper, while white women students were not excluded from enrolling in physical education courses, their participation was strictly regulated and controlled. While catering to the educational needs of the broader white population in South Africa, the institution's core identity remained focused on Afrikaner society. In an article outlining the university's place and purpose in the latter half of the 20th century, Thom penned his thoughts in 1969, stating that "*die feit bly egter staan dat die Universiteit van Stellenbosch uit die nood van die Afrikaner gebore is*" (the fact remains that Stellenbosch University was born out of the need of the Afrikaner).[32] Commending the extent to which the Afrikaner *volk*[33] contributed to the expansion of the university, Thom asserted that SU had been created for and strengthened

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26 HB Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966…*, pp. 305–309.

27 HB Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966…*, pp. 305–309.

28 HB Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966…*, pp. 305–309.

29 The Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) was a clandestine, exclusively male, secret society established in 1918. As an Afrikaner nationalist organisation, the AB was founded upon Calvinist and white supremacist principles and was dedicated to ensuring the advancement of the Afrikaner population through the infiltration of governmental structures, the church, public sector, and industry across the South African landscape. I Wilkins & H Strydom, *The super-Afrikaners: inside the Afrikaner Broederbond* (Jeppestown, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2012), pp. 430–431. See also N Smith, *Die Afrikaner Broederbond: belewinge van die binnekant* (LAPA Uitgewers, Pretoria, 2009).

30 Serving as Stellenbosch University Rector from 1955 to 1969, Prof. HB Thom was born on 13 December 1905 in the Eastern Cape. Thom started his undergraduate studies at Stellenbosch University in 1924 and would continue his studies in Berlin, Paris, and Amsterdam. Rejoining the Stellenbosch University fraternity as a lecturer in the History Department, Thom was promoted to full professorship in 1937. See S du Toit, "SU Chancellor 1983 and SU Rector 1955-1969", (available at https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/team/prof-hb-thom/, as accessed on 21 Aug. 2022).

31 HB Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966…*, p. 309.

32 HB Thom, "'n Paar gedagtes oor Stellenbosch as volksuniversiteit", SUNDigital Collection: HB Thom Collection, 16 May 1969 (available at https://digital.lib.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.2/3433/discover, as accessed on 27 Oct. 2021).

33 Translates to 'people' or 'nation'.

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by the Afrikaner nation. Arguing that the university served as an exemplary beacon for the country, he affirmed that Stellenbosch had an inherent responsibility to reciprocate the Afrikaner *volk's* investments by advancing its interests.[34] This is the context that gave rise to the culture of SU in the early 20th century. While lately the university has made significant strides in terms of institutional transformation,[35] the history of SU is one originally shaped by and for a particular nation-making moment in which the launch of physical education played an essential role. As stated by Claude Smith (the first professor of physical education at the University of Pretoria)[36] in an address delivered to SU's physical education students in the late 1930s, "if you are not prompted by the idea of helping to improve your race physically then you should not take this course."[37] This call to action symbolises the ways in which the national appeal for *volksdiens*[38] was inculcated into the student body.

Body language: Exercising gender constructs in academic spaces

Operating within a network of Afrikaans-medium institutions, SU served as an intellectual factory in the production and homogenisation of Afrikaner identity. As Isabel Hofmeyr contended, the reinvention of Afrikaans as a respectable "white man's language"[39] transcended language standardisation as the process was pertinent in an ethnically aligned nation-building effort.[40] In considering language as a building block of Afrikaner

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34 HB Thom, "'n Paar gedagtes oor Stellenbosch as volksuniversiteit", SUNDigital Collection: HB Thom Collection, 16 May 1969 (available at https://digital.lib.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.2/3433/discover, as accessed on 27 Oct. 2021).

35 See A Fataar & E Costandius, *Evoking transformation: visual redress at Stellenbosch University* (Stellenbosch, African Sun Media, 2021); P Gobodo-Madikizela, "Stellenbosch University is white no longer, despite resistance from those who wanted the status quo", *Daily Maverick*, 20 April 2023 (available at https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2023-04-20-stellenbosch-university-is-white-no-longer-despite-resistance/, as accessed on 9 May 2020).

36 Claude Smith served as a physical education administrator for the Union Department of Education. Later, as Director of the Physical Education Institute at the University of Pretoria, Smith was appointed as the first professor of physical education at the university in September 1946. See AS Daries, "The history of physical education at Stellenbosch University, 1937-2019" (Ph.D., SU, 2023), p. 139.

37 C Smith, "What is your aim, students of physical education?", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1(2), 1939, p. 35.

38 Translates to 'national service' or 'civil service'.

39 I Hofmeyr, "Building a nation from words: Afrikaans language, literature and ethnic identity, 1902-1924", S Marks & S Trapido, *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth-century South Africa* (Routledge, New York, 1987), pp. 106–107.

40 I Hofmeyr, "Building a nation from words: …", S Marks & S Trapido, *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth-century South Africa …*, pp. 106–107.

nationalism, language standardisation was key. The process of language standardisation is likened to a form of social fabrication. Similarly, the body was as malleable as the language in this bigger project of creating an ideal Afrikaner. Regarding the institutionalisation of physical education, the 'body' was the discipline's central sight of inquiry. In order to keep the discipline in line with the values of the university and broader Afrikaner society, well-defined gender constructs were implemented.

The figure of the *volksmoeder* or mother of the nation was one of the most powerful expressions of gender ideology in the early 20th century. In the construction of idealised womanhood in this mainly patriarchal society, historian Elsabe Brink argues that "one of the means by which … male-dominated societies control women is by giving them a well-defined but circumscribed position within society, to which some status, honour and respectability are attached"[41] While ideologies related to Western suffragette feminism were mainly excluded from Afrikaner women's politics of the 1910s, republican ideology, philanthropy, and language issues were focal points as Sandra Swart notes.[42] Furthermore, while the construction of the *volksmoeder* ideal subscribes to Brink's conceptualisation, existing literature indicates that homogenised idealisation of Afrikaner womanhood was not only imposed on women but shaped by women as well.[43] In considering this, it is important to understand the ways in which the *volksmoeder* paradigm[44] existed in various iterations in popular culture and literature from the late 19th century. While women in Afrikaner society helped to define Afrikaner nationalism, "'motherhood' was cast in a republican mould,

41 E Brink, "Man-made women: gender class and ideology of the *volksmoeder*", C Walker, *Women and gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (London, James Currey, 1990), pp. 273–292.; D Allen, "Mother of the nation': rugby, nationalism, and the role of women in South Africa's Afrikaner society", *Sport in Society*, 17(4), 2014, p. 467. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2013.815513

42 S Swart, "'Motherhood and otherhood' - gendered citizenship and Afrikaner women in the South African 1914 Rebellion", *African Historical Review*, 39(2), 2007, p. 47–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/17532520701786160

43 See S Swart, "'A boer and his gun and his wife are three things always together': republican masculinity and the 1914 Rebellion", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24(4), 1999, pp. 737–751. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057079808708599; S Swart, "The 'Five Shilling Rebellion': rural white male anxiety and the 1914 Boer rebellion", *South African Historical Journal*, 56(1), 2006, pp. 88–102. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582470609464966. See also AM Grundlingh and S Swart, *Radelose rebellie: dinamika van die 1914-1915 Afrikanerrebellie* (Pretoria, Protea Boekhuis, 2009).

44 See C van der Westhuizen, "(Un)sung heroines: the rise and fall and rise of the Afrikaner nationalist *volksmoeder in* South Africa", *Matatu*, 50(2), 2020, pp. 258–279. https://doi.org/10.1163/18757421-05002004; C Blignaut, "Untold history with a historiography: a review of scholarship on Afrikaner women in South African history", *South African Historical Journal*, 65(4), 2013, pp. 596–617. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2013.770061; LM Kruger, "Gender, community and identity: women and Afrikaner nationalism in the *volksmoeder* discourse of *Die Boerevrou* (1919-1931)" (M.A., UCT, 1991).

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but it was an awkward and ambivalent republicanism."[45] The duality of empowerment and subjectivity circumscribed the status of white women in the segregationist era. As we argue, while white women students enjoyed the liberties associated with higher education, their voices were muted and their choices were constricted. In discussing the 'awkward and ambivalent' status of Afrikaner women in the segregationist and later apartheid periods, Ria van der Merwe analyses how traditionalist values were reified at another Afrikaans-medium university, the University of Pretoria.[46] Van der Merwe argues that in the absence of an all-encompassing policy detailing the status assigned to women, the university worked to ensure that the place of women students was defined clearly according to a domestic ideal.[47] Confined to the status of helpmate, women students at the University of Pretoria were pushed toward studying nursing, social work and domestic science.[48] Similarly, the status afforded to women physical education students at SU was shaped within the boundaries of perceived docility, purity, and piety. As will be explored in this paper, the burgeoning physical education courses at SU were designed to produce ideal citizens; thus, the rules and traditions that dictated conventions in Afrikaner society were embedded within the discipline.

As a national symbol, the *volksmoeder* ideal ushered Afrikaner women and girls into the private and public domains: into domestic and national service.[49] In demanding women's suffrage from the 1920s, some Afrikaner women employed *volksmoeder ideology and its* "language of home making"[50] as means to legitimise their campaign for full citizenship.[51] Presented as a unifying identity, *volksmoeder ideology led women "to believe that mothering was so important that it encompassed all other differences that might exist between women [with the] exception [that] motherhood did not and could not transcend ethnic and racial boundaries".*[52]

45 S Swart, "'Motherhood and otherhood'…", *African Historical Review*, 39(2), 2007, p. 41. https://doi.org/10.1080/17532520701786160

46 R van der Merwe, "Molding *volksmoeders* or *volks* enemies? Female students at the University of Pretoria, 1920-1970", *Historia*, 56(1), 2011, pp. 77–100.

47 R van der Merwe, "Molding *volksmoeders* or *volks* enemies?…", *Historia*, 56(1), 2011, pp. 88–90.

48 R van der Merwe, "Molding *volksmoeders* or *volks* enemies?…", *Historia*, 56(1), 2011, pp. 84–90.

49 E Brink, "The 'volksmoeder': a figurine as figurehead", AM Grundlingh & S Huigen, *Reshaping remembrance: critical essays on Afrikaans places of memory* (Amsterdam, Rozenberg Publishers, 2011), pp. 2–7.

50 L Vincent, "'A Cake of Soap': The *volksmoeder* ideology and Afrikaner Women's Campaign for the Vote", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 32(1), 1999, pp. 2–3. https://doi.org/10.2307/220803; L Vincent, "'A Cake of Soap': the *volksmoeder* ideology and the Afrikaner Women's Campaign for the Vote" (Paper, Public Seminar: Institute for Sociological Research, University of the Witwatersrand, 23 March 1998), pp. 1–2.

51 L Vincent, "'A Cake of Soap'…", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 32(1), 1999, pp. 7–14. https://doi.org/10.2307/220803

52 LM Kruger, "Gender, community and identity: women and Afrikaner nationalism in the *volksmoeder* discourse of *Die Boerevrou* (1919-1931)" (M.A., UCT, 1991), pp. 239–240.

This imagined community of mothers *was tasked with the responsibility of producing a physically and psychologically healthy nation through birth and cultural transmission.* As we will argue, it is this ethnically aligned domesticised national service that influenced and shaped the experiences of women students in physical education at the *volksuniversiteit*.

The national expansion of standardised physical education

In outlining the vision for physical education at SU, Ernst Jokl, announced that his aim was to invent SU as the very centre of pioneering scientific physical education in South Africa.[53] Renowned for his work as a physical education specialist,[54] Jokl was specifically recruited for the position at SU.[55] Apart from designing a programme to train teachers who sought to specialise in physical education, Jokl hosted afternoon fitness classes on the Coetzenburg sports field for the university staff and student body. These *jokkel* sessions proved to be a popular attraction on campus, drawing large crowds of students and staff members.[56] Jokl's contributions to the institutionalisation of physical education at the university proved to be so noteworthy that a neologism *jokkel*, meaning 'to exercise', was used to refer to physical education, even long after Jokl's departure.[57]

53 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 17.

54 Anon, "Well-known athlete coach interviews: Dr Jokl's view on S. African track prospects, selecting men according to the required type", *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 November 1934, p. 19; Anon, "Big coaching campaign: local athletic body's decision, Dr Jokl placed in charge of scheme", *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1934, p. 17.

55 E Jokl, *South African reminiscence*s (Stellenbosch, SI Jokl, 1988), p. 4.

56 Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, "Department of Sport Science celebrates 80th birthday", Stellenbosch University, 25 July 2016 (available at http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4035, as accessed on 7 May 2020).

57 P du Plooy, "Muurbal-situasie frustreer baie", *Die Matie*, 10 September 1980, p. 16; Anon, Jolige jokkel juffrou, *Die Matie*, 30 July 1976, p. 9; Anon, "Maties-bokke" *Die Matie*, 29 October 1981; L Heyneman, "Perspektiewe en dinge", *Die Matie*, 12 Mei 1978, p. 10; Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, "Department of Sport Science celebrates 80th birthday", Stellenbosch University, 25 July 2016 (available at http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4035, as accessed on 7 May 2020).

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Beyond the context of SU,[58] the mid to late 1930s was a period of national expansion in the field of South African physical education.[59] Prior to this, physical education had been introduced independently across the country and to varying degrees in accordance with the approach taken in each province.[60] Mirroring global trends that promoted the cross-institutional implementation of physical education programmes and the national standardisation of the subject, the 1930s bore witness to major advancements in South African physical education that included a rapid increase in the number of formal physical education training programmes across the country,[61] improvements in the conditions of schools and the military,[62] and the establishment of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education.[63] When considering the dispersion of the subject across the country, one finds that the Cape Province was a forerunner in the campaign to formally integrate physical education within South African schools.[64] In March 1934, a school inspectors' conference was hosted in Cape Town to address the state of health and physical education among school children.[65] As an outcome of this conference, the Cape Education Department introduced compulsory physical education for secondary schools from July

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58 The first institution of higher learning to launch a dedicated physical education training programme was the Cape Training College. See MC Black, "The training of physical education teachers", JW Postma, *Verslag van die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, 1945), pp. 123–126; Anon, "A career of untiring service: an appreciation of the work done by Miss Margaret Black", *Vigor*, 2(1), 1948, p. 28.

59 While the history of standardised physical education in South Africa is embedded in the nation's colonial past and has been adapted to suit various educational settings since the 1780s, this article is interested in exploring the configuration of physical education as a nascent science in a nationalist framework. See FJ Cleophas, "A historical account of physical education in South Africa", F Cleophas, D du Toit et al, *Teaching physical education and sports education* (South Africa, Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 17–20; JC Kelder, "Die historiese ontwikkeling van liggaamsoefeninge in die onderwysdepartemente", JW Postma, *Verslag van die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding* (Stellenbosch, Pro Ecclessia-Drukkery, 1945), p. 114; R de Klerk, "Die bydrae van enkele liggaamlike opvoedkundiges tot die ontwikkeling van die vak in Suid-Afrika vanaf die begin van die twintigste eeu" (Ph.D., PU vir CHO, 1986), p. 43.

60 JC Kelder, "Die historiese ontwikkeling van liggaamsoefeninge in die onderwysdepartemente", JW Postma, *Verslag van die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding* …, p. 114.

61 JC Kelder, "Die historiese ontwikkeling van liggaamsoefeninge in die onderwysdepartemente", JW Postma, *Verslag van die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding* …, p. 142.

62 AL Boshoff, "Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch" (M.A., SU, 1981), p. 7.

63 F van der Merwe, *Sport history* (Stellenbosch, FJG Publikasies, 2014), p. 213.

64 F van der Merwe, *Sport history* …, p. 213.

65 FJ Cleophas, "Physical education and physical culture in the coloured community of the Western Cape, 1837-1966" (Ph.D., SU, 2009), p. 72.

1934.[66] The introduction of mandatory physical education not only catered to the physical development of schoolchildren but also created a demand for physical education teachers. By 1936, SU, the Paarl Training College, and Pretoria Technical College were among the first institutions of higher learning to launch physical education courses.[67] In formulating physical education as a standardised course of study within higher education, physical education was introduced to produce physical education teachers and instructors. As teaching, especially with regard to the education of young children, was perceived as a suitable profession for women,[68] physical education had a mixed demographic of women and men students by the 1930s. Developed as a discipline that centred on the promotion of health and improvement of the physical condition of the body,[69] physical education was intended to make a national contribution as a nationalist science of the body. However, as we shall see, physical education was also expected to adhere to the restrictive gendered script of the nation that it sought to serve.[70]

66 FJ Cleophas, "Physical education and physical culture in the coloured community …, p. 72.
67 The Cape Town Teacher Training College was one of the first institutions in the country to introduce specialist training courses for white women under the leadership of Margaret C Black. See F van der Merwe, *Sport history…*, p. 213; MC Black, "The training of physical education teachers", JW Postma, *Verslag van die eerste Suid-Afrikaanse kongres vir liggaamlike opvoeding…*, pp. 126–127; Anon, "A career of untiring service"…, *Vigor*, 2(1), 1948, pp. 28-29; National Archives of South Africa (Hereafter NASA), Cape Town, PAE-488, EX 27/1, Examination Vacation Course in Physical Education 1934-1938, Extract from the Education Gazette 5 September 1935; NASA, Cape Town, PAE-488, EX 27/1, Examination Vacation Course in Physical Education 1934-1938, Letter addressed to the Superintendent-General of Education from Margaret C. Black 14 August 1935.
68 E Katzenellenbogen (Retired professor from the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department), interview, AS Daries (Researcher, SU), 11 August 2021.
69 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1937, Rapport van die uitvoerende komitee, B. Die komitee rapporteer, p. 89.
70 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1937, Rapport van die uitvoerende komitee..., p. 89.

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Jokl, *jokkel*, and the establishment of physical education at the *volksuniversiteit*

During a Senate[71] meeting on 24 June 1935, the university Council[72] announced its decision to appoint a new full-time lecturer in physical education. As a means to finance the appointment, the university approached the Carnegie Corporation of New York to sponsor a grant of £650 per annum for a period of two years.[73] Established in 1911, the Carnegie Corporation was founded by Scottish steel magnate Andrew Carnegie.[74] Dedicated to promoting the development and dissemination of knowledge for the public,[75] the corporation "supported numerous segregationist philanthropic projects [and] was interested in propping up Afrikaner nationalism ...".[76] Post World War I, the organisation played a significant part in increasing the South African government's research capacity in education and the social sciences. Apart from providing essential funding for the construction of museums and libraries including the SU library,[77] one of the most prominent initiatives funded by the Carnegie Corporation was the expansive interdisciplinary study on so-called 'poor whiteism' in South Africa.[78] In the political climate of the 1930s, fears

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71 According to the 1918 SU yearbook, Senate appoints professors as members of Council and operates as a regulatory body for all faculties, departments, lecturers and classes. The Senate body determines, in collaboration with Council, the requirements for obtaining a qualification from the university. In overseeing the academic matters of the university, Senate controls all examinations and makes recommendations to Council regarding the appointment of examiners and the conferment of professorships and lectureships. SUA, Jaarboek van het Victoria-Kollege en van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1918, pp. 325–326.

72 As detailed in the 1918 SU yearbook, Council operates as the governing and executive authority of the university. As an operational body, Council decides on the establishment of faculties and departments, the appointment of professors, lecturers and other teaching staff, and the appointment of examiners. Moreover, Council decides, in collaboration with Senate, on matters related to graduation and the conferment of degrees. Additionally, Council administrates the property of the university. SUA, Jaarboek van het Victoria-Kollege en van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1918, pp. 330–331.

73 SUA, Senaat-Notule, Vol. II, 2/7/1934-15/11/1935, Notule van gewone vergadering van die Raad gehou in die Raadkamer op Saterdag, 22 Junie 1935, p. 208.

74 E Condliffe-Lagemann, *The politics of knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, philanthropy, and public policy* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 3–4.

75 E Condliffe-Lagemann, *The politics of knowledge…*, pp. 3–4.

76 T Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a white skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the racial logic of white vulnerability* (California, University of California Press, 2015), p. 24.

77 J Botha, "Academic work at Stellenbosch University 1918-2028", AM Grundlingh, H Oosthuizen & M Delport, *Stellenbosch University 100: 1918-2018* (Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch University, 2018), p. 205. See also T Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a white skin…*, pp. 24–28.

78 See JFW Grosskopf, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part I. economic report...*; RW Wilcocks, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part II. psychological report…*; EG Malherbe, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part III. educational report…*; WA Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. health report…*; JR Albertyn & ME Rothmann, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V. sociological report…*

of miscegenation, *agteruitgang* (regression), and the depiction of Africans as a threat to the survival of the white race had become widespread in the wake of the 1932 Carnegie Commission report on *The poor white problem in South Africa*[79] and cultural cornerstone events such as the 1938 Great Trek Centenary.[80] In considering this contextual backdrop, the establishment of physical education at SU was deeply racialised as the discipline was intended to be deployed to improve the condition of the white population in South Africa.[81] Imbued with the impetus to uplift the white population, the introduction of physical education at Stellenbosch aligned with the broader shifts and transitions within Afrikaner nationalism.[82] Furthermore, in considering this as a vantage point for the Carnegie Corporation's interest in South Africa, the organisation's financial backing supported the appointment of a German-trained physical educationist and subsidised SU's need for a subject specialist. Beyond the institutional focus, Jokl's recruitment and subsequent appointment formed part of the white nationalist government's plan to draw on specialist academic fields as a means to determine and address the root of the social ills plaguing the white Afrikaner population.[83] As noted earlier, Rector Wilcocks and Professor Stegmann were instrumental in securing Jokl's appointment.[84] Born in 1907 in Breslau, Germany (now Wrocław, Poland),[85] Jokl was an experienced athlete.[86] Prior to arriving in South Africa in May 1933,[87] Jokl had attained a medical degree from the University of Breslau and a specialist

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79 See JFW Grosskopf, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part I. economic report...*; RW Wilcocks, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part II. psychological report…* ; EG Malherbe, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part III. educational report…* ; WA Murray, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part IV. health report…* ; JR Albertyn & ME Rothmann, *The poor white problem in South Africa: report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V. sociological report…*

80 L. Koorts, "'The Black Peril would not exist if it were not for a White Peril that is a hundred times greater': D.F. Malan's fluidity on poor whiteism and race in the pre-apartheid era, 1912-1939", *South African Historical Journal*, 65(4), 2013, pp. 569–576. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2013.858764; S Swart, "The 'Five Shilling Rebellion'…", *South African Historical Journal*, 56(1), 2006, pp. 88–102. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582470609464966

81 C Smith, "What is your aim…", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1(2), 1939, p. 35.

82 ET Stegmann, "Liggaamsopvoeding aan ʼn universiteit", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1(1), 1939, p. 15; C Smith, "What is your aim…", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1(2), 1939, p. 35.

83 ET Stegmann, "Liggaamsopvoeding aan ʼn universiteit", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1(1), 1939, p. 27.

84 Anon, "ʼn Fundamentele sportaanstelling aan die universiteit", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, pp. 24–25.

85 F Litsky, "Dr Ernst F. Jokl, a pioneer in sports medicine, dies at 90", *The New York Times*, 21 December 1997 (available at https://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/21/sports/dr-ernst-f-jokl-a-pioneer-in-sports-medicine-dies-at-90.html, as accessed 12 June 2020).

86 F Litsky, "Dr Ernst F. Jokl, a pioneer in sports medicine, dies at 90", *The New York Times*, 21 December 1997 (available at https://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/21/sports/dr-ernst-f-jokl-a-pioneer-in-sports-medicine-dies-at-90.html, as accessed 12 June 2020). See also J Bale, "Chapter one: Ernst Jokl and the layers of truth", *Playing Pasts*, 6 May 2021 (available at https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/articles/athletics/ernst-jokl-and-layers-of-truth-2/, as accessed on 28 June 2021).

87 E Jokl, *South African reminiscences…*, pp. 1–2.

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certificate, *Sportarzt,*[88] that qualified him as an "expert in medical aspects of physical education …".[89] The origins of the German term *Sportarzt,* meaning "doctor of or for sport", [90] have been traced back to 1900. This field of sports medicine encompassed focus areas related to coaching, rehabilitation, health education, and scientific research with the intention of improving the physical condition of the human body specifically related to sports performance.[91] Working within the field of sports medicine during his studies in Germany, Jokl assisted in conducting anthropometric[92] medical assessments on German Olympic athletes participating in the 1928 Olympic Games.[93] From there on, Jokl's research interest bounced from exercise physiology to the functioning of the brain to physical education to the medicine of aviation to the field of anthropology.[94] In 1931, Jokl was appointed as Director of the Institute of Sport Medicine at the University of Breslau. However, by 1933, when the Nazi Party rose to power, his career prospects had been stifled.[95] Due to his Jewish heritage, Jokl was dismissed from his position, just two years following his appointment as Director of the Institute of Sport Medicine.[96] With anti-Semitism on the rise in Germany, Jokl and his wife, Erica Jokl, emigrated to South Africa.[97]

In his autobiography, Jokl stated that upon arrival in South Africa, he had been informed that the German medical degree that had once been valid in South Africa was

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88 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 18.; SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Dr E Jokl, 16 April 1937, pp. 24–25.

89 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 18.; SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Dr E Jokl, 16 April 1937, pp. 24–25.; J Bale, "Geography and the Olympics: an evaluation of the work of Ernst Jokl", J*ournal of Science and Medicine in Sport*, 3(3), 2000, p. 223–229.

90 M Krüger, "History of sports medicine in Germany: some preliminary reflections on a complex research project", *Historical Social Research*, 40 (4), 2015, p. 332.

91 M Krüger, "History of sports medicine in Germany…", *Historical Social Research*, 40(4), 2015, pp. 332–333.

92 An anthropometric study measures the proportions of the human body. As a scientific practice, anthropometric practices not only subjected the human body to measurement and analysis; the practice itself became a widespread methodological framework in scientific circles, including the field of physical anthropology. Moreover, as anthropometry was considered to be an objective scientific practice used to determine racial differences, the practice was centralised for human classification. See RM Malina, "Anthropometry in physical education and sport sciences", F Spencer, *History of physical anthropology* (London, Garland, 1996), pp. 90–94; H Walters, "Tracing objects of measurement: locating intersections of race, science and politics" (Ph.D., SU, 2018), pp. 35–36.

93 J Bale, "Chapter one: Ernst Jokl and the layers of truth", *Playing Pasts*, 6 May 2021 (available at https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/articles/athletics/ernst-jokl-and-layers-of-truth-2/, as accessed on 28 June 2021).

94 J Bale, "Chapter one: Ernst Jokl and the layers …".

95 E Jokl, *South African reminiscences…*, pp. 1–2.; F Litsky, "Dr Ernst F. Jokl, a pioneer in sports medicine, dies at 90", *The New York Times*, 21 December 1997 (available at https://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/21/sports/dr-ernst-f-jokl-a-pioneer-in-sports-medicine-dies-at-90.html, as accessed on 12 June 2020).

96 CJ Roux & JM Wassermann, "'Jokkel' - Ernst Franz Jokl's contributions to physical education in South Africa circa 1933-1950", M Bobrík, B Antala & R Pělucha, *Physical education in universities…*, p. 151.

97 E Jokl, *South African reminiscences…*, pp. 1–2; F Litsky, "Dr Ernst F. Jokl, a pioneer in sports medicine, dies at 90", *The New York Times*, 21 December 1997 (available at https://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/21/sports/dr-ernst-f-jokl-a-pioneer-in-sports-medicine-dies-at-90.html, as accessed on 12 June 2020).

no longer recognised and could not be used to attain a medical licence.[98] Considering the social climate of the 1930s and 1940s, Jokl noted that the situation in Germany had led to "engendered fear[s] among local physicians that they would be swamped with immigrant competitors".[99] Jokl's reference to "immigrant competitors" flooding the South African market applied to both the political climate in Germany that had forced many Jewish citizens to flee the country and local challenges pertaining to mounting anti-Semitism toward Jewish immigrants, which predated the widespread Nazi propaganda of the 1930s and 1940s.[100] To obviate these local anxieties,[101] Jokl enrolled in the Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand where he attained an MBBCh degree in 1936.[102] While at the University of the Witwatersrand, Jokl was asked to direct the training of the university's track and field team in preparation for the National University Championship that was to be hosted in Durban in 1935.[103] Following his team's successful performance, Jokl received two offers. One was to direct the training of the South African national track and field team in preparation for the British Empire Games, and the second, proposed by Professor Stegmann, was to establish a Physical Education Department at SU.[104] For Stegmann, the main objectives for the new department were not only to prioritise the training of physical education teachers but also to produce physical education researchers.[105] According to him, this would be beneficial not only to the individual student but also to their future households and society at large.[106] Thus, Stegmann's vision for the new academic discipline was both nationally and domestically aligned. Subsequently, in operationalising this concept for the department, Jokl's employment meant that physical education could be expanded beyond a teacher training course.

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98 E Jokl, *South African reminiscences*…, pp. 1–2.

99 E Jokl, *South African reminiscences*…, pp. 1–2.

100 See M Shain, *A perfect storm: antisemitism in South Africa 1930-1948* (Jonathan Ball Publishers, Cape Town, 2015), pp. 108–110; M Shain, "The foundations of antisemitism in South Africa: images of the Jew c. 1870-1930" (Ph.D., UCT, 1990), p. 7; M Shain, "Jewish cultures, identities and contingencies: reflections from the South African experience", *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire*, 18(1), 2011, pp. 89–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2011.543584; M Shain, "Paradoxical ambiguity – DF Malan and the 'Jewish Question'", *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*, 72(1), 2017, pp. 63–74. https://doi.org/10.1080/0035919X.2016.1258016

101 E Jokl, *South African reminiscences*…, pp. 1–4.

102 E Jokl is listed as part of the graduating class of 1936 for clinical disciplines at the University of the Witwatersrand. See R Keene, *Our graduates 1924-2012: Faculty of Health Sciences* (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2013) p. 78; E Jokl, *South African reminiscences*…, pp. 1–4.

103 E Jokl, *South African reminiscences*…, pp. 1–4.

104 Stellenbosch University Sport Science Department, "Department of Sport Science celebrates 80th birthday", Stellenbosch University, 25 July 2016 (available at http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4035, as accessed on 7 May 2020).

105 ET Stegmann, "Liggaamsopvoeding aan 'n universiteit", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1(1), 1939, p. 15.

106 ET Stegmann, "Liggaamsopvoeding aan 'n universiteit", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1(1), 1939, p. 27.

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Physical education as a science of the body

Following Senate approval of Jokl's appointment, the university Council and the university Appointments Committee requested that the Faculty Board of Education (FBE) identify the duties that Jokl would be expected to perform once appointed as lecturer in physical education.[107] In September 1935, the FBE posed four recommendations. The first two suggestions pertained to the physical training of women and men students, namely that male students participate in two to three physical training sessions per week and female students in three to four per week. Further, the FBE suggested that a woman instructor should train women students. Lastly, it stipulated that Jokl was not expected to teach physiology and school health as these subjects were taught by other lecturers in the faculty.[108] In this initial stage, however, Stegmann, and indeed most of the university decision makers, considered the proposed courses as steppingstones toward the establishment of a distinct department or separate institute for physical education. Despite these bigger ambitions, physical education continued to operate under the auspices of the Education Faculty long after attaining its coveted departmental status.[109] Moreover, as they related to the university's proposed operational framework for the new courses, three out of the four recommendations were guidelines pertaining to the physical training of men and women students. These guidelines not only emphasised a distinction between men and women; they also specified what the faculty, and by extension the university, expected from Jokl. Despite the fact that Jokl was appointed as the only lecturer of physical education in this introductory phase, the guidelines specified that a woman instructor was to teach women students. In view of these specifications, the recommendations encapsulated the gendered lens through which powerful groups within the university conceptualised the budding discipline.[110]

In the September 1936 edition of *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent,* Jokl provided insight into his vision for the proposed certificate and diploma courses that were to launch in 1937.[111] Largely rooted in a medicalised framework bent on improving the condition of the human body, Jokl focused on developing what he deemed to be a scientifically based curriculum structure.[112] In considering Jokl's German background and training, Germany

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107 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. III, 2/7/1934-15/11/1935, Insake 13 September 1935, p. 285.

108 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. III, 2/7/1934-15/11/1935, Insake 13 September 1935, p. 285.

109 Physical education received departmental status in 1940. See HB Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966…*, pp. 112–117; Anon, "Die Nasionale Skema vir Liggaamlike Opvoeding", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, April 1943, p. 20; Anon, "Moderne gimnasium vir Stellenbosch", *Die Burger*, 26 August 1938, p. 3.

110 ET Stegmann, "Liggaamsopvoeding aan ʼn universiteit", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 1(1), 1939, p. 15.

111 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 18.

112 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, pp. 17–18. See also Anon, "ʼn Fundamentele sportaanstelling aan die universiteit", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, pp. 24–25.

has one of the oldest traditions of sports medicine globally. In 1920, the world's first sports college which offered a sports medicine curriculum, was established in Berlin. Within five years, the German Association of Physicians for the Promotion of Physical Culture had founded the first sports medical journal in 1924.[113] As it related to the proposed curriculum structure for the two courses, the certificate course was more closely aligned with the SU Education Faculty's conceptualisation of physical education as a postgraduate course for qualified teachers who were interested in specialising in physical education.[114] The certificate course was intended to consist of lectures, physical training sessions, and exercises in teaching on the sports field.[115] While teacher training was foregrounded, the combination of pedagogical training, emerging physical education theory, physical exercise and sport aligned with Jokl's intentions to formulate a scientific physical education programme. In formulating the structure of the certificate course, Jokl incorporated subjects such as anatomy, physiology, and hygiene studies, which were subjects that foregrounded the improvement, examination, and analysis of the human body. By drawing on these established scientific disciplines, Jokl's outline not only illustrated the construction of physical education as an academic discipline but also demonstrated the forging of physical education into a science of the body.[116] Similar to the certificate course the diploma course focused on theory and compulsory physical training such as athletics, games, sport, and gymnastics.[117] As it was anticipated that the diploma course would be more physically demanding, Jokl recommended that only students who had previously excelled on the sports field should apply.[118] This focus on physical dexterity and sporting prowess was of particular importance in the context of the SU where once imperial sports,[119] such as rugby, were "Afrikanerised"[120] as bastions of Afrikaner national identity, social practice, and culture. In considering the university's contribution to the standardisation of physical education, the combination of indigenised sport and systemised theory supported the institutionalisation of physical education. Furthermore, as it pertained to the proposed outcome of this programme, the three-year diploma course was intended to yield physical

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113 I Waddington, "The development of sports medicine", *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 13(2), 1996, p. 177.

114 SUA, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1937, pp. 275–279.

115 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1937, Minutes of Senate meeting: courses in physical education for education students, 9 September 1936, p. 129.

116 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 18.

117 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 18.

118 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 18.

119 L Koenig-Visagie, "Active, adventurous and heroic: visual constructions of masculinity in the Afrikaans church", *Gender Questions*, 10(1), 2022, pp. 7––11. https://doi.org/10.25159/2412-8457/10304; AM Grundlingh, "Playing for power? Rugby, Afrikaner nationalism and masculinity in South Africa, c. 1900-70", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11(3), 1994, p. 40–412. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523369408713871

120 AM Grundlingh, "Playing for power?...", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11(3), 1994, p. 418.

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education researchers and professional physical educationists.[121] Moreover, in expanding beyond the established sciences included in the certificate course, the diploma course included subjects such as biology, anatomy, physiology, hygiene studies, psychology, education, sociology, medicine, physics of aviation for men and women students who were interested, and home economics for women students.[122] While the gendered component of the programmes remained central, there were striking additions. Jokl conceptualised the course in such a way that it gave women students the opportunity to attend classes on aviation in lieu of home economics classes that would have prepared them for a more domestic role.[123] The exciting addition of aviation that provided women students with an alternative to home economics classes was significant as it signified both Jokl's ambitions to expand the scope of the course and his lack of adherence to local social norms. At this embryonic stage, the inclusion of the aforementioned established disciplines alongside pedagogical and physical training not only buttressed the theoretical foundation of physical education but also demonstrated the cultivation of physical education as a science and as an academic discipline.

Medical mayhem and the scandal of April 1937

While the university was determined to offer both the certificate and diploma courses, the announcement of the diploma course was met with opposition from the Cape Education Department (CED). Early in 1937, the Superintendent General of the CED, Wouter de Vos Malan, wrote a letter to Rector Wilcocks in response to the university's plan to introduce certificate and diploma courses in physical education. Responding to Wilcocks' questions regarding the feasibility of a specialised diploma course, De Vos Malan noted that in its present form, the three-year diploma course could not be considered as a teacher training course or as a degree course.[124] De Vos Malan contended that the CED would not endorse the diploma course as there was no guarantee of employment for educators who were only

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121 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 18.

122 The inclusion of aviation physics intersected with Jokl's personal interest in aviation medicine. Obtaining his pilot licence in 1936, Jokl would later produce research on the medical aspects of aviation. See SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1937, Minutes of Senate meeting: courses in physical education for education students, 9 September 1936, p. 129. See also E Jokl, *Aviation medicine* (Cape Town, Unievolkspers Beperk, 1942).

123 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1937, Minutes of Senate meeting: courses in physical education for education students, 9 September 1936, p. 129. See also E Jokl, *Aviation medicine…*.; E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 18.

124 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1936, Brief van Superintendent Generaal van Onderwys, W. de Vos Malan, p. 337.

trained as physical educationists.[125] In line with the CED's recommendation, 17 students[126] who were all in possession of a teaching qualification were enrolled in the university's first physical education certificate course at the beginning of 1937.[127] The enrolment of qualified teachers was in line with the CED's stipulations. While these students intended on specialising in physical education, they were equipped to teach other school subjects as well.

As the sole lecturer, Jokl was responsible for conducting the theoretical portion of the course.[128] Moreover, in accordance with the Education Faculty's recommendations, Jokl handled the physical training of men students, whereas his wife, Erica Jokl, an experienced gymnast, instructed women students.[129] In order to ensure that they were physically fit and able to participate in the physical aspects of the programme, all students were obligated to undergo a medical examination upon admission.[130] Apart from his duties that were directly related to physical education teaching and training, Jokl offered medical services on campus as a doctor.[131] As we shall see, functioning as a lecturer and medical practitioner would prove to be a conflict of interest when operating within an institution that championed conservative values. While Jokl intended to mould physical education into a science of the body, his work as a medical practitioner complemented this task as it required a comprehensive understanding of the human body. Despite this, from the onset it had been established that physical education was expected to honour the gendered dichotomy upheld by Afrikaner society. As an intellectual leader in Afrikaner nationalist thought throughout the 20th century, the university was dedicated to preserving this society's values at all costs.

In March 1937, the Executive Committee (EC) of the Senate initiated an investigation, scrutinising the methods that Jokl employed while conducting medical examinations of

125 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1936, Brief van Superintendent Generaal van Onderwys, W. de Vos Malan, p. 337.

126 HB Thom, *Stellenbosch 1866-1966…*, p. 117.

127 Anon, "Stellenbosch enrolments higher", *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 March 1938, p. 7.; SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1936, Minutes of Senate meeting 19 March 1937, p. 309.

128 AL Boshoff, "Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch"…, pp. 45–47.

129 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1936, Besluite van die Senaat, p. 92.; AL Boshoff, "Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch"…, pp. 45–47; J Bale, "Chapter one: Ernst Jokl and the layers of truth", *Playing Pasts*, 6 May 2021 (available at https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/articles/athletics/ernst-jokl-and-layers-of-truth-2/, as accessed on 28 June 2021).

130 SUA, Stellenbosch University Calendar, 1937, pp. 275–279.

131 AL Boshoff, "Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch"…, pp. 40–55; SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1936, Minutes of Senate meeting, 19 March 1937, p. 24.

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physical education students.[132] In its initial report, the EC emphasised that Jokl was qualified to conduct the examinations, stressing that he had attained two medical degrees (from the University of Breslau and the University of the Witwatersrand) and that he was registered with the Medical Council of South Africa.[133] Furthermore, the EC report stressed that Jokl had been instructed to conduct the medical examinations of physical education students. Jokl assessed both men and women students, and during these inspections students were instructed to undress.[134] The central contestation that led to a major investigation arose because Jokl was examining women students in "various states of undress".[135] As discussed, the Education Faculty's recommendation emphasised that Jokl was not permitted to handle the physical training of women students. Six months after the recommendations had been posed, Jokl was asked to conduct the obligatory medical examinations of physical education students. Considering this, the recommendations served as an indication of what the university regarded as appropriate physical contact with women students. While the instruction of physical activity did not require prolonged physical contact between the instructor and the student, Jokl was not permitted to instruct women students in physical activities. Taking this and the fact that Jokl was qualified to conduct the medical examinations into account, the university's response to Jokl's methods was a critique of a lecturer's physical contact with a student and not of a doctor's examination of a patient. While Jokl occupied both roles, his examination methods stood in stark contrast with what the university regarded to be acceptable—one pertained to health, one to science.

In response to the initial investigation, Jokl addressed a letter to Wilcocks on 16 April 1937, requesting to be relieved of his duties as lecturer of physical education at the university yet emphasising that the methods that he had employed were scientifically based and that his conduct was professional.[136] Three days later a committee comprised of Wilcocks, Stegmann, and Alan Harvey[137] presented a memorandum to the Senate which

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132 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XI, 9/12/1935-19/3/1936, Minutes of Senate meeting, 19 March 1937, p. 309.

133 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 18.

134 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 18.

135 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 18.

136 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Dr E Jokl, 16 April 1937, pp. 24–25.

137 The Senate minutes in which Mr Alan Harvey is mentioned as a committee member do not specify his affiliation to the university.

was to be released to the press at a later stage.[138] First, the committee briefly described the processes surrounding the introduction of physical education, the reasons behind Jokl's employment, and why the medical examinations were necessary.[139] In providing details regarding the examinations, the committee claimed that the university was unaware that Jokl was examining women students in a state of "complete undress".[140] The committee further claimed that once the university had become aware of Jokl's methods, immediate steps were taken to prevent this from happening again, and subsequently the university proceeded to investigate the matter.[141] Following the launch of the investigation, the university thought it best to form a Commission of Inquiry (COI) as part of its efforts to obtain an independent report from outside the university. The members of the COI were two women and a man: Mrs JH Conradie, the wife of the Cape Province Administrator,[142] Mrs SW Pienaar, the chairperson of the Stellenbosch faction of the *Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging* (Afrikaner Christian Women's Movement),[143] and Dr Karl Bremer[144] who would be elected vice-chancellor of the university in 1950 and remained in office until his

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138 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 18; SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Rapport van Vise-Kanselierskomitee van vergadering gehou op 24 April 1937, p. 203.

139 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 18–19.

140 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 18–19.

141 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 22.

142 FJ Cleophas, "A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department…", *Sport in Society*, December 2021, p. 623. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.2013 203; AL Boshoff, "Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch"…, p. 48.

143 Launched in 1904 as a philanthropic organisation, the ACVV fundamentally served to address social concerns regarding the increasing 'poor white problem' in the aftermath of the South African War. M du Toit, "The domesticity of Afrikaner nationalism: *volksmoeder* and the ACVV, 1904-1929", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(1), 2003, p. 160; FJ Cleophas, "A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department…", *Sport in Society*, December 2021, pp. 623–644. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.2013203; AL Boshoff, "Die geskiedenis van die Departement van Liggaamlike Opvoeding aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch"…, p. 48.

144 Karl Bremer's daughter, Greta Gericke, would go on to become the first student to attain a B.Ed. Ph. degree at Stellenbosch University. See Anon, "Geluk Greta Bremer", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 2(1), 1941, p. 21; G Bremer, "Ons kleredrag en ŉ wapen", *Liggaamsopvoeding/Physical Education*, 2(2), 1940, p. 61; SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Letter from the Dutch Reformed Church Council, 10 May 1937, p. 284.

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death in 1953.[145] The report stated the following:

1. That all the female students voluntarily underwent the investigation knowing
   (a) that they could choose their own doctor; and
   (b) that they would have to undress completely.
2. That the investigation was of a superficial nature and lasted about five minutes. During this time, the stomach, heart, and lungs were examined, and the blood pressure was measured.
3. That nothing of an indecent nature occurred during the investigation.
4. That none of the women students experienced any shock, fright, or indignation. On the contrary, they were completely satisfied with the examination.
5. That during every examination, another woman student was present.
6. Of the 17 names given to the COI, it appears as though 12 were examined in a complete undressed state and the other 5 were not asked to undress completely.
7. All the women students agreed that Dr Jokl's actions and conduct during the investigation were impeccable.[146]

These findings were based on testimonies gathered from physical education students during the COI's investigation. Apart from the university instructing Jokl to conduct the medical examinations, the fact that he already provided medical services on campus might have contributed to students' being more comfortable with his conducting their medical examinations. Furthermore, Jokl made sure that all the students were aware of the basic procedures that would be undertaken in the examinations. Based on the student testimonies, Jokl's conduct was professional. Additionally, Jokl had conducted similar medical examinations on athletes at earlier stages of his career. During his studies, Jokl had

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145 Across his medical and political career, Bremer advocated for racial segregation as a means to ensure the preservation and advancement of the white population in South Africa. Born in 1885 (in the former Cape Colony), Bremer served as Stellenbosch University's Vice-Chancellor between 1950 and 1953. Bremer studied medicine at Cornell, St Bartholomew's Hospital in London, and the University of Berlin. Bremer became the Medical Inspector for Schools in the Cape Province. Between the 1920s and 1940s, Bremer was active involvement in politics, serving as deputy for the Graaff-Reinet constituency and Parliamentary Member for Stellenbosch. From 1949 to 1951, Bremer served on the Stellenbosch University Senate and was elected Minister of Health and Social Welfare in Daniël Francois Malan's cabinet. See SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 22. See also JK de Kock, "Doctors in parliament", *South African Medical Journal*, 38(12), 1964, pp. 237-241; Stellenbosch University, "Dr Karl Bremer", Stellenbosch University (available at https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/team/dr-k-bremer/, as accessed on 29 July 2022); S Klausen, *Race, maternity, and the politics of birth control in South Africa, 1910-39* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 74; A Digby, "Black doctors and discrimination under South Africa's apartheid regime", *Medical History*, 57(2), 2013, p. 280.

146 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 22.

conducted anthropometric medical assessments on German Olympic athletes participating in the 1928 Olympic Games.[147] In light of these details, it is apparent that the university's criticism rested on the fact that Jokl's conduct transgressed the university's regulations pertaining to interactions with women students.

In his testimony, Jokl stated that according to his training, patients were required to undress when undergoing a medical examination of this sort.[148] He noted that the examinations lasted for about 20 minutes and that the rest of the procedure took place on the sports field and focused on other body parts such as the joints.[149] According to Jokl, the investigation was more thorough than the students realised.[150] He also claimed that he had not expected that his methods would lead to public outrage in South Africa and that he had ceased all examinations following the backlash.[151] In response, the committee consisting of Wilcocks, Stegmann, and Harvey stressed that although permissible in other countries and contexts, Jokl's methods could have been implemented without the students' having to undress.[152] This further emphasised that while Jokl was informed by his training, his methods transgressed the deep-seated dogma of decorum, rooted in conservative and patriarchal values that permeated the university.[153]

As an outcome of the inquiry, the committee decided to accept the COI's findings and concluded that the methods that Jokl had employed, although "customary in some other countries", were neither necessary nor acceptable in this case.[154] Jokl's actions proved, the committee maintained, that he was out of touch with the norms of white South Africa.[155] The committee expressed that the university deeply regretted the events and felt that it

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147 J Bale, "Chapter one: Ernst Jokl and the layers of truth", *Playing Pasts*, 6 May 2021 (available at https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/articles/athletics/ernst-jokl-and-layers-of-truth-2/, as accessed on 28 June 2021).

148 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 22.

149 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 22.

150 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 22.

151 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 22.

152 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 22.

153 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 22–23.

154 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 22–23.

155 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 22–23.

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would not be honouring the institution's traditions if it did not accept Jokl's resignation.[156] Despite receiving majority support from the committee members, this was not a unanimous decision. Stegmann voted in the minority against accepting Jokl's resignation and requested that his opposition be recorded in the minutes of the meeting.[157] In being largely responsible for Jokl's appointment, Stegmann regarded Jokl's tenure as the initial steps toward making "Stellenbosch the recognized centre for scientific physical education in South Africa."[158] Stegmann's vocal opposition to the committee's decision underlined the fact that he remained invested in keeping Jokl at the university.

In an outraged response, Jokl addressed a letter to Rector Wilcocks on 21 April 1937. According to Jokl, Wilcocks had personally informed him that he would be allowed to submit a memorandum to Senate, detailing why he needed to employ his methods while examining physical education students. According to Jokl, he was not afforded an opportunity to submit the memorandum or to access the COI's final report.[159] In the letter addressed to Wilcocks, Jokl outlined a number of points that he thought to be essential to the investigation. In the memorandum attached to the aforementioned letter, Jokl stated that as the instructor and medical practitioner in charge of training physical education students, he had to be "acquainted with the substrate of his efforts: with the body of his student"[160] and went on to claim that the purpose of his examinations warranted the methods that he had employed.[161] For Jokl, the "visual impression"[162] of the body as a whole was vital for assessing students of physical education. Jokl noted that the main aim of such an examination was "…to form a clear picture of the constitutional type of each individual".[163] This memorandum drew attention to the rift between the university's conceptualisation of physical education and Jokl's self-consciously 'scientific' approach. On

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156 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 22–23.

157 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 22–23.

158 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 17.

159 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 22–26.

160 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, pp. 22–26.

161 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 26.

162 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 26.

163 E Jokl, "Liggaamlike opvoedkunde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch", *Die Stellenbossche Oudstudent*, September 1936, p. 17.

the side of the university, it had been assumed that within Jokl's capacity as lecturer, the Education Faculty's guidelines which dictated interactions with students, would inform Jokl's methods. While the guidelines were upheld in the context of lectures and practical sessions, the university's reaction to Jokl's approach indicated that the institution did not fathom the extent of Jokl's methods. Standing in opposition to the university's conservative approach, Jokl's methods transgressed the university's unspoken yet tangible boundaries.

As a final attempt to defend himself, Jokl penned a letter on 23 April 1937. In this letter, he objected to the Council's decision to accept his letter of resignation.[164] Although the COI's report revealed that Jokl had acted within his professional capacity, the committee recommended that the university sever its ties with Jokl on grounds of his resignation.[165] In this letter, Jokl disclosed that he had submitted his resignation upon the recommendation of Wilcocks, noting that Wilcocks had even drafted the resignation letter himself.[166] Jokl claimed that he never intended to step down from his position and instead hoped for a fair and thorough investigation into the claims made against him.[167] While Wilcocks had sourced funding from the Carnegie Corporation to finance Jokl's position at the university, his position as rector dictated his allegiance.[168] Wilcocks's alleged involvement in Jokl's resignation further emphasised the extent to which the social standing of the university dictated institutional decision making. In occupying the position of rector, Wilcocks protected the interests of the university by siding with the institution and indeed, at least according to Jokl, orchestrating his resignation.[169] The COI's finding indicated that Jokl had acted within his professional capacity, so the conditions surrounding Jokl's dismissal remain ambiguous. In the archival record, Wilcocks appears to be silent regarding the Jokl affair. Other than the letter submitted to the funding body (the Carnegie Corporation), the archive does not reveal any overt statements from the rector. The silence, however, is broken when analysing the stance that Wilcocks took as a leader within the university. In the same way that Wilcocks was central in Jokl's appointment, he was also a catalyst in Jokl's exit.

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164 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Dr E Jokl, 16 April 1937, pp. 24–28.

165 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 23.

166 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Dr E Jokl, 16 April 1937, p. 30.

167 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Dr E Jokl, 16 April 1937, p. 30.

168 SUA, Senaat-Notule, Vol. II, 2/7/1934-15/11/1935, Notule van gewone vergadering van die Raad gehou in die Raadkamer op Saterdag, 22 Junie 1935, p. 208.

169 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Dr E Jokl, 16 April 1937, p. 30.

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Upholding the values of the *volksuniversiteit*

Public discourse surrounding the Jokl investigation expressed both condemnation and support. Following an article published in *Die Burger* on 19 April 1937 detailing the investigation, the Stellenbosch faction of the Dutch Reformed Church expressed its indignation regarding Jokl's actions.[170] In a letter addressed to the Senate, the Church Council voiced its disapproval. For the church, not only the moral well-being of the women students but also the good reputation of the university and the community of Stellenbosch were at stake.[171] The Church Council pleaded with Senate to immediately stop all physical examinations of women students in which they were instructed to undress, that it would ensure that, if necessary, all examinations of women students be done by a woman doctor and that it would accept the resignation of the individual in question.[172] On 21 April 1937, the *Pro Libertate* student publication attempted to initiate critical discussions among the student body regarding the Jokl investigation.[173] The publication sought to bring attention to how racial prejudice and antisemitism influenced public perception and the university's stance. In the article, the author addressed the 'crisis' by stating,

> *Many rumours are circulating… which cannot but be detrimental to the honour and position of this University and that of the person concerned. It is a lamentable fact that much prejudice exists, and people are prone to base their conclusion on this prejudice rather than on a clear and critical analysis of facts. On the one hand, we may ask ourselves this question; Must this University as a "Volksuniversiteit" (a much-abused term) allow the appointment of a Jew on its staff? … In regard to Dr Jokl's appointment the Senate had already declared its policy. If the Senate, therefore, accepts the resignation it cannot be on the grounds of race arguments.…* [174]

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170 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, 21April 1937, p. 198.

171 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, 21April 1937, p. 198.

172 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Brief van Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, 21April 1937, p. 198.

173 *Pro Libertate* was produced in response to the conservative student politics of the 1930s. One of the students responsible for the publication was the prominent South African anti-apartheid theologian, Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naudé. See CFB Naudé, *My land van hoop* (Kaapstad, Human & Rousseau, 1995), p. 27. See also FJ Cleophas, "A political-institutional history of the Stellenbosch University Physical Education Department…", *Sport in Society*, December 2021, p. 622. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.2013203

174 Stellenbosch University Special Collections, Anon, *Pro Libertate*, 21 April 1937, p. 1.

The *Pro Libertate* article foregrounded central contestations within the university regarding the Jokl case. Reference to the "many rumours" drew attention to the fact that the Jokl investigation had become a widespread debate on campus. The article showed that Jokl's Jewish identity was not a secret and that the student body did not share the same sentiments on the Jokl issue. Moreover, in considering the antisemitic rhetoric spread by prominent SU figures,[175] the article brought awareness to the dissident voices within the institution, thus highlighting contestation within the university.

Toward the end of the investigation, Jokl was granted the opportunity to defend his actions before the Senate. Speaking on his behalf, Advocate Andries Brink Beyers asserted that at the present stage of the investigation, Jokl wished only to have his name cleared "of the slurs cast upon it by the groundless and malicious rumours circulated about him by ill-informed and hostile people".[176] Beyers stated that if Jokl's request was met, he would vacate his post voluntarily. In response to Beyers, Rector Wilcocks and Judge Hendrik Stephanus van Zyl stated that the Council would base its decision not only on Jokl's resignation but also on the expert knowledge of two respected medical practitioners, Dr Karl Bremer and Dr C Louis Leipoldt.[177] Following Bremer and Leipoldt's interview with Jokl, they concluded that the methods employed in the medical examinations of women students were not required. This conclusion indicated that Bremmer and Leipoldt considered Jokl's examination to be unnecessarily invasive.[178] The Senate's final recommendations reiterated that Jokl's conduct in the examinations was professional and that the COI could attest to it. The Council also acknowledged that Jokl's methods were based on similar practices employed in other countries, such as Germany. Furthermore, the Council stated that had the university been aware of Jokl's methods, it would not have allowed his examinations as they were deemed 'offensive' in South Africa. The Council concluded by stating that the

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175 Stellenbosch University Special Collections, Anon, *Pro Libertate*, 21 April 1937, p. 1.; M Shain, "Anti-Semitism and South African Society: Reappraising the 1930s and 1940s", *South African Historical Journal,* 27(1), 1992, pp. 186-197. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582479208671744

176 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Minutes of meeting of the Senate, 14 May 1937, p. 30.

177 Christiaan Frederick Louis Leipoldt was a medical doctor, poet, reporter and self-styled dietetics expert, penning *The Belly Book, or Diner's Guide* in 1936. See CL Leipoldt, *Bushveld docto*r (Cape Town, Human & Rousseau, 1980); S Swart, "'Bushveld Magic' and 'Miracle Doctors': an exploration of Eugène Marais and C. Louis Leipoldt's experience in the Waterberg, South Africa, c 1906-1917", *Journal of African History*, 45, 2004, pp. 237–255. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853703008703

178 There is a measure of irony in this as Leipoldt himself photographed poor white children in the nude. See CFL Leipoldt, *Bushveld doctor*, p. 65.

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methods employed by Jokl indicated that he was oblivious to the values of the "*volk*"[179] and the university.

Subsequently, the university decided to accept Jokl's resignation and terminate his appointment on 24 April 1937.[180] Once the university's final decision had been made public, Jokl addressed a letter to Wilcocks in which he thanked the rector for his support and "the members of the Senate for the attitude which they … adopted" throughout the investigation.[181] Reflecting upon his time at the university, Jokl stated,

> when, at a later date, I shall think of my work at the University of Stellenbosch, I shall have before my mind the kindliness, which so many members of the staff showed towards me, as an entire stranger.… I wish the University of Stellenbosch further success and progress. My loyalty will always be with the University in the same way as it was during the short period when I could actively serve your alma mater.[182]

As the university had received financial support from the Carnegie Corporation to fund Jokl's appointment "under the scheme for assisting displaced German Scientists",[183] Wilcocks addressed a letter to the President of the Carnegie Corporation, Dr Keppel, in which he explained Jokl's dismissal. On 10 June 1937, Keppel responded, "We quite understand the circumstance outlined in your letter of May 10 regarding Dr E. Jokl. As to the balance of the grant, we hope that you can find a way at your convenience to use it for some other German scholar."[184]

Jokkel without Jokl

In August 1937, the Appointments Committee of the university recommended that

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179 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Voorlopige rapport van komitee i/s mediese ondersoek van studente van liggaamsopvoeding, p. 56.

180 Jokl would continue to receive his salary till 31 December 1937. See SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Insake van die mediese ondersoek van studente wat kursusse in liggaamsopvoeding, p. 31.

181 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Minutes of meeting of the Senate, 14 May 1937, p. 54.

182 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Minutes of meeting of the Senate, 14 May 1937, p. 54.

183 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Letter from Prof. R.W. Wilcocks, 10 May 1937, pp. 275–276.

184 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Letter from Prof. R.W. Wilcocks, 10 May 1937, pp. 275–276.

Austrian-born Dr Anton Max Karl Obholzer be appointed to the position of senior lecturer in physical education,[185] starting on 16 August 1937.[186] Despite efforts to ensure a smooth transition into the next term, tensions were still running high following Jokl's dismissal. In a letter from the Dutch Reformed Church, the Church Council aired its concerns regarding the maintenance of the university's reputation, its students' moral well-being, and the Afrikaner *volk's* values.[187] Lamenting the negative publicity surrounding the Jokl matter, the letter made three recommendations. First, if medical examinations were deemed necessary, a woman doctor should conduct the physical examinations of women students. Second, a woman instructor should conduct the exercise sessions for women students and exercise sessions for women and men should be conducted separately. Third, issues regarding the "*skrale kleredrag*"[188] of women students were also raised. Regarding this matter, the Church Council stated that these morally corruptible behaviours were harmful to both the students and onlookers. The Church Council emphasised that as the white population were the beacon of Christian life in South Africa, the university should remain cognisant of the detrimental impact that the sight of scantily dressed white women could have on the surrounding coloured communities.[189] As a possible solution to the 'crisis', the Church Council urged the university to ensure that women students exercised in modest costumes and that they dressed in private rooms. For the church, physical education was to remain closely connected with the Christian understanding of morality and purity.[190] The voice of the church in this regard is particularly interesting as it outlines the ways in which SU intended to participate in global scientific practice while upholding the staunchly religious and conservative values imposed by Afrikaner strongholds such as the Dutch Reformed Church. Drawing from both global and local influences, SU as *volksuniversiteit* and leader in scientific physical education in the country was determined to inscribe scientific practices with traditionalist ethics.

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185 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Minutes of meeting of the Senate, 6 August 1937, pp. 116–117.

186 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Minutes of meeting of the Senate, 17 September 1937, pp. 122–124.

187 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Letter from the Dutch Reformed Church Council, 10 May 1937, p. 284.

188 Translates to 'scant clothing'. See SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Letter from the Dutch Reformed Church Council, 10 May 1937, p. 284.

189 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Letter from the Dutch Reformed Church Council, 10 May 1937, p. 284.

190 SUA, Senaat-Notule Vol. XII, 16/4/1937-1/4/1938, Letter from the Dutch Reformed Church Council, 10 May 1937, p. 284.

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Conclusion

In tracing the founding of physical education as an academic discipline and science at SU, this paper examined a historical moment in which scientific method and conservative tradition collided. By crafting and conceptualising a discipline preoccupied with examining, analysing, and improving the human body, we outline the cultural constructs that contoured the scientific boundaries of physical education. In considering the foundations of this field within the South African context, we demonstrate how SU's conservative and ethnically aligned ethos shaped the origins of physical education as an academic discipline and the curtailment of academic freedom at the institution. In doing so, we analysed the extent to which 'Afrikaner ideals' pertaining to gender dictated institutional decision making regarding the boundaries of physical education and the practice of science. We contend that in positioning gender as a key component, the discipline was to cater to the idealised imaginings of a white, largely Afrikaans-speaking student body and the society that it represented. Within this context, the making of physical education into a science was of paramount importance for both Jokl and the university. However, while vying for scientific recognition, physical education's disciplinary practices were expected to uphold SU's conservative traditions. As a physical education expert, the methods that Jokl employed in the medical examinations of women students were seen as a transgression against the university's deeply conservative values. In essence, Jokl failed to adhere to the expectations of the *volksuniversiteit.* In examining the grounds of Jokl's transgression, we demonstrated how science was moulded to suit social expectations. Considering the events that led up to Jokl's rise and fall at Stellenbosch, we illustrated that scientific methodologies are not produced and practised in isolation. An institution's culture dictates its decision making. The institution's traditions and social allegiances not only manifest in the courses and programmes that it has to offer but also dictate the boundaries of scientific inquiry at the institution.

The epistemic views of rural history teachers on school history as specialised subject knowledge

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2023/n30a7

Abstract

This study aimed to understand the epistemic views of history teachers on school history as specialised subject of knowledge. This study adopted the qualitative research approach and interpretivism paradigm. I purposively sampled seven professionally qualified history teachers. For data generation, I used card sorting. What emerged was an unquestionable epistemic certainty to which the teachers steadfastly returned. Broadly speaking, to them school history as the specialised subject of knowledge was about past human actions, promoting human rights, critical thinking, and understanding values. In many ways this spoke of a fixed mindset in which the ideas of what school history should be—namely, procedural historical thinking as part of an analytical approach to the subject as found in the CAPS-History document—had limited to no impact. This could be attributed to the fact that the rural teachers who participated in this study had limited opportunities to be exposed to training related to the CAPS-History curriculum. Hence, their knowledge about school history is rooted in their historical, social, political, educational, and economic reality in which historical knowledge, common or general knowledge, political knowledge, generic skills, and character education are key matters.

Keywords: Views; Rural; History teachers; School history; Specialised subject knowledge; Card sorting

Introduction and background

When the image of rurality is conjured up in the mind's eye a binary of ideas tends to appear. Either a glossy magazine style idea of idyllic romanticised living or one of dust, deprivation, inadequate infrastructure, and poor schooling. Both these images are, however, false. While rural areas in South Africa can experience a lack of basic services, inadequate physical infrastructure and transport which suffers from the brutal legacy of apartheid which brought about Bantustans, they are also spaces of originality, creativity, and resilience where real people live (Balfour, Mitchell & Moletsane, 2008). What, however, cannot be denied is that education in the rural areas of South Africa is not what it is supposed to be. Many schools are in a poor state, lacking basic resources such as textbooks and electricity, and learners have to walk long distances to school after completing household chores and other duties. Furthermore, teachers working in a rural context are not always as well supported or qualified as their urban peers. These challenges were laid bare in, amongst others, *The ministerial seminar on education for rural people in Africa: policy lessons, options and priorities* (Country Report: South Africa, 2005), and the report on education in a rural context for the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005).

Powerful figures in the rural world as outlined above are teachers. As "rural dwellers", they are generally subjected to the same rural conditions and environment as the learners they teach (Dorfman, Murty, Evans, Ingram & Power, 2004:189). Consequently, they play a powerful role in educating, mentoring, and guiding learners and their communities, and since schools are situated in communities, this implies that the construction and transmission of school history have to consider the needs and an understanding of communities in the broadest sense (Arthur & Phillips, 2000). History educators have an invaluable role in contemporary societies, not only as transmitters of knowledge about the past but also as professionals that can help students develop disciplinary competencies and become aware of their historical consciousness (Seixas, 2017).

This article will specifically focus on history teachers in a rural context and how they view school history: that is recontextualised academic history which, by means of official policy such as the Curriculum Assessment Statement Policy (CAPS)-History and the programmatic curriculum, history textbooks are presented as official history to be taught and learnt (Bertram & Bharath, 2012). More specifically, emphasis will be placed on how the history teachers who participated in this study viewed school history in the Further Education and Training Phase (FET) (Grade 10-12) as specialised subject knowledge. In summary, this article is trying to understand what history teachers, from a deep rural

context, understand about history as specialised subject knowledge. At this juncture it is necessary to explain the focus on rural history teachers. Rural teachers in South Africa as a fast urbanising country, fill a certain position in society. The author, having spent a lifetime as learner, student, teacher, and university lecturer, in a rural context finds himself in this niche. This birthed, for both personal and professional reasons, a need to develop a conceptual understanding in order to make a scholarly contribution to the understanding of rural history teachers of school history as specialised subject knowledge: an attempt to do what Westhoff (2012:533) termed "seeing through the eyes of a History teacher". In contrast, the analysis of domain-specific epistemic views can help understand students' and educators' ideas about the nature of knowledge in their own discipline (Buehl, Alexander & Murphy, 2002)—a reason why focusing on history and social sciences can in fact provide a clearer picture of teachers' and students' reasoning and perceptions (Maggioni, Fox & Alexander, 2010).

Literature review

For the purpose of this article I regard views as the ability to see something from a particular vantage point. The researcher, from a vantage point of rurality, will engage with how rural history teachers view and understand school history as specialised subject knowledge. Whatever these views are, they are the result of personal and professional self-reflections which enabled history teachers to construct and reconstruct their views (Moin, Breitkopf & Schwartz, 2011). Specialised subject knowledge in itself is the knowledge that is unique to a particular subject,—in the case of this article, school history. Differently put, what makes subjects different from each other. Bertram (2011) and Bertram and Bharath (2012) use the concept *specialised subject knowledge in school history*. They submit that substantive knowledge or content knowledge entails what happened when, where, how, and why. This means that specialised subject knowledge answers or addresses the aforementioned questions. In short, this is the subject or content knowledge of school history. On the other hand, procedural knowledge refers to procedural historical thinking concepts that are used to give coherence to the content studied in school history (that is the subject studied at school) such as time, empathy, cause and consequence, change and continuity, using historical evidence, multiple perceptivity, and historical significance (Kukard, 2017). Specialised subject knowledge in school history, for the purpose of this article, is therefore about both substantive and procedural historical knowledge.

It is necessary to point out that other views beyond the nature of school history on

specialised subject knowlegde, as outlined above, also exist. The views that relate to how social structures have impacted how people live and should live in their society. These views can, it is argued, prepare history learners to adapt, live, and understand their societies. In line with this, Stearns, Seixas and Wineburg (2000:21) argue that school history "defines who we are in the present, our relations with others, relations in civil society i.e. nation and state, right and wrong, good and bad, and broad parameters for action in the future". In addition, Husbands (1996) suggests that school history could furnish learners with knowledge about the intellectual and cultural traditions and evolution of the society of which they will become members. School history, therefore, can teach learners about their role in society, as well as how to live alongside other members of society. It is for this reason that school history is viewed as a discipline that emphasises the role of human activity within society (Voss & Carretero, 1998).

School history is also viewed as having the potential to educate learners. In this regard Stearns (1993:281) argues that school history is the "only available laboratory for studying complex human and social behaviours" or "the only available source of evidence about time". Furthermore, Stearns (1993:282) asserts that learners need to know and understand "how factors that shaped the past continue to influence the balance of change and continuity around them". The fact of the matter is that some of the factors which influenced the past still exist and can still influence the present. Therefore, knowing how these factors were dealt with in the past is incumbent for learners to learn, through school history, from this. To this effect, Pratt (1974) and Tamisoglou (2010) posit that school history can help learners understand positive and negative elements of the past in order to make optimal or informed decisions in the present. For learners to be able to make informed decisions they must acquire generic skills like analysis, synthesis, evaluation, and historical skills like critical thinking and reasoning skills.

School history can also guide learners to be politically aware. As such, school history can teach learners to be tolerant and understand cultures and their origin. Furthermore, learners could develop an understanding of the history of other countries. Previous research has shown that school history has the ability to enable learners to make a comparison between structures of societies with economic, cultural, and political developments (Murphy, 2007) to understand the world in which they live (Grever, Pelzer & Haydn, 2011). Pendry and Husbands (1998) further argue that school history can help learners to understand how a free and democratic society developed over time.

In summary, the views on school history as specialised subject knowledge show that it can contribute to the development of historical and common knowledge in relation to

social, educational, political, and cultural aspects. School history as specialised subject knowledge, therefore, has the potential to develop learners through knowledge acquisition and skills development. Much of this is encapsulated in the FET CAPS-History document which speaks of history as the study of change and development in society over time to understand and evaluate how past human action impacts on the present and influences our future in a disciplinary manner by thinking critically. Additionally, the FET CAPS-History document foregrounds the importance of understanding a range of sources of evidence from the past which should be evaluated by asking questions about reliability, bias, stereotyping, and usefulness to realise that multiple perspectives exist on the past (CAPS-History, 2011:6). The FET CAPS-History document also emphasises that citizenship within a democracy is important to understand and necessary to uphold the values of the South African Constitution, act responsibly in a civic manner, and by "promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices involving race, class, gender, ethnicity and xenophobia" to prepare learners for local to global responsibility (CAPS-History, 2011:6).

While I have a good sense of the views of rural learners of school history as a subject (Wassermann, Maposa & Mhlongo, 2018), the same cannot be said of especially rural history teachers in a South African context. In fact, international research seems to favour the relationship between the knowledge and expertise and that history teachers need to know how to teach the subject (Heuer, Resch & Seidenfuß, 2017). The lack of emphasis on understanding how history teachers view their subject in a baseline manner as specialised subject knowledge leaves a niche for this article. An analysis of the way educators view school history can provide valuable insights into conceptions that might influence their teaching practices. In this regard, Stoddard (2010) found that teachers' epistemic views about the use of historical sources do not always automatically transfer to daily practices. In turn Sakki and Pirttilä-Backman (2019) found that those educators with a naïve approach to the debate about objectivity tend to show a predilection for fostering patriotism in the classroom, and those that identified the development of critical thinking and historical consciousness among their aims adhered to a reflective epistemic stance. Complex epistemological stances are not always promoted in the curriculum and are usually relegated in favour of a vision in which history is simply viewed as factual knowledge to be transmitted (Déry, 2017). Despite this, the most recent theoretical frameworks of historical reasoning consider the understanding about how historical knowledge is constructed and about the nature of the discipline as a key element alongside procedural and substantive knowledge (Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2018).

Research design and methodology

This study was undertaken in the rural area of King Cetshwayo district, in the north of Zululand, KwaZulu-Natal.[1] This area is characterised by geographical spaces which are often dominated by farms, forests, coastal zones, and mountains. Most of the areas in this district where schools are situated, continue to face a unique set of challenges. This is due to, amongst other reasons, the geographic location of schools, the diverse backgrounds of learners, socioeconomic and infrastructural challenges, rurality, and diverse learning styles at various schools.

The study adopted purposive sampling which means it allowed a deliberate choice of seven participants based on a set of criteria. The researcher therefore selected participants (Gray, 2009; Somekh & Lewin, 2011; Creswell, 2014) based on the fact that they had to come from the rural areas in and around King Cetshwayo district, are professionally qualified as teachers, are history teachers responsible for grades 10–12, and have a minimum teaching experience of five years. The researcher exercised caution pertaining to the size of the sample to ensure that it was large enough to produce rich, thick data (Cohen et al., 2011; Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). The history teachers selected based on the above-stated criteria were willing to participate in the study and shared characteristics similar to those of the general teacher population of the area (Mason, 2002).

For this study a qualitative research approach was employed to gain an authentic understanding of the views of rural history teachers on history as specialised subject knowledge. This was done because it tends to provide an in-depth and detailed understanding of the phenomenon being studied—namely, how the FET History teachers who participated in this study viewed school history as specialised subject knowledge (Gray, 2013; Creswell, 2014; Barbour, 2014). This approach helped address the purpose of the study and underpinned the methods of generating and analysing data used in the study (Thomas, 2013). Since the study was about people giving meaning to their social world, it was located within an interpretive paradigm. This is the case because as researcher I sought to understand how rural history teachers perceive and make sense of their world—more specifically, how these history teachers viewed school history as specialised subject knowledge. A case study approach was used because it deals with description and examination of a social phenomenon and aided me as researcher in understanding the

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1 This article is based on a PhD done by the author under the supervision of Professor Johan Wassermann at the University of KwaZului-Natal. The ethical clearance number for this study is: Ethics HSS/1026/014D

complex and unique views of history teachers pertaining to school history as specialised subject knowledge.

For data generation purposes, blended card sorting were employed. As a first step the participating history teachers were issued with a pack of blank cards and asked to write down an idea per card on what they had in mind about school history as specialised subject knowledge. Thereafter, they were asked to sort the views they presented in the cards in a rank order from the most to the least important (Saunders & Thornhill, 2011).

Once the first step as outlined was completed the sorted cards were set aside and the teachers were issued with a set of cards with a series of 12 statements from the FET CAPS-History document and the scholarly literature of school history as specialised subject knowledge. The participating teachers were asked to sort the second set of cards from the most to the least important in their view.

The third and final step in the quest to understand the views took place when a third card sorting activity took place. During this activity the teachers were given their own handwritten set of cards, as well as the cards with statements taken from the scholarly literature and the CAPS-History document. The participants were asked to use both sets of cards and sort them in an integrated manner from the most to the least important in their view. They were at liberty not to use all cards. The aim of the final step was to bring the personal understanding of school history as specialised subject knowledge into conversation with the policy and scholarly statements so as to develop a deep and nuanced understanding of the epistemic views held by the rural teachers of history as specialised subject.

During the final analysis the cards as sorted during each step were categorised into most important, important, and least important by means of a numerical value allocated. This aided me in understanding how the rural history teachers prioritised ideas that relate to school history as specialised subject knowledge. This, along with the three-step card sorting methodology, enabled me to identify and analyse patterns of meaning to illustrate themes that are important in the description of the phenomenon under study and to write up the findings (Liñán & Fayolle, 2015).

Data analysis of the epistemic views of rural history teachers on school history as specialised subject knowlegde

The research design and methodology as outlined above were implemented across three steps. During step 1 the participating rural history teachers had to write down on the blank

cards issued, an idea per card, on how they viewed school history as specialised subject knowledge. They then had to sort the views they presented on the cards in a rank order from the most to the least important. From the collective views of the rural history teachers, and based on how they ordered their cards, five clear themes emerged regarding school history as specialised subject knowledge.

The first view was that school history as specialised subject knowledge is geared towards the acquisition and development of historical knowledge in a memory history manner. These views were rooted, according to the teachers, in understanding significant world events, knowledge about family history, importance of chronology, understanding heritage and its preservation, how development in different countries took place, history about 'big men' in leadership positions, and important historical events in South African history.

In the same vein, according to the views of the rural history teachers, school history does not only develop historical knowledge but common knowledge as well. There were five views presented by the rural history teachers that related to common knowledge: school history should promote good citizenship, deal with issues of race, promote social responsibility, instil values, and study international relations.

Besides historical and common knowledge, the views of the rural history teachers as captured during step 1 also revealed that, according to them, school history as specialised subject knowledge should develop and promote political knowledge. More specifically it was pointed out that school history should educate learners especially about the South African constitution.

The fourth theme that emerged from the card sorting activity that took place during step 1 was that the rural history teachers viewed school history as capable of developing learners' characters. More specifically the teachers argued that school history as specialised subject knowledge is about instilling life skills and how to behave ethically in society in learners. They also held the view that the study of history issues could help learners to take considered actions.

The final theme that emerged from the organic matter in which the history teachers could share their views during step 1 was that school history should promote generic and historical skills. These skills were identified as historical thinking, critical or reasoning skills, English language communication, analysis, evaluation, information sharing, and problem-solving skills.

It is against the backdrop of the views of the participating history teachers, which they could express organically on blank cards during step 1, that step 2 of the research

methodology took place. During step 2 the participating rural history teachers were given a set of 12 cards containing a series of 12 statements from the FET CAPS-History document (the document that they use to teach grade 10-12 learners) and the scholarly literature on school history as specialised subject knowledge. The participating teachers were asked to sort the second set of cards from the most to the least important. The views of the teachers are captured in Table 1 see below. The ranking were determined as follows: 12 points for a statement they ranked first and 1 point for a statement ranked last or 12th. The views of the teachers were then, based on the scores, ranked as being either most important, important, or least important.

Table 1: Composite ranking order of views from literature and CAPS on School History as specialised subject knowledge

View from literature and CAPS	Points	Categories
1. Past human actions	76 points	Most important
2. Critical way of thinking	69 points	Most important
3. Promoting human rights	63 points	Most important
4. Understanding values	51 points	Most important
5. Historical skills	43 points	Important
6. Causes and effects	41 points	Important
7. Empathy	41 points	Important
8. Continuity and change	39 points	Important
9.Historical significance	36 points	Least important
10. Voices of ordinary people	30 points	Least important
11. Societal responsibility	29 points	Least important
12. Historical time	28 points	Least important

A clear pattern emerged in how the participating rural history teachers engaged with the statement cards as a collective, in that their ranking greatly mirrored their own views as expressed during step 1. What the history teachers regarded as the most important were the more generic aspects of the second set of cards: past human actions, criticial way of thinking, promoting human rights, and understanding values. These views were ranked as the 'most important'. This ranking relates directly to the views the teachers held during step 1 on school history as specialised subject knowlegde being about knowing history,

thinking critically, promoting the consitituion, and the subject being about incalcating a value system that would birth a prototype citizen. In summary, what they could associate with their own views of school history as specialised subejct knowegde they ranked the highest.

What followed thereafter (rankings 5-12) were procedural historical thinking skills (also called second order historical thinking skills) as underpinned by the CAPS-History document (the currciulum that they teach) and the 'voices of ordinary people'. The latter can be explained in the sense that during step 1 the teachers made their views clear that the subject is about 'big men'. However, the key procedural historical thinking skills (Seixas & Peck, 2004)—numbers ranked 6, 7, 8, 9, and 12—were not viewed as specialised subject knowlegde that is central to school history. What was especially telling is that historical time was ranked last. This is telling since during step 1 the teachers referred strongly to 'chronology and time lines', however, historical time as a concept was probably foreign to them. What was also noticable was that societal responsibility was ranked 11. Clearly, to them as a collective the civic role and virtues they allocated to the subject during step 1 as "civic role" meant something different than societal responsibility.

Having established the views of the participating rural history teachers on school history as a specialsied kwowlegde and how it related to the CAPS-History curriculum and the academic literature, is was necessary to bring their views as expressed during step 1 into conversation with the views expressed during step 2.

During the final step, step 3, the participating rural history teachers were given their own personal handwritten set of cards created during step 1, as well as the cards with statements based on statements taken from the scholarly literature and the CAPS-History document (step 2). The history teachers were then asked to use both sets of cards and sort them in an integrated manner from the most to the least important. They were under no obligation to use all the cards.

The aim of the final step was to bring the personal understanding of school history as specialised subject knowledge into conversation with the policy and scholarly statements in order to develop a deep and nuanced understanding of the views held by the rural teachers of history as specialised subject. The outcome of, this the final research step, is outlined in Table 3 below. A similar scoring system as the one used during step 2 was applied. The views of the teachers were then, based on the scores, again ranked as either most important, important, or least important.

Table 2: Composite rank order of the blended personal views, literature, and CAPS views

Personal views and views from literature and CAPS	Points	Categories
1. Past human actions	87 points	Most important
2. Promoting human rights	77 points	Most important
3. Critical thinking	76 points	Most important
4. Historical skills	60 points	Most important
5. Causes and effects	56 points	Most important
6. Understanding values	48 points	Most important
7. Societal responsibility	43 points	Most important
8. Historical time	38 points	Important
9. Continuity and change	38 points	Important
10. Empathy	38 points	Important
11. Voices of ordinary people	37 points	Important
12. Historical significance	31 points	Important
13. School History helps learners develop English communication skills	14 points	Important
14. School History promotes good citizenship	14 points	Important
15. School History promotes patriotism	12 points	Least important
16. School History addresses African, South African, and world history	10 points	Least important
17. School History should be compulsory	10 points	Least important
18. School History makes learners assertive	02 points	Least important
19. School History offers relevant content	02 points	Least important
20. School History is about international relations	02 points	Least important
21. School History is about leadership	01 point	Least important

The card sorting exercise during step 3 revealed a clear continuity in views between steps 1, 2, and 3. The particiapting history teachers ranked past human actions, promoting human rights, critical thinking, understanding values, causes and effects, and historical skills again very highly, meaning they regarded these views as "most important" when it came to specialised subject knowledge and school history. In other words, a clear permanency existed in terms of their views on the key aspects of what constitutes specialised subject knwoeldge in school history.

At the same time the voices of ordinary people were again not valued highly by particpating rural history teachers. Althought historical time as a key historical thinking concept crept up the list, it ended up with other members of the "big six" historical thinking skills (ranked at 8, 9, 10, and 12) in the 'important' category (Seixas & Peck, 2004). The exception proved to be causes and effects which was ranked 5th and this fell

under the 'most important' category. This means that what the CAPS-History curriculum foregrounds as specialised subject knowledge, namely historical thinking skills and school history as discipline, were not seen that way by the participating teachers. To them these views were important, but nothing more than that. Instead, their own views of what was most important as specialised subject knowledge remained, for the most part, constant. However, what was telling was that the rural history teachers ranked their own 'specialised ideas' (numbers 13-21) as least important.

Discussion and conclusion of the epistemic views of rural history teachers on school history as specialised subject knowlegde

By means of the methodology as outlined and applied (steps 1, 2, and 3) the participating rural history teachers were given the opportunity to construct and reconstruct their views (Moin, Breitkopf & Schwartz, 2011). What strongly emerged was that the rural history teachers had a shared particular vantage point of what constitute school history as specialised subject knowledge. Whether these views are peculiar to them based on their rurality will be explored lower down.

Key to the views on history as specialised subject knowledge was that it was about substantive historical knowledge—both official (although no reference was at any stage made to the curriculum) and unofficial historical knowledge. This memory knowledge was both inward looking in a nationalistic manner, while foregrounding the actions of big men. The latter has been laid bare by the numerous authors as an integral part of the history curriculum, not only in South Africa but also across the world (Clay, 1992; Manzo, 2004; Hutchins, 2011; Maylam, 2011; Naidoo, 2014). In relation to the above it is also clear that historical knowledge, according to the views of the teachers, should be about knowing political history and espcially the consitution of South Africa. This is not surprising considering that, as argued by Kallaway (2012), South African history curricula, including the CAPS-History curriculum the participating teachers were working with, were for the most part based on political and constitutional history. At the same time the teachers in all probability wanted to ensure that they are seen as being compliant with the values of the post-apartheid political order (Dean & Siebörger, 1995).

Alongside viewing school history as being about 'knowing' it was to the participating history teachers also about common utilitarian, universal knowledge. In other words, to them the subject had a civic role in teaching learners about how to be good citizens that

could function in the world. The views as expressed by the teachers are supported by Davies (2001) and Abbott (2009) who accentuate the view that there is a link between history education and good citizenship. This includes inculcating habits of good behaviour and conduct, developing a sense of social responsibility in learners in preparation for active participation in community and national life. It means history can be a mechanism for achieving a prototype citizenship. However, the participating rural history teachers did not present mechanisms for achieving this. In other words, they did not allude to how school history can promote good citizenship. Additionally, the subject was also about building the character of the learners.

What the history teachers in expressing their views were silent on was historial thinking skills or procedural knowlegde—the so-called big six (Seixas & Peck, 2004). Most of these are foregrounded in the CAPS-History document as extremely important in teaching the subject as a discipline that is analytical in nature. It is uncertain if this could be related the rurality of the teachers, meaning that they did not have the opportunity to be regularly exposed to traning workshops on how to implement the CAPS-History document. However, the teachers did foreground the idea that time and chronology was a key thinking skill. This, however, fluctuated in importance (12th in Step and 8th in step 2) in importance. The conclusion that can be drawn is that the teachers understood that learners needed to understand chronology to help them develop historical understanding (Arthur & Phillips, 2000), however, the rural history teachers did not look at chronology in relation to historical understanding, but merely associated it with historical time and timelines. In summary, for the rural history teachers, chronology was only about knowing the temporal unfolding of South African history as, for the most part, a political and constitutional history dominated by big men. It is therefore clear that procedural historical thinking skills were not the 'most important' part of school history as specialised subject knowledge.

They rather embraced different aspects of school history that is beyond the curriculum that included social, educational, political and cultural knowledge. This is in line with what Stearns, Seixas and Wineburg (2000:21) argued, namely that school history "defines who we are in the present, our relations with others, relations in civil society i.e. nation and state, right and wrong, good and bad, and broad parameters for action in the future". This is the history teachers clung to resolutely across all three research steps. This ties in with previous research that has shown that school history is about economic, cultural, and political developments (Murphy, 2007), which is needed to understand the world in which we live (Grever, Pelzer & Haydn, 2011). Pendry and Husbands (1998) further argue that school history can help to understand how a free and democratic society developed over

time, hence the teachers foregrounding constitutional and political history as what should be known.

In this article I tried to do what Westhoff (2012:533) termed "seeing through the eyes of a History teacher". This was done by asking the rural history teachers to reflect on their views of school history as specialised subject knowledge. What emerged was a certain epistemic certainty to which the teachers steadfastly returned to. Broadly speaking to them school history as specialised subject knowledge was about past human actions, promoting human rights, critical thinking, and understanding values. In many ways this spoke of a fixed mindset in which the ideas of what school history should be—namely, of procedural thinking as part of an analytical approach to the subject as found in the CAPS-History document—made limited to no impact. This could partially be attributed to the fact that the rural teachers who partipated in this study had limited opportunities to be exposed to training related to the CAPS-History curriculum. Hence their knowledge and knowing about school history is rooted in their historical, social, political, educational, and economic reality in which historical knowledge, common or general knowledge, political knowledge, generic skills, as well as character education are key.

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A Forgotten History: A Historical Overview of Kuilsriver Primary School 1908–2023

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Abstract

This article focuses on the history of Kuilsriver Primary School as it is known today. Whilst this specific school has a very interesting, sometimes difficult, but also a very proud background, not many people in Kuilsriver know and understand its history. This year, 2023, the school is 115 years old. It is really a remarkable achievement for an institution which had to endure extreme hardships through its history. Kuilsriver Primary School, as it is known today, was first called Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool. This name was given to the school long before legalised apartheid came into being in South Africa. Currently there is no publication on the history of the school.

The school opened its doors in January 1908 in Van Riebeeck Road, the main road of Kuilsriver. The placement of the school was a welcome relief to the learners of Brackenfell and Bottelary who had to walk almost six km to the nearest school namely, Sarepta Primary School. After 1948 the country experienced the draconian political system called Apartheid. The area where this school was located was proclaimed as a white area in 1958. The school was therefore removed and relocated to the coloured area of Sarepta. Various attempts were made to disaffirm the existence of the school in the main road. The school also experienced a name change to Jan Bosman Primary School in 1970 but reclaimed the original name in 2011. The old school building structure in the main road of Kuilsriver was demolished in January 1970. The only proof that is left of the school building is a photo of the school.[1]

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1 Available at: https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. Accessed on 2 March 2022.

The purpose of this article is to put the school's history into perspective in the Kuilsriver area as well as in the broader South African context as Kuilsrivier was part of the early Cape Colony. This article also refers to a similar situation regarding the relocation of a coloured school in Carnarvon in the Northern Cape.

Keywords: Rhenish; Mission; Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool; Group Areas Act; Disaffirm; Ceased; Apartheid; Carnarvon; Relocation, Coloured; Primary schools, History of education, Coloured education.

Introduction

In a comprehensive analysis of the current available literature (2022) on the history of Kuilsriver and the schools in the area, it appears that Kuilsriver had no schools for coloured[2] children from the early 1900s. It is quite clear that very little is written about the history of Kuilsriver and other schools in the area attended by coloured learners from the early 1900s.[3] This article attempts to provide a fresh insight into the history of one such school, Kuilsriver Primary. Furthermore, the School Board Act of 1905 made school attendance and education compulsory specifically for white children.[4] The Act also allowed for school boards to make school compulsory for 'coloured' children, but none at that stage chose to do so.[5]

One could legitimately ask the question: Why did the differentiation between schools for white learners and schools for coloured learners occur? This article highlights the contribution to education of one specific school, formerly known as Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool, to emphasise the significance it played in education since 1908. In order to understand the history of Kuilsrivier Primary it is important to note the development of education in South Africa. Schooling in the Cape Colony was established in the late 17th century by Dutch Reformed missionaries. By 1827 a number of English-language schools operated in the Cape Colony.

One of the issues discussed in this article is whether the exclusion of the contribution of coloured schools to education from the history of Kuilsriver was a deliberate attempt by certain authorities and the historians of Kuilsriver (people such as Dr Visagie and Ms Vermaak) to portray the narrative that Kuilsriver did not have schools for coloured children.[6] The reason for this assumption could be the fact that the municipality of Kuilsriver tasked the historians in 1994 to record the history with specific reference to schools in the area. The failure to mention and include the details of a coloured school in the early history of Kuilsriver is an example that illustrates the belief at the time that white people were the only people of significance in South Africa. This belief was, during that era, in tune with the ideology of apartheid.[7] Soudien's analysis of the South African Schools Act indicates that

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2 At that stage the racial classification in South Africa was white, coloured, black, and Indian.
3 AL Vermaak, "Die Geskiedenis van Kuilsriver 1652-1905", (MPhil, US, 1993).
4 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette* 4(20), 1905.
5 Cape of Good Hope, *The Education Gazette* 4(20), 1905.
6 G Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March 1998.
7 C Soudien, *Making a new South African Learner: An analysis of the South African Schools Act 2019*, pp. 147–157, UFS.

this is one of the most important pieces of post-apartheid legislation. His focus is on South African learners as receivers of education and as people obliged to receive education. He also focuses on the importance of the learners in the new South Africa against the backdrop of the old South Africa in the apartheid era and the struggle of the learners in the past.[8] According to Smalley, "the Europeans who colonized Africa generally viewed the natives as intellectually and morally inferior, and exploited the labour of the local population".[9] South Africa is not the only country to have racial segregation and racial inequality. Even a democratic country like the United States of America had, and still has, racial problems.[10] South Africa is one of many countries which enforced racist segregation in various spheres of society through legislation and the government's policy. Although apartheid was only legalised in 1948, racial segregation was enforced in the Cape Colony before 1910 and in the Cape Province after 1910 and the Union of South Africa. Government only took control of black education in 1953 and coloured education in the 1960s.[11] According to Morrow, "The Apartheid system of racial segregation was made law in South Africa in 1948, when the country was officially divided into four racial groups, White, Black, Indian and Coloureds".[12] He provides a very clear idea of what apartheid meant. It is against this backdrop that the history if Kuilsriver Primary School will be presented.

The available literature on the history of schools in Kuilsriver as at 2023

At the time of writing this article, no publication on the history of Kuilsriver Primary School could be uncovered. There, however, exists some literature about the white schools

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8 C Soudien, *Making a new South African Learner: An analysis of the South African Schools Act 2019*: pp. 147–157.UFS.

9 E Smalley, Fighting for education.en. Wikipedia.org? Wiki? Equal Education 2014, Available at: https://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/caseconsortium/casestudied/130/casestudy/www/layout/case_130_id_919.hml. (Accessed on 2 March 2022).

10 M Luther King, Speech at the Lincoln Memorial in America 28 August 28 1962. Available at: https://www.npr.org/2010/01/18/122701268/i-have-a-dream-speech-in-its-entirety (Accessed on 16 March 2022).

11 RS Phalane, (PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2007), p. 1.

12 WE Morrow, 1990 Aims of Education in South Africa, *International review of Education Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft/Revue Internationale de l'Education*, 36, pp. 171–181.

in the area.[13] There was thus a heavy reliance on research methods that would be effective in exploring social context, as well as the political atmosphere and how education was influenced by those in authority. It would therefore also be important to consider the political ideology in South Africa. For the purpose of this study it was decided to use the history of the Kuilsriver Primary School as a case study.[14] As part of the research design, a range of qualitative research methods were conducted of which interviews were the main one. Information regarding the history of the above-mentioned school was obtained from a number of conversations (interviews) which were conducted over the past two decades with principals, educators, and learners who attended the school.[15] In addition to the interviews, further research was conducted by means of questionnaires and analysing the feedback.

The only written information that is currently available about the school is located on its website.[16] After conducting extensive research and visiting a number of libraries in order to locate literature on the history of Kuilsriver, only a few books could be located. Visagie and Vermaak are of the few academics that wrote extensively on the history of Kuilsriver and provide very interesting reading material. However, it is extremely disappointing to discover how differently they deal with the history of white and coloured schools in Kuilsriver. Vermaak discusses the history of the former white schools in detail, but neglects to mention those attended by coloured learners in any significant detail. His book *Die Geskiedenis, Stigting en Ontwikkelingsgeskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* published in 1994, contains the apartheid perspective on the history of Kuilsriver and the schools situated in and around the area. There is a clear focus on the academic, cultural, and sporting activities of the *white* schools only. The coloured schools are only mentioned incidentally.[17] He clearly makes a distinction between the white and coloured schools by discussing them separately; the white schools in Kuilsriver in section (ii) on page 74 and the coloured schools in section (iii) on page 99.

This type of writing and research confirms the fact that literature focused mainly on the

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13 The history of the white schools in the area can be found at https://dkps.org.za (De Kuilen Primary) (Accessed on 10 February 2022); Available at: https://www.dekuilen.com (De Kuilen High School) (Accessed on 10 February 2022).

14 A Bryman, 2012, *Social Research Method* 4th edition, (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 66.

15 Conversations were conducted with George Foster, Joel Van Niekerk, Zondelia Swartz, Glende Hamman, Hildegarde McCallum, Peter Du Plooy, John Bosman, Japie Ross.

16 Available at: https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 March 2022).

17 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier,* 1683–1993, (Municipality Kuilsriver, 1994), p. 74.

white schools and minimum references were made to the existence of the coloured schools in the area.[18] Soudien states that there is no question that schooling during apartheid took an everyday racial form.[19]

Visagie, in a sense, disaffirms the existence of schools attended by coloured learners in former white areas and stated that a new school was started in 1970.[20] He specified that the school for coloureds in the white area ceased to exist and that a new school was opened in Sarepta. This is incorrect as will become evident. Documents in the National Archives of South Africa stated clearly that Kuilsriver Primary ceased to exist.[21]

Vermaak, who wrote on the history of Kuilsriver[22] mentions Sarepta Primary School, a coloured school in the area, but she neglects to highlight the fact that it was the first and oldest school in Kuilsriver. The Sarepta Primary School was attended by whites and coloureds, prior to the enactment of the Group Areas Act. She, however, discusses the history of the white schools at length.[23]

It is patently obvious that when research was conducted and books published, the focus was predominantly on the former white only schools. Very little is mentioned about the establishment, contribution, and the history of the former disadvantaged coloured schools, specifically in the Kuilsriver area. Both Visagie and Vermaak were tasked by the Kuilsriver Municipality to write the history of Kuilsriver.[24] It seems odd that Vermaak's MPhil studies were sponsored by the Kuilsriver municipality. It raises questions about the reasons why the municipality was sponsoring the writing of histories on the eve of a new South Africa. It could be that the focus was to highlight the contribution of the white schools to the general education of pupils in the Kuilsriver area and to emphasise that the coloured contribution was insignificant. One could speculate on the reasons for writing the history of Kuilsriver at that specific time, but one reason could be that the removal of a coloured school from a group area declared white in Kuilsriver should not receive any prominence. It could possibly explain why Vermaak and Visagie only highlighted the history of the white schools and only mentioned the coloured schools very incidentally in their studies. This not only

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18 P. Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.

19 C Soudien, Making a new South African Learner: An analysis of the South African Schools Act 2019, pp. 147–157.

20 JHH Visagie, Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier 1683–1993. (Municipality Kuilsriver 1994), p. 99.

21 National Archives of South Africa: Daarstelling en sluiting van Kuilsrivier Laerskool, 1963-1969. *Kus*, 979: Reference 7/2/1/E230. (Accessed on 17 July 2023).

22 ALVermaak, "Die Geskiedenis van Kuilsriver 1652-1905", (MPhil, US, 1993), p. 95.

23 ALVermaak, "Die Geskiedenis van Kuilsriver 1652-1905", (MPhil, US, 1993), pp.143–179.

24 ALVermaak, "Die Geskiedenis van Kuilsriver 1652-1905", (MPhil, US, 1993) p. 9.

occurred in the Kuilsriver area, but also happened in the Carnarvon area as discussed by Christie.[25]

It appears that more attention is also given to "white schools" in local newspapers in general as more events and pictures of schools in white areas are highlighted while schools in the coloured areas were not even mentioned. This is illustrated by the fact that neither Sarepta Primary School nor Kuilsriver Laer Kleurling Skool are mentioned in a list of the 200 oldest schools in South Africa published in 2018; only the white schools in Kuilsriver were mentioned.[26] It seems as if there was a lack of interest in the research and an unwillingness to set the record straight about the interests of coloureds in education. It is reiterated that the history of Kuilsriver Laer Kleurling School challenges this view.

According to Cross

The nationalist-conservative tradition has dominated historical literature on education both before and after the consolidation of the apartheid system in education. Embedded in the conservative doctrine of Christian National Education (CNE), this historiography tends to glorify traditional Afrikaner values and to promote Afrikaner nationalism, thus developing an excessively "White-centered" view about the history of education in South Africa.[27]

There is a paucity of literature available to rectify the white centred view of the history of education in schools. This is one of the main reasons why this research was embarked upon.

The above quotation illustrates the fact that a certain part of the history of South Africa and its schools was written from a white perspective. The available literature on Black and Coloured education was censored at the time. It was mostly in the 1970s, 1980s, and later years that literature focused on the inequality of education of Blacks and Coloureds compared to the education for white learners. The writing of the history primarily aimed to glorify and promote Afrikaner nationalism. A result of this, coloured history was either ignored or neglected as if it never existed.[28] This explains why the books written about the history of Kuilsriver and its schools do not include the narrative of its coloured schools. The current available literature offers a peripheral reference to coloured schools, confirming

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25 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.

26 www.news24.com/parent/Learn/Primary-school/this-list-with-200-of-south-africas-oldest-school-may-surprise-you-20180409 (Accessed on 12 March 2022).

27 M Cross, A Historical Review of Education in South Africa: towards an assessment. *Comparative Education* 22(1), 1986, pp. 185–200.

28 M Cross, A Historical Review of Education in South Africa: towards an assessment. *Comparative Education* 22(1), 1986, pp. 185– 200.

the narrative that it would seem as if coloureds were not interested in education. The publications of Vermaak and Visagie regarding the history of schools in Kuilsriver reflect the focus on schools for white learners only. The enactment of the Group Areas Act changed the political landscape of South Africa in that it gave further momentum to the phase of passive resistance and the "defiance campaign" by the ANC.[29] Adhikari states that the forced classification under the Population Registration Act made the implementation of rigid segregation possible.[30] Under the Group Areas Act well over half a million "coloureds" were forcibly relocated to residential and business areas, usually on the periphery of cities and towns.

The Establishment and history of the Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool

As alluded to previously, the information regarding the history of the above-mentioned school was obtained from a number of interviews which were conducted over the past two decades with principals, educators, and learners who attended the school.[31]

Twenty-five interviews were conducted with 16 participants. Twelve former students of Kuilsriver Primary, two directors of education, two community members and four educators. The 12 learners were very helpful and eager to participate in the interviews about the school they had attended. Six of these learners attended the school in the Kuilsriver main road and are still very proud of the school. They were, however, very sad about the fact that the school was removed and that the buildings were demolished in the process. The eight former learners who became educators at the same school, advised that they consistently remind the new teachers and learners about the history of the old school. The two directors of education who were interviewed were also extremely proud of the fact that they attended the school as learners, later became educators at the school, and was subsequently promoted as directors in the Department of Basic Education. Two of the former students were also appointed as deputy principal and one of them was later appointed as principal of Kuilsriver Primary School. For the community members who were interviewed it was a dream come true when the new school building was completed

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29 W Esterhuyse & P Nel, *Die ANC*, (Nasionale Boekdrukkery, Kaapstad, 1990), p. 10.

30 M Adhikari, God made the White Man, God Made the Black Man…Popular Racial Stereotyping of Coloured People in Apartheid, *South African Historical Journal*, 2006, 55, pp. 142–164.

31 Conversations were conducted with George Foster, Joel Van Niekerk, Zondelia Swartz, Glende Hamman, Hildegarde McCallum, Peter Du Plooy, John Bosman.

and the fact that the school reclaimed its name after many years.

It was extremely difficult to find the total numbers of learners and teachers after 1920 due to the fact that the Cape Education Gazette did not have proper records. From the information gathered the article will indicate how the school grew in numbers just before it had to relocate. The available numbers of learners from 1908 to 1970 are as follows: (a) the school started with 41 learners in 1908; (b) in 1912 the school had 59 learners and grew steadily to 68 in 1926 and 59 in 1932; (c) good results and quality of education led to 318 in 1950; (d) from 1964 to 1966 the numbers were between 455 and 589; (e) in 1968 and 1969 the school had 804 learners; and (f) when the school was finally removed from the "white" area in 1970 it had 725 learners.

The school was established in the Main Road of Kuilsriver in 1908. It was for coloured learners[32] as the need arose to have a school for children from the Brackenfell and Bottelary area. At that stage the only school where coloured learners could attend was in Sarepta, at that stage a multiracial school. The children had to walk approximately six kilometres every day to attend school at Sarepta.

The missionaries of the churches played a major role in the educational development of coloured learners.[33] Almost all the schools for coloured children in the Cape were run by missionaries in the first half of the 20th century. This was no different in Kuilsrivier, as the municipal authorities at that stage were not interested in schooling for coloureds. This is evident by the lack of coloured schools in the area. Although the Cape Education Department paid the salaries of most of the missionary schools, it was a struggle in Kuilsriver and the missionaries requested money from the Netherlands, and had to raise funds in order to pay the salaries of teachers.[34] There seemed to have been reluctance from the Cape Education Department to focus on schools for coloureds. As early as 1905—at a church council meeting—the need for another school in Kuilsriver was discussed. In 1906 a member of the Rhenish Mission Church, Jacob Hamman, transferred Plot 248 (a portion of his property) to the church for the establishment of a church building which could also be used as a school.[35] This piece of property was situated in the Main Road of Kuilsriver, Van Riebeeck Road, where the area Palm Tree Villas was later developed and 25 houses were built. The first wood and corrugated building had a hall measuring 14m x 7m.

32 Holzapfel, Minutes of Church Council Meeting of Sarepta Church, January 1908.

33 https://www.sahistory.org.za/article history-Luckhoff-high-school: 1932-1969. (Accessed on 8 March 2022).

34 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March, 1998.

35 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March, 1998.

For two years this hall was used for church services only.[36] According to the records in the Deeds office, Deed no. 6913, JJ Hamman transferred two morgen, Erf 247, formerly Lot A as part of Lot G to the Trustee for Cape Colony of the Rhenish Mission Society of Barmen, Germany.[37]

In an interview conducted with George Foster, he referred to a church council's decision of the Rynse Gemeente Sarepta on 8 January 1908 concerning the school. Recorded in the neat handwriting of Reverend Holzapfel,[38] the following is an extract of the decision in Kaapse–Nederlandse Taal:

> *De Leeraar sprecht over de vanschelykheid van in Kuils River eene School te nemen. De Kerkraadt stemt dit toe. Besluit word daarop genomen tot het eerste kwartaal van dit jaar in de niewen Kerk te KuilsRiver. Sarah Fredericks, die de School van Sarepta geet verlaten, is gewillig het niewe werk te beginning. Het ons innig gebed dat die nieuwe School van zegen mocht word voor vele van de verwaarloosde Kinderen van Kuils River.*[39]

The above extract refers to the fact that Reverend Holzapfel moved that a decision had to be taken about the school in Kuilsriver. They prayed for the new school in order for the neglected children who could not attend school in Kuilsriver to attend the school. The church council voted in favour of opening a new school.[40] The decision was that the new school would start from the first term of 1908. Sarah Fredericks, who decided to leave Sarepta Primary, agreed to start the new school as principal.

In January 1908 the church hall became a school building.[41] The school was called Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool, also affectionately referred to as "Die Hoogte" and had a total of 41 learners when it opened its doors. When JJ Hamman transferred the land to the church, his purpose was for a school to be erected on it.[42] His intention was for a school to be established which would be in closer proximity to the areas of Brackenfell and Bottelary from where children had to walk long distances to be educated at the already established schools at the time.[43]

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36 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 March 2022)

37 Deeds Office Cape Town, Deed no. 6913, Transferring of property to Church. (Accessed on 4 March 2022).

38 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March, 1998

39 Holzapfel, Minutes of Church Council Meeting of Sarepta Church, January 1908.

40 This school process was initiated by Reverend Luckhoff in 1842 and the school started in1843 with the further assistance of Reverend Esselen.

41 Feesbrosjure (1843-1993) published by NG Sendinggemeente Sarepta, 1993, p. 16

42 Feesbrosjure (1843-1993) published by NG Sendinggemeente Sarepta, 1993, p. 16.

43 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March, 1998.

As mentioned above, the first teacher and principal of the school was Sarah Fredericks(1908).[44] She was previously at the first school established in Kuilsriver—namely, Sarepta Primary School. Sarepta Primary, a multiracial school, grew in terms of learner numbers which necessitated the establishment of another school for coloured learners only. Coloured learners could not attend white schools—coloureds were pushed out of the more lucrative areas and segregation of schooling started long before the National Party took over in 1948. Fredericks was replaced by Freda De Villiers in 1909.[45] The school's learner numbers grew from 59 learners in October 1912 to 68 in 1926.[46] In 1910 Maud Wyngaard took over as principal.[47] She was replaced by Mary Thomas until 1930 when Mr H Wessels became principal in 1931.[48]

The information regarding the school during 1908 to 1932 is very scarce and could not be uncovered. It seems as if most of the information with regard to the history of the school was destroyed in a fire in 1969. Interestingly, Christie indicates that the archival records for coloured schools in the Cape closed abruptly in November 1989, with no explanations given for such a decision.[49]

In January 1932 James Foster was appointed as the principal of the school.[50] As a result of their enhanced reputation, the learner numbers steadily increased and it became the biggest primary school in Kuilsriver at the time.[51] It was also referred to as "Die Blik Skooltjie".[52] It was called Blik Skooltjie because it was made of tin and wood.

By 1936 the school had four teachers plus the principal. James Foster and his staff struggled with the heat and pleaded with the church to build a more permanent structure for the school to replace the temporary prefab structure. In 1944 the dilapidated building was replaced with a new building, and on 28 October 1944 Kuilsriver Laer Kleurling Skool opened the doors to a new building with 5 classrooms, an office, and a kitchen.[53] The school building was extended in 1949, and by 1959 the school had 318 learners.[54]

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44 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 9 November 2021).
45 Feesbrosjure (1843-1993) published by NG Sendinggemeente Sarepta, 1993, p. 16.
46 Feesbrosjure (1843-1993) published by NG Sendinggemeente Sarepta, 1993, p. 16.
47 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 9 November 2021).
48 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 29 November 2021).
49 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.
50 George Foster with whom the interview in 1998 was conducted.
51 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 March 2022).
52 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 March 2022).
53 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 November 2021).
54 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March 1998.

Unfortunately, due to the change in the political landscape of South Africa, further extensions and renovations could not be affected. It is during this period that the staff, learners, and broader community suffered extreme destitution.[55] Legislation, namely the Group Areas Act, was introduced prohibiting coloureds from living or attending schools in white areas.[56] These legislative developments impacted directly on the future of the school. As mentioned above, from 1958 onwards the school could not take in any new learners and the school building could not be extended due to the fact that the school was situated in a so-called white area.[57] The government furthermore wished to move the school to Sarepta, an area designated at that time for coloureds, referred to as the sand dunes of Sarepta.

In 1964 James Foster retired as principal after 32 years.[58] In order to do justice to the history of Kuilsriver Primary it is imperative to refer to the contribution the Foster family made to the school. James Foster was the longest serving principal of the school. His son George, who later became the vice-principal, was also a learner at the school. Gladys Foster, George's wife, as well as his daughter Rochelle Van Niekerk were also teachers at the school.[59] There are a number of other families who also played a major role at the school who are not mentioned here.

Albert Nicholls was appointed principal after the retirement of James Foster in 1964. At that stage George Foster was the vice-principal.[60] Following the appointment of Albert Nicholls as principal the school excelled, but the unforeseeable happened: the school was burned down in 1966.[61] On 5 November 1966 (Guy Fawkes) a bomb was thrown through the window of the school and a large part of the building was destroyed in the fire.[62] It was generally believed that this was because of growing tension, because a coloured school was situated in a white group area.[63] According to George Foster, the bombing was definitely an act of cowardice to force the school out of the white area.[64] Dr Foster who was the vice-principal of the school during 1966 stated that four white youths burned down the school. Unfortunately, no record of this event could be uncovered and the kids were not charged, therefore, no criminal records were available. This information was not only verified by Dr

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55 George Foster, interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March, 1998.
56 Group Areas Act 36 of 1958: Proclamated by Local Government of Kuilsriver, 1958.
57 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March 1998.
58 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 February 2022).
59 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 February 2022).
60 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March 1998.
61 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 29 November 2021).
62 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 2 March 1998.
63 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 2 March 1998.
64 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 2 March 1998.

Foster, but it was confirmed by some of the interviewees as well. Apparently, it was regarded as mischievous conduct by youths and therefore no prosecution for arson took place. This is indicative of how white youths were treated differently from coloured youths during that era. One could imagine if it were coloureds who burned down a white school what would have happened. Sadly, Visagie only mentions that the school was burned down, but neglects to include any other details about the incident.[65] The bombing of the school was unnecessary, as the Group Areas Act of 1958 made provision for the eventual relocation of the coloured school out of a proclaimed white area. The bombing in a sense accelerated the moving of Kuilsriver Kleurling Primary School to the coloured area of Sarepta. The biggest frustration for the members of the school was that they had to relocate and the old school building was later demolished.

The situation in Kuilsriver has striking similarities to what happened to other schools in the Carnarvon area in the Northern Cape. Christie, who did research on the Karoo town of Carnarvon states that the primary school burnt down in 1989 and that no official investigation was conducted. Not one of the interviewees could conclusively say what happened. The coloured primary school was not rebuilt, and learners were moved to the premises of the secondary school where both schools operated on one premises.[66] These unsuitable, overcrowded conditions lasted for almost twenty years after the fire that destroyed the school.

The school was started in Kuilsriver to prevent young children to walk six kilometres from Brackenfell to school every morning and back every afternoon. Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool was situated perfectly—almost in the middle between the Brackenfell and Sarepta areas. It was thus much easier for learners to attend the school in the main road. Unfortunately, because of legislation the school had to be relocated to a plot in Sarepta Road, merely 400m from another school, Sarepta Primary.[67] It caused a lot of unhappiness and frustration to the students who had to walk from Brackenfell, where FairBridge Mall is situated today, to a school six kilometres away in Sarepta.

It was a senseless act which caused all those learners from the Brackenfell-Bottelary area to be the unlucky ones who could not attend a school in the white area and had to walk to Sarepta every day to attend school. After the fire at the school in 1966, only three classrooms remained unharmed. These classrooms together with the old Sarepta School, the residence

65 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* (Municipality, Kuilsriver, 1994) 1683–1993.

66 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.

67 G Hamman interviewed by author, 17 February 2022.

of the priest, and the Calvinist Protestant Church Hall were used to accommodate all the learners of the school.[68] This meant that Albert Nicholls was a principal of a school located at 4 different premises.[69] This situation came to an end in November 1970. In the next part the relocation of the school is discussed.

The relocation of the school to Sarepta

As mentioned previously, this school was relocated in 1970, six kilometres from the Brackenfell and Bottelary area. The school was relocated to Sarepta Road, merely 400 metres from Sarepta Primary.

The move was the result of the enactment of the Group Areas Act of 1950 and an effective way of consolidating the social arrangement of a racially segregated society.[70] After the bombing of the school in the main road took place, the learners had to move to the 70-year-old school building in Sarepta. As said earlier, some were accommodated in the residence of the reverend of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, as well as the Calvinist church hall. These buildings, accommodating the learners of Kuilsriver Primary, were occupied until the temporary (prefab) building in Sarepta Road was erected.

The learners had to carry benches to the new building. The government succeeded in removing the school out of the white area and thereby also took away the learners' opportunity to attend a school near to their homes.[71] The coloured citizens who lived in the now declared white areas were forcibly removed from the areas of Bottelary and the broader Kuilsriver area. Each and everyone of the so-called coloureds was relocated to the sand dunes of Sarepta. The area where the school had been situated in the main road was declared a whites only area in terms of the Group Areas Act and the Sarepta area as coloured. Ironically, the relocated school was named after a white education inspector. The following information found in the National Archives of South Africa clearly indicates that the new school "Sarepta Primary School no. 2 would now be called Jan Bosman Primary School".[72]

The official opening of the displaced school took place in April 1971. This school

68 J Van Niekerk interviewed by author, 10 January 2022.
69 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 10 November 2021).
70 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* (Municipality Kuilsriver, 1994) 1683–1993, p. 105.
71 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March 1998.
72 National Archives of South Africa: Laerskool vir Kleurlinge 27 Oktober 1970: Reference 7/2/1/E230. (Accessed on 17 July 2023).

building was officially opened by Mr William Bergins, a member of the then Coloured Representative Council.[73] The fact that the school was named after a white school inspector added salt to the wounds of the community of Sarepta. The perception existed that the renaming of the school was an attempt by the authorities to treat Jan Bosman Primary as a new school. It was regarded as a deliberate attempt to remove any reference to the existence of Kuilsriver Laer Kleurling Skool. With branding it Jan Bosman Primary, it contained no reference to the Kuilsriver Laer Kleurling Skool situated in the main road and points to possible hope that people would eventually forget about how the coloured school was forced to relocate. Similar relocations of coloured schools occurred throughout the country. The relocation of Luckhoff High in Stellenbosch is an example of another coloured school that was relocated.[74] Contrary to the Kuilsriver School, however, Luckhoff High in Stellenbosch retained its name.

Visagie wrote the following regarding the relocation of the school:

> *Die Leerlingtal het vanaf 59 in 1932 toegeneem tot 318 in 1959.Vanwee die toepassing van die Groepsgebiedewet na 1958 kon daar in die 1960's by hierdie skool wat in die Blanke gebied geleë was, nie addisionele akkommodasie voorsien word nie. Gevolglik moes ʼn ander primêre skool in Sarepta opgerig word waarheen die leerlinge van die primêre skool op die Bult (ook Hoogte) genoem oorgeplaas word. Mr J Foster het op 30 Junie 1964 uit die diens van die Onderwys Departement getree en vanaf Julie 1964 het Mr A.H. Nicholls hom as skoolhoof opgevolg ʼn betrekking wat hy bekleë het tot die skool aan die einde van 1970 gesluit het.[75] (Visagie refers to the fact that after the Group Areas Act was prom-ulgated, coloureds could no longer attend the school in the main road and that another school had to be built in Sarepta, the coloured area).*

The above extract confirms the mistaken narrative that the Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool ceased to exist and that a new school opened in November 1970. He further comments that most of the learners together with the teachers were transferred to the new school.[76] It is difficult to comprehend the reasoning of Visagie in making such statements, because his book was written during the dawn of a new South Africa. The only assumption

73 DY Saks, D Y (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, 1991). Available at: https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/archive-files3/the19911100.009.000.pdf. (Accessed on 28 June 2023).

74 https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-luckhoff-high-school-1932-1969. (Accessed on 7 March 2022).

75 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* (Municipality Kuilsriver, 1994) 1683–1993, p. 109.

76 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier (Municipality Kuilsriver*, 1994) 1683–1993, p. 105.

that can be made is that Visagie in collaboration with the municipality wanted to negate the existence of the coloured school in the main road. He was tasked by the municipality to write the history of Kuilsriver.[77] What Visagie described as a wonderful day for Albert Nicholls and his school community was far from the truth. The school and the larger community felt the pain, anger, disappointment, and frustration to relocate from their premises in the Kuilsriver main road to Sarepta Road.[78] They moved from a school with a brick building to a prefabricated school because they were not white.[79] The document in the National Archive of South Africa (referenced in footnote 81) states clearly that the Coloured school in the main road was vacated and the coloured learners were relocated to a coloured area on 26 October 1970.[80]

At the time of the relocation of the school some learners were reportedly too young to comprehend the gravity of what was happening and consequently even felt excited about moving to a new school.[81] According to John Bosman, a student at the time of the relocation, he remembers how all the learners were called to an assembly, where the principal Mr Nicholls and a school inspector addressed them and informed them that they are now moving to a new school and that the school's name would be Jan Bosman Laerskool.[82]

The same teachers with the same learners entered the new school building and were meant to believe that this was a new school. Even Visagie wrote in his book that the school in the main road ceased to exist and that they started a new school.[83] It is submitted that the mistake that most people made was to equate a school to only a building. Surely if the teachers, learners, and the principal had moved over to new premises, it should remain the same school as in the case of Bellville High School when it relocated.[84] The only explanation is that it was politically motivated. It was a deliberated decision to erase any reference to the fact that a coloured school was situated in a white area for decades. That might also be one

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77 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier (Municipality Kuilsriver,* 1994) 1683–1993, (Voorwoord).

78 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March 1998.

79 George Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March 1998.

80 National Archives of South Africa: Sluiting van Kuilsrivier Laerskool en opening van Sarepta Laerskool no.2 (Later genoem Jan Bosman Laerskool). Source Kus, Reference 3/184/6. (Accessed on 17 July 2023).

81 https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-luckhoff-high-school-1932-1969. (Accessed 7 March 2022).

82 Interview with John Bosman: A former learner of the school. 8 February 2021.

83 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* (Municipality Kuilsriver, 1994) 1683–1993.

84 https://www.hsbellville.co.za 2012. (Accessed on 29 November 2021).

of the reasons why the building was flattened. It is quite curious that a school building was being separated from the school community.

What happened in the Kuilsriver area is not unique. There are examples of forced removals—especially the destruction, renaming, and erasing of schools' history during apartheid.

Christie, in discussing the history of schools, confirms that the community of Carnarvon also struggled with schooling under apartheid.[85] Carnarvon in the Northern Cape has a colourful history with stories of different groups of people (Coloured, whites, blacks, Indians, etc.) competing for land resources, basic rights, dignity, and more. These groups lived in relative harmony, but in the early colonial period fighting broke out once the trek Boers (Dutch settler farmers) started moving northward from the Dutch East Indian Company settlement of the eighteenth century.[86] Adhikari shows that the farming practices of the trek Boers would seize land, resources, and even livestock. The Khoekhoe society rapidly disintegrated as a result of this disruption. Some resorted to hunter-gathering, others joined in raiding the trekboers stock, and others became trusted servants of farmers.[87] According to Christie, the people became very poor and were forced to sell their properties to white land owners: "A domino-effect of Xhosa and Bastaard dispossession followed".[88] Thus, a parallel could be drawn between events that occurred in Kuilsriver and Carnarvon.

During the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, discriminatory regulations were the order of the day. The dispossession of land in Carnarvon caused extreme tension between white farmers and coloured residents.[89] The same issues which occurred in Kuilsriver brought extreme unhappiness in Carnarvon. As in Kuilsriver the Rhenish Mission society established churches and schools in Carnarvon. Christie states that with the start of the Sendingkerk in Carnarvon also, things changed dramatically for the Black/Coloured school. The NG Church granted a loan for a new school to be built, but unfortunately it burned down in the 1960s.[90] This mission school was relocated across town and renamed Laerskool Carel van Zyl. In 1984 a secondary school was built in the Coloured township of Bonteheuwel. Sadly the primary school burnt down at the end of

85 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.

86 M Adhikari, God made the White Man, God Made the Black Man…Popular Racial Stereotyping of Coloured People in Apartheid, *South African Historical Journal*, 2006, 55, pp. 142–164.

87 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020, p14.

88 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020. p.14.

89 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.

90 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.

1989 again. The fire was never investigated, and rumours circulate about possible causes: an electrical fault, naughty schoolchildren playing or smoking on the site, and even politically motivated arson. Some interviewees for this study were certain that they could identify the errant young men who might have destroyed the school without intending to; several white interviewees blamed the politicisation of youth at the time. Why was the fire not investigated, Christie asked?[91]

After various court battles and petitions coloured learners were accommodated in Carnarvon High School to the dismay of the white community. During the post-apartheid era, the schools were opened to all racial groups, but a number of white parents chose to send their kids to other white and private schools in the district.[92] The divisions in Carnarvon are still visible today as they are in the case of Kuilsriver.

The difference between Carnarvon and Kuilsriver is that the primary school in Carnarvon was relocated to the premises of the Secondary School and the coloured learners attended the Carnarvon High School. In Kuilsriver the school was relocated and the intention was clearly was to erase any reference to the fact that a coloured school existed in a white area. This rationale was perpetuated for many years, and it might be that although the staff did not agree with this reasoning, they could not resist the establishment. It really troubled many in the school community, as well as the community at large. Albert Nicholls, who moved to the new premises as principal when the relocation took place, retired in 1993.[93] Andrew Davis took over as principal in 1994.[94] After Andrew Davis retired, John Alexander took over as principal (1995–2011).[95]

On Sunday 28 April 1996, the school, then named Jan Bosman, had a service in the Dutch Reformed Church in Sarepta where George Foster informed the school that this function cannot be a 25 years celebration function, because the school was in effect 88 years old.[96] It was the same school which originated in 1908 in Van Riebeeck Road. In reality the school consisted of learners and the teachers. In this case the school only moved to a new building, but it was the same school. A large number of community members as well as staff members was extremely unhappy about the school's name and voiced their opinion to reclaim their previous school name.[97]

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91 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.
92 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.
93 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 November 2021).
94 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 November 2021).
95 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 November 2021).
96 G Foster. Speech on 28 April 1996 in the Dutch Reformed Church Sarepta.
97 G Foster interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 21 March 1998.

Reclaiming the name of the school and a new building

Under the leadership of John Alexander and his deputy Leonard Adams the name of the school was reclaimed to Kuilsriver Primary School and the motto changed to "Grow to Greatness".[98]

Eventually the school reclaimed her name back in 2011. The school took back the original name it had in Kuilsriver main road and called itself Kuilsriver Primary School to the delight of the whole school community. The school in the Main Road was called Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool, with an apartheid connotation to the name, for that reason the new school was called Kuilsriver Primary School. John Alexander retired in 2011 and Peter Du Plooy, also a former learner, became the principal.[99] Du Plooy's uncle, Norman Du Plooy was also a teacher for several years at the school.[100] Peter Du Plooy retired from teaching in 2016 and the first female principal after 85 years, Zondelia Lombard-Swartz, was appointed in 2017.[101] In January 2017 Zondelia Lombard-Swartzs became the 11th Principal of the school. She was also the fifth female Principal of the school. Zondelia took charge of the school with vibrancy, energy, vision, and tenacity. She took her job very seriously and with her in charge the school excelled even further. The school started in the new building with Mrs Zondelia Lombard-Swartz as principal. After 47 years it was a dream come true for many educators and the community as a whole.

It might be regarded as speculative and that assumptions are being made by certain individuals, however, the belief is that the discriminatory practices of the apartheid government are evident in the fact that white schools would not be housed in prefab buildings. If indeed some of them did, it would not be for 47 years as Kuilsriver Primary had. As second grade citizens, it was probably regarded as good enough for coloured people. Coloureds had no option but to use such facilities. However, for the Kuilsriver Primary, their history was extremely important. While the school used the prefab classes for 47 years, they always strived to do their best. On the academic side they excelled with good results: this is one of the reasons why parents look at Kuilsriver as their first choice when deciding where their children should receive their education.

Kuilsriver Primary did not only excel in the academic field, but they have also done

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98 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 November 2021).

99 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 November 2021).

100 Peter Du Plooy interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 11 March 2019.

101 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 2 November 2021).

the community proud on the sporting field, cultural competitions, singing, and dancing.[102] The political situation in the country did not dampen the spirit of the school community, and the school went from strength to strength. The school not only prepared learners for the schools in Kuilsriver, but for any school learners wished to attend. Over the past 114 years Kuilsriver Primary has produced engineers, architects, doctors, professors, lawyers, educators, sports stars, and more.

With the opening of the new school building and school hall in 2017, Zondelia Lombard-Swartz was the inspiration to name the school hall the JJ Hamman Hall. This was a fitting tribute to the person with the vision to further the education of our learners. It can be assumed that JJ Hamman also knew that education is the most powerful weapon through which you can change society (the words of Nelson Mandela). At the formal opening of the school and hall, Zondelia Lombard-Swartz said that Kuilsriver Primary is a good school but she wants it to grow into a great school.[103] This sentiment was echoed by the MEC of Education in the Western Cape.[104] The school's history was focused on in the speeches by members of the school's former learners, as well as community members. Heart Radio Station had an outside broadcast from the school premises where the principal, as well as former learners and current students were interviewed.[105] The event was also covered by The Tygerburger newspaper.

Due to severe illness Zondelia Lombard-Swartz passed away in 2019. Stanley Townsend was acting principal for a short period until the current principal Hildegarde McCallum was appointed by the Western Cape Education Department in 2020.[106] It is important to mention that Hildegarde McCallum had been acting principal since the start of 2019.[107] Ms McCallum is someone with a strong personality, as well as a strong work ethic. She is a no-nonsense person but someone who treats others with respect. The learner total for Kuilsriver Primary was 1 340 in 2021. The principal and the staff of Kuilsriver Primary School are widely respected, experienced, and well qualified. For the current year (2023) the school has a learner total of 1 326.

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102 Glende Hamman interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 17 February 2022.

103 Zondelia Lombard-Swartz interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 20 February 2017.

104 Debbie Shaver, MEC of Education in her speech at the opening of the new School building 20 February 2017.

105 See report on Heart Radio station at: https://web.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_ permalink&v=1995817097117531(Accessed on 28 June 2023).

106 https://www.kuilsriverprimary.co.za/about. (Accessed on 9 January 2022)

107 Hildagarde McCallum interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 3 June 2019.

Other schools in the Kuilsriver area

Although the focus of this article is primarily on the Kuilsriver Primary School, it is also important to refer to other schools in the greater Kuilsriver area. Prior to 1994 schools in the area existed or operated along racial lines. Only after 1994 schools were opened to all racial groups. Interestingly, the coloureds now attend the previous Model C schools, but white learners do not attend schools in the previously coloured areas.

In Kuilsriver the local government was very successful with the implementation of apartheid and was to a certain extent successful with regard to the division of racial groups. Up until today the demographics of a town like Kuilsriver have not changed much. The majority of coloureds remain in the so-called coloured areas. The difference is that a group of coloured people who could afford to buy and relocate to the former white areas. Learners of Kuilsriver Primary still come from the neighbourhood, but some coloureds who live in the former white area also attend the coloured schools due to financial issues. For those parents who cannot afford the former white schools, their learners cannot attend the schools. It is just surprising that it is still evident that some writers researching the history of Kuilsriver and its schools write from a white perspective as if coloured schools do not exist or are inferior to the white schools.[108] It will be difficult to erase the inequality of the past regarding the development in Kuilsriver. Even today the service delivery in the former white areas is much better than in the so-called coloured and black areas. The difference in facilities of the different schools is remarkably disconcerting.

Sarepta Primary School

Sarepta Primary School, the oldest school in the area, also does not get the credit it deserves.[109] This school started in 1843 and needs to be commended for its hard work during all these years.[110] The name of the school has a very interesting meaning. The word *Sarepta* is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew word *Sarfat* or *Tsorfat*. The word Sarfat (Sarepta) means to melt, refine or test; it means melting pot or place or testing site. Zarephath is a biblical city and was a place where God sent the prophet Elijah. At Zarephath God instructed a widow to take care of the prophet[111] (1Kings 17: 8–16). The narrative states that this

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108 AL Vermaak, "Die Geskiedenis van Kuilsriver 1652-1905" (Mphil, US, 1993), pp. 143–179.
109 The current principal of the school is Jerome R. Solomons.
110 NGSK Feesbundel 1843-1993, Kerkraad van Sarepta Komitee, p. 13.
111 Holy Bible: Good News Edition, (Cape Town, National Book Printers, 1983).

woman had very little food, and should she run out of food, she and her child would die of starvation. However, she provided the prophet Elijah with food and God blessed her generously. Her food did not diminish, and when her son became ill and died, Elijah prayed to God and God healed her son.

The parallel between this biblical city and Sarepta is astonishing to say the least. The history of the place Sarepta in the Kuilsriver area is closely linked to the life of a widow named Jana Van Den Berg. Her cottage was situated on the site where the Uniting Reformed Church of Sarepta is located today (currently in Mission Road). According to the history of the church, the parallel between Zarephath and Sarepta is the fact that a Dutch missionary, Reverend Daniel Luckhoff, visited the widow Jana Van Den Berg and she availed her house as a place where church services could take place. The fact is that the oldest church in Kuilsriver had its origin in the house of this widow. The community of Kuilsriver saw this as a godly intervention and drew a comparison between Reverend Luckhoff and the prophet Elijah and also the life of Jana Van Den Berg and the widow with whom the prophet stayed in Zarephath [112](1 Kings 17:8–16.).

It needs to be emphasised that Sarepta is not only the first and oldest school in Kuilsriver, it was also the first multiracial school in Kuilsriver and surrounding areas.[113] As far as could be established, no publication on the history of Sarepta Primary School is available at the time of writing this article. Unfortunately, earlier history was not recorded and one must rely on the oral tradition, through which information (history) was told to the younger generations by word of mouth. According to the information found in the history of the church in Sarepta, the first school building was very small, namely, 50 feet by 15 feet.[114] The first school building was erected on the place where the current Jana Van Den Berg Hall is situated.[115] From generation to generation it was said that the first school started in a horse stable. The first teacher of the school was Hendrik January who was trained by Rev. Esselen to become a teacher. The motto of this school was and still is "Always Aim High" (Mik Altyd Hoog). Although much effort was spent in trying to locate the history of schools in Kuilsriver, this was without success. Although Visagie and Vermaak refer to Sarepta Primary it was also done from a white centred view. The history of Sarepta Primary was just focused on the school's total number of learners, while schools for white learners would be discussed in detail from the staff, academic achievements, sporting

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112 Holy Bible: Good News Edition, (Cape Town, National Book Printers, 1983).
113 NGSK Feesbundel 1843–2003, Kerkraad van Sarepta, p. 47.
114 NGSK Feesbundel 1843–1993, Kerkraad van Sarepta Komitee.
115 NGSK Feesbundel 1843–1993, Kerkraad van Sarepta Komitee.

facilities, and other events.[116]

Although the Schools Act of 1905 made no provision to segregate schools in the Cape Colony, from around 1870 strong efforts were made in this direction by the CED who increased funding to establish stigting schools for poor white children were living in mixed-race missionary schools. This illustrates the discrimination that happened even prior to 1905 where more money was allocated to white schools than coloured schools.

There were no other schools from 1843 until 1874 when De Kuilen primary school was established.[117] The Kuilsriver municipality clearly distinguished between racial groups long before 1905 and whites were treated differently than coloureds. Unfortunately, when articles are written about schools in Kuilsriver the tendency is to focus on the former white schools. Vermaak refers to Sarepta Primary and gives some information on the school. [118] Sadly, she writes about Sarepta but with a white perspective, and gives much more detail about white education and schools in Kuilsriver.[119] The learner total for Sarepta Primary is currently (2023) 1 203 learners.[120]

Sarepta High School

The community of Kuilsriver and Sarepta pleaded for a number of years with the government of the time for a high school for learners of the specific area but to no avail. Coloured students had to travel long distances in order to attend high school. Many learners were unable to attend high school, and they had to seek employment without a proper high school education. Only those parents who could afford the travelling expenses could send their children to schools in other areas such as Bellville, Cape Town, and Stellenbosch.

Although the first school for coloureds started in 1843, it is difficult to comprehend that the first high school for coloured learners in Kuilsriver only opened its doors in January 1987.[121] The interesting fact is that De Kuilen High (school for white learners) opened its doors in 1874. Sarepta High School for coloured learners opened its doors almost more than 100 years later under the leadership of AJR Cornelissen.[122] For years coloured learners

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116 ALVermaak, "Die Geskiedenis van Kuilsriver 1652-1905" (Mphil, US, 1993), pp. 143–179.
117 https://dkps.org.za (Accessed 10 February 2022).
118 ALVermaak, "Die Geskiedenis van Kuilsriver 1652-1905", (Mphil, US, 1993), pp. 143–179.
119 ALVermaak, "Die Geskiedenis van Kuilsriver 1652-1905", (Mphil, US, 1993), pp. 143–179.
120 https://wcedonline.westerncape.gov.za (Accessed on 9 November 2021).
121 Sarepta High School, Prospectus 2021, p. 1.
122 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* (Municipality Kuilsrivier, 1994) 1683-1993, p. 100.

had to travel miles outside of the area if they wanted to attend high school. This fact clearly indicates the inequality of education between white and coloured learners. It was also in line with the policy of apartheid that coloureds were considered inferior to whites, and it was felt that they did not need further education. The jobs they would do merited no further education.

De Kuilen Primary

The white population group struggled to open a whites-only school in Kuilsriver. According to the history of De Kuilen Primary, in March 1861 the superintendent general of education Dr Dale was displeased that there was no school in Kuilsriver for white learners.[123] It is interesting to note that he referred to the fact that there were no "white schools" in Kuilsriver. Since 1862 there were quite a few attempts to start a school for white learners only, to no avail. It was only in 1874 that a school was opened with Mr Jan van Veersen as principal and in 1881 Charles Villet was appointed as principal.[124]

A new school building was added in 1897 next to the present Shoprite Centre in the main road of Kuilsriver. By 1937 the school committee started negotiations to have the school moved to bigger premises.[125] The summary of the history of De Kuilen Primary states the following:

> In February 1939, the school moved to the location where De Kuilen Primary is currently situated. This new building was mainly for the high school learn-ers, while the primary school learners remained in the old building. On 1 March 1943, the new school building was officially recognised as a school.[126]

In January 1952 the school was granted status as a high school.[127] This meant that the building housed both the primary and the high school. J Visagie was the principal for both the primary and the high school in Kuilsriver for two-and-a-half years. In August 1961 the building complex of the present De Kuilen High was occupied by high school learners.[128] The two schools were officially separated in January 1964 and could operate as independent schools.[129] Since the separation of the two schools both entities excelled in education.

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123 https://dkps.org.za (Accessed 10 February 2022).
124 https://dkps.org.za (Accessed 10 February 2022).
125 https://dkps.org.za (Accessed 10 February 2022).
126 https://dkps.org.za (Accessed 10 February 2022).
127 https://dkps.org.za Accessed 10 February 2022).
128 https://www.dekuilen.com (Accessed 10 February 2022).
129 https://www.dekuilen.com (Accessed 10 February 2022)

During the moving of these schools to different buildings there were no discussions or mention from Visagie and others that the school closed and a new school was started. It seems as if there were double standards with regard to the handling of white schools and coloured schools. The focus on the De Kuilen schools might be a human factor if you consider that Dr JHH Visagie was the principal of both the Primary and the De Kuilen High School in 1959. [130]

In a similar scenario, if you take a look at the history of Bellville High School, there is a parallel with the history of the De Kuilen schools. In January 1937 the Bellville High School opened its doors on the corner of Durban and Voortrekker Road in Bellville. Three years later the first phase in the Voortrekker Main Road was completed. The area is now occupied by Protea College in Bellville. In June 1994 Bellville High School relocated to De la Haye Avenue and learners had to carry their desks from Voortrekker Road to De la Haye. Strangely enough no mention is made of the fact that the school ceased to exist as in the case of Kuilsrivier Laer Kleurling Skool in Kuilsriver.[131]

It is inexplicable that when a list of the 200 oldest schools in South Africa was published on 9 April 2018, De Kuilen Primary and High School which opened in 1874 were included, but Sarepta Primary which opened in 1843[132] and Kuilsriver Primary (1908) were omitted. [133] This list ends with Glenwood High in Durban which started in 1910. It is imperative to note that according to the prospectus of De Kuilen High, the school only received high school status in January 1952.[134] There surely must be a reason why the coloured schools in Kuilsriver are not mentioned, only the white schools.

Ignoring the contribution of coloured education

It is evident that the history of coloured schools did not receive the same prominence that was given to previously white schools in South Africa. It is in line with Cross' view that history and education was written from a white-centred view and a white perspective. This could be a deliberate attempt to ignore the contribution that the coloured schools, teachers, and learners made to education. Therefore, only the history of the white schools

130 https://www.dekuilen.com (Accessed 10 February 2022).

131 https://www.hsbellville.co.za 2012. (Accessed on 29 November 2021)

132 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* (Municipality Kuilsriver, 1994) 1683-1993, p. 106.

133 www.news24.com/parent/Learn/Primary-school/this-list-with-200-of-south-africas-oldest-school-may-surprise-you-20180409 (Accessed on 12 March 2022).

134 https://www.dekuilen.com (Accessed 10 February 2022).

was recorded as if coloured schools did not exist. The Kuilsriver municipality requested on at least two occasions that authors such as Visagie and Vermaak write the history of Kuilsriver.

These two histories were written in close succession to each other almost 30 years ago. It is submitted that it speaks to the interest of the municipality at that time. It could be that on the verge of a new political dispensation the idea was to emphasise the contribution of whites to the education in the Kuilsriver area only. According to Visagie, specifically the school in the main road, Kuilsriver Laer Kleurling Skool ceased to exist in 1970.[135] The history which suited the municipality was focused on. Karlson states that for four decades between 1948 and 1990 the white minority National Party government organised South African society and public institutions, including schools, to accord with their apartheid legislation.[136]

Looking at the bigger picture, the exclusion can only be politically motivated. It is astonishing that most of the residents in Kuilsriver cannot even remember the school in the main road or did not even know that this school was originally in Van Riebeeck Road. A further reason might be the constraints people had with regard to funding to do research. In needs to be remembered that a huge part of the school burned down, especially with regard to the administration department where information with regard to the school was kept. The fire destroyed a large part of the "written" history.[137] People had to rely on the oral tradition with regard to the history of the school.[138]

It needs to be emphasised that racial segregation in Kuilsriver started long before the apartheid legislation. The introduction of the Group Areas Act was welcomed by the Kuilsriver authorities, because they could implement segregation with regard to schools, declare white areas as they saw fit, remove people "legally" from white allocated areas, and expropriate land and farms without compensation. Although the coloured community in Carnarvon resisted relocation and students were eventually accommodated in the white high school, the whites withheld funds from all the coloured institutions and decided to withdraw their kids from the High School Carnarvon. The reason for this was the fact that they did not want their kids to associate with coloured students.[139]

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135 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* (Municipality Kuilsrivier, 1994) 1683-1993, p. 108.

136 J Karlson J, Schooling space: Where South Africans learnt to position themselves within the hierarchy of Apartheid society, *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 12(3), 2004, pp. 327–343.

137 George Foster, Speech on 28 April 1996 in the Dutch Reformed Church Sarepta.

138 John Bosman interviewed by author, Kuilsriver, 11 February 2022.

139 P Christie, Decolonising Schools in South Africa, The impossible dream, 2020.

The writer of this article attended the school in 1969 and has resided in Kuilsriver for almost 60 years and has witnessed how coloured property was alienated. The disrespectful manner in which coloured school history is treated, should be changed. Surely in the 21st century there should not be a focus on the history and contribution made by white education only. It is therefore imperative that those in possession of and with access to information should make it available and record it. This is applicable not only in the Kuilsriver area, but in many other areas and communities in South Africa, where the history of coloured schools, educators, and communities have been excluded by a white-centred view of recording history. This will ensure that the history of Kuilsriver and its coloured schools are property documented. It is important to record the proper history of Kuilsriver for the generations to come. We owe this to our children to secure that our descendants know their heritage.

Conclusion

Although the Kuilsriver area is well-respected for its schools, this article highlights the fact that the traditionally white schools are recorded with more emphasis than that of the coloured schools.

If the National Party did not win the elections of 1948[140] and did not adopt apartheid and the Group Areas Act,[141] history would have been different. Ironically the National Party won the elections with the help of the Coloured vote.[142] Kuilsriver Primary would have been a proud beacon for all to see when entering Kuilsriver from the side of Stikland. Kuilsriver Primary would still have been in the main road, Van Riebeeck Road in the "white area". Unfortunately, it was coloured learners—it was a non-white school in a so-called white area.[143] According to events long before 1950, apartheid was already in the hearts and minds of the minority white population group. In 1950 it was legitimised. South Africa is the only country which adopted apartheid as its race-based legal political system.

This study was undertaken specifically to rectify the perception and to put into context that Kuilsriver Primary School, a school for coloureds, had its origin early in the twentieth

140 C Brand, *Doing life with Mandela,* (Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2014), p. 8.

141 JHH Visagie, *Die Ontstaan, Stigting en Ontwikkelings geskiedenis van Kuilsrivier* (Municipality Kuilsriver, 1994) 1683-1993 p. 105.

142 https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-luckhoff-high-school-1932-1969. (Accessed on 12 March 2022).

143 TRH Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History* (Southern Book Publishers, 1988), p. 251.

century. This school is much older than some of the white schools in Kuilsriver. This article is an attempt to put into perspective how the history was manipulated to neglect and minimise the contribution of coloureds to education. Their contribution is regarded as being almost negligible compared to that of white people.

Kuilsriver Primary is one of the many coloured schools that were removed from a so-called white area. If this was not enough, the Kuilsriver authority wanted to erase any reference to the existence of Kuilsriver Primary from the history of the town. With this article about our forgotten history, it is hoped that others will be encouraged to also research their school's history. We should learn from the past not to repeat the same mistakes. There is a vast difference in recording the history of a school such as Luckhoff High School and Kuilsriver Primary School. The University of Stellenbosch at least acknowledged their contribution to the relocation of Luckhoff, but the Kuilsriver authorities seem to ignore the injustices of the past.[144] There is also no recognition for the people who attended Kuilsriver Laer Kleurling Skool and later became prominent role players in the South African society.

Education is the most powerful weapon through which you can change society.[145] We need to live together in peace and harmony, but the people who were part of the actions mentioned need to accept their responsibility and should strive not to repeat the mistakes of the past.

It is therefore long overdue to not only acknowledge the injustices of the past but to also address it in an active display of restoration. The proper recording of an almost forgotten history is an attempt to achieve just that.

It will surely still take a number of years to change the schooling system in Cape Town, as well as the broader South Africa. For the author, who has been in education for more than 30 years, it is clear that decolonising schools in South Africa has not been achieved and that it will take a long time to realise that dream.

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144 https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-luckhoff-high-school-1932-1969. (Accessed on 12 March 2022).
145 R Stengel, *Long Walk to Freedom* (Little Brown & Co, 1994).

BOOK REVIEWS

The American Dream in History, Politics, and Fiction

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The phrase *American Dream* is one of the most evocative phrases in the US national culture. The American citizens are conscious of its implied meaning. Some interpret it as a fair chance to succeed in an open competition with others for the good things in life. The promise of the American Dream has always been a willingness to learn, work, save, persevere, and play by the rules. This would ensure a better possibility to grow and prosper in America than anywhere else in the world. In the words of Walter Lippmann, the dream needs constant re-examination, criticism, and challenges in order to ensure its unwavering capacity to serve the needs and interests of the nation. It would be able to keep abreast of the current trends and developments, thereby remaining relevant at all times.

The title of the book brings about two rich dialogues into conversations—namely, one among the proponents of the dream and the other among its critics. The political and socioeconomic elites supported the dream. These included, among others, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Carnegie, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John F Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Ronald Reagan, and Barack Obama. Most American citizens believe that the American story has been remarkable and exceptional. They also share the conviction that America is a super power. She won freedom and rose to economic primacy over the course of a century and a half, rising again

to cultural and military dominance in the second course of a century. The author highlights the spike of immigration as a direct consequence of America's superiority. Good economic prospects set America apart from other world countries.

However, there was also scepticism about the American Dream. Esteemed intellectuals such as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Mark Twain, Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, William Faulkner, John Steinbeck, John Updike, Toni Morrison, and Philip Roth, sounded a warning about the dangers of implausibility linked to the American Dream. Politicians contend that America offers opportunities to all people who are willing to sacrifice liberties, save, and invest. However, in Kurt Vonnegut's words: *"Most people are the listless playthings of enormous forces."* In their persuasive political campaigns, politicians brood over the national triumphs of America, while injecting optimism in the minds of the electorate about better days that lie ahead. Advancing the course of the *American Dream* became the cornerstone of their policies and programmes. The "New Deal" by Franklin Roosevelt is a classic example. In his sixth *Fireside Chat* delivered during the Great Depression, he promised a move to greater security for the average ordinary citizens than they had ever known in the history of America. His words had a settling effect on the hopeless, doubtful, and frightened public. The writer illustrates the role of novelists in guiding historical narratives. Novels offer a different pattern of communication. They allow us to tap into personal stories of ordinary people featuring opportunities, choices, limitations, dashed hopes, and fears. The readers of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* broke down in tears when they read about the anguish of the Joad family as it slowly came apart under the pressure of the Great Depression that Roosevelt was struggling to fight. Cal Jillson argues that the understanding of the American Dream hinges on Roosevelt's narrative and John Steinbeck's story of the Joad family.

This book weighs the authenticity of assurances by political, social, and economic elite as opposed to the warnings of the literary elites about the role, place, benefits, and costs of the American Dream. The history of the American Dream has been an ongoing debate between political and literary traditions. The nation's political ideologies and economic policies prominently featured the notion of the American Dream. However, literature rejected it outright. The most interesting feature of this book is the competing perspectives between historical accounts and fiction. The writer maintains that fiction holds up a mirror to the American Dream. The images one sees are often bruised, battered, and broken by forces deeper than most people can manage. Fiction reminds us of the challenging nature of life. However, the dwindling interest in American novels is deeply disconcerting. Horatio Alger Jr's stream of the late nineteenth-century rags-to-riches novels have won a place in

Americans' national consciousness, but very few people read them today; no one considers them great American novels. One finds them on lower shelves with the self-help books of Norman Vincent Peale and Tony Robbins.

Until recently, *To kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee (1960) would have sprung to many minds with Atticus Finch advocating for justice and the rule of law against a community opposed to blacks. *Go Set a Watchman* was another book that Lee intended to write before being redirected by her agent toward a more positive and comfortable *Mockingbird*. In *Watchman*, Atticus is a far less noble figure, defending not only justice but community standards as well. It turns out that most of our great novels frequently challenge and seldom reinforce our national myths. That seems to be their great value. The real intention of the writer in the American Dream has been to juxtapose the commitment of comfortable classes to the American Dream with the reality that the novels teach about life especially among the weak and vulnerable. Some classic American novels from Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, to Richard Russo's *Empire Falls*, and Jonathan Franzen's *Freedom* simply have not shown the American Dream featuring preparation, hard work, as well as frugality leading to maximum security available throughout society. They all contend that the American Dream was illusory, beyond reach. It came across as a nightmare. The author illustrates how fiction has challenged claims that the American Dream offers the American people a latitude to rise. One of the important lessons learnt from fiction is that playing by the society's rules is no guarantee of success. Life remains hard and failure is always common. The American Dream offered no alternative ways to envisaged security and success. There has been widespread criticism of the American freedom. Azar Nafisi, author of *The Republic of Imagination* (2014) criticized politicians for praising American freedom as the right to compete for power and wealth. She argues that the freedom by so many fictional characters is the kind of freedom that makes them turn their backs on society. Social scientists perceive the American Dream as a structural and foundational element of our individual, as well as social identity. They are concerned about the existing gap between the promises of the American Dream and the realities of American people's lives. The systemic inequalities show that Americans of all races, ethnicities, and genders are not in the competition for America's top spots. Robert Rank, a sociologist, quoted an interviewee named Chris: "*You know partly it is just history. Opportunity leads to opportunity and lack of opportunity leads to lack of opportunity. People do not realize how hard it is if you were born with headwind, how hard it is to move up compared to someone who has got a tailwind just helping them along.*"

In the words of Lippmann, "our business is not to lay aside the dream, but to make it

plausible. While we celebrate the dream remaining plausible for those fortunate enough to have a tailwind just helping them along, national attention must turn to making the dream plausible for those who struggle against the headwinds of modern life. The basic structure of *The American Dream in History, Politics, and Fiction* is historical. It describes both the evolution of the American Dream and its fictive challenges.

- Chapter 1 details the American Creed, as well as the American Dream and the roles played by these ideas and ideals in American history.
- Chapter 2 provides a division of American history into familiar periods and trace both the evolving content of the American Dream and its challenges in national fiction. The writer interrogates the articulation of the American Dream in each chapter of the book. How fiction described the reality and plausibility of the American Dream is another subject of interrogation. The author further questions the forces used by the story-tellers such as Hawthorne and Melville, Stowe and Twain, Dreiser and Sinclair, Morrison, Updike and Roth, Russo and Franzen to keep the dream beyond the reach of many Americans. These forces include, among others, human weaknesses, fallibility, the fury of nature, poverty, need, sex, gender, race, religion, culture, violence, and war. Individuals struggle to overcome these natural and social forces.
- The opening line of chapter 9 questions the feeling of the American public about its dream today. Extensive surveys conducted over the last half century indicates that many American citizens still cling to the dream, as well as the idea that hard work is the best path to success and economic prosperity. The survey also suggests that confidence particularly among parents is gradually eroding. They become sceptical about the prospects of the dream for their children. Where do the average working class citizens stand with regard to the American Dream? Where do women and minorities stand? These pertinent questions justify misgivings expressed by the majority of Americans about the dream. The rising inequalities and failing mobility among American citizens posed a serious threat to the dream.

Conclusion

The book presented an interesting gap between the idealised American Dream and its practical dynamics. The author further explored the promise of the dream and the actual experiences of the American people. Another interesting episode of the book is the synergy

between historical accounts and fiction, featuring the role of politicians and social, as well as economic elites. The writer presented arguments around the promises of the dream and the realities of life in America. The greatest challenge is to make the American Dream real in every aspect of American life as it enters a new century.

Leftist Thought and Contemporary South Africa

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Introduction

The book navigates the transition from apartheid to contemporary South Africa. In the heart of this narrative are historical accounts of how 'Mzala' Nxumalo experienced South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy. The picture thus painted about post-apartheid South Africa is multi-layered. Many people such as Jabulani 'Mzala' Nxumalo sacrificed all liberties for the liberation of South Africa. Post-apartheid South Africa is currently battling many unresolved socioeconomic and political problems. Nxumalo was one of the leading Marxist intellectuals, a product of the 1976 uprisings. He joined the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) wherein his political ideology and philosophy found expression. He was an advocate of social justice. Race, class, gender oppression, high levels of poverty, inequalities, unemployment, corruption, and lawlessness featured prominently in his agenda. These challenges impeded the country's growth and development. Pivotal to the challenges that continue to plague South Africa is neoliberalism and the rising tide of narrow nationalism. In the context of global nationalism and authoritarian capitalism with emerging leaders such as Donald Trump in the United States, Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, and Narendra Modi in India, these questions become even more pertinent. The recent spate of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals and other related intolerances was another cause for concern. Some political parties in the

country are pro ethno-nationalist. These include, among others, Inkatha Freedom Party, the Patriotic Alliance, the Freedom Front Plus, and Action SA. It is incumbent on South African broader community and the state to confront socio-economic challenges, as well as the failure of neoliberal capitalism to overcome inequalities on a global scale.

Jabulani Nxumalo's early life and political role

Jabulani 'Mzala' Nxumalo was born and bred in 1955 in Ngoje, a small village outside Louwsburg in Northern KwaZulu-Natal. He drew inspiration from the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955 in Kliptown, Soweto. His political activism manifested in various institutions of learning he attended. These include Bethel College, KwaDlangezwa High School, and the University of Zululand. His parents were teachers as well as Christians. They introduced him to literature on nationalist liberation struggles. 'Mzala' was a Soviet Union-trained uMkhonto we Sizwe soldier, a fearless fighter, and a revolutionary intellectual. He made great strides in the academic sphere. His writings include book chapters, journal articles, and books. In 1988, he published a book entitled *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a double agenda*. He wrote many articles for the *African Communist*, a journal of the SACP, and several articles on the people's war. While in Europe, Nxumalo worked for the *African Communist* and the Research on Education in South Africa project in London. He also published in *World Marxist Review* in Prague, Czechoslovakia. He became a public intellectual of note, sharing deeper insights into the ANC's perspectives on negotiations.

Class struggle, particularly in South Africa, formed an integral part of his political engagements. He wrote and lectured quite extensively on the subject. Nxumalo believed that socialism is the only system that can fight inequalities in South Africa. He had no appetite for ethno-nationalistic politics despite his deep love for his Zulu history and culture. One understands why he detested the Bantustan system. He died in London on 22 February 1991 at the age of 35. He left behind his wife Mpho, two children, parents, and three siblings. He fought tooth and nail against any form of injustice. His political philosophy as an ardent supporter of a socialist system resonates with the present time. His ideologies are of a classic nature; they stood the test of time. To this day, Mzala's analysis of South Africa's socio-economic and political challenges is still relevant. It is disheartening to see the politically connected elites throw around their patronage network to amass wealth through empowerment while the majority of Black masses continue to wallow in abject poverty. Those were the sentiments echoed by 'Mzala'.

Underlying issues

The National question

The book has created enough room for a contestation of narratives on South Africa's issues of fundamental importance. The national question is less important in post-apartheid South Africa. The inaction of the state to deal with issues such as xenophobia, racial tensions, and emerging ethnicity are of great concern. The role of the Black working class is cause for concern. These oppressed masses were at the forefront of the struggle for liberation to dismantle apartheid and its policies. Mkhandawire argues that these Blacks became victims of the neoliberal logic of global capitalism. The views of Nxumalo on the national question still resonates with the current political situation in the country.

Community and the State

It is conceivable that the community and the state are ideal for leftist thoughts. The interaction between the state and the community is important. This would enable the state to establish the needs of the people on the ground and assist. When formulating policies and implementing them, the state should take into account the bearing they have on the people. The dominant class takes the lead. The capitalist class controls the means of production as well as economic aspects such as jobs, standard of living, prices, and so forth.

The Global World

The global capitalist system is the source of challenges facing the Global South. Extensive reading of capital is required in order to understand its impact and consequences. In the heart of the struggle for economic emancipation lies imperialism with its established empires and colonies. The main concern is the exploitation of weaker and developing countries. It is difficult for African countries to overcome imperialism. It continues to spread its wings across the global spectrum. Some scholars argue that imperialism remains an enemy of human growth and developments. The emergence of neo-imperialism, a new phase of capitalism with similar objectives, is another challenge. China has always been an exception. She has a profound influence particularly in the developing world and the world at large. China's imports for example have had a negative effect on local manufacturing of goods. China's economic prosperity is the result of Western neoliberalism. An in-

depth analysis of the relationship between China, imperialism, and developing countries including South Africa, might be able to mitigate the impact of this global economic crisis.

The book is well structured. The chapters detail different episodes of Jabulani Nxumalo's lived experiences as a revolutionary intellectual. The title is thought provoking. The conclusion sums up the discussions very well.

Finally, the book comes across as a well-thought-out piece of academic writing.

Everyday Communists in South Africa's Liberation Struggle: The lives of Ivan and Lesley Schermbruker

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Introduction

The book's title is quite intriguing and thought-provoking as it speaks of the influence that everyday communists had in South Africa's liberation struggle. Kirkaldy, as part of the Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movement, highlights the role of Ivan and Lesley Schermbruker, a married couple that was instrumental in the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA/SACP) during the apartheid era. In this refreshing dual-biography of Ivan and Lesley Schermbruker, personal memories shared by close friends and family members and Lesley's recollections allow for the intriguing, uncovered stories of Ivan and Lesley. Born in 1921 and 1926, Ivan and Lesley sought to aid the Communist Party of South Africa which was also founded around 1921. This book follows not only the lives of Ivan and Lesley but also the formation, affiliations, and movements of the CPSA until the CPSA went underground and emerged as the South African Communist Party in 1953. Ivan joined the *Guardian* newspaper and served as its Johannesburg branch manager between 1947 and 1963 during which he became a member of the central committee of the CPSA.

The book also explores themes, tensions, and disjuncture not normally explored through the communist lens of two individuals and their lack of transnational experience during the apartheid era. The introduction is rich in background information. It captures

the fundamental aspects regarding both communism in South Africa and the lives of Ivan and Lesley during the apartheid era. It follows their lives from their early years until they married and looks specifically at how communism was intertwined in their everyday affairs. After Ivan's imprisonment, Lesley's involvement in the CPSA/SACP grew. Thus, the role of women within the central committee of the CPSA/SACP is also explored.

Chapters

The book is well structured. Chapter 1 provides a solid background that puts what is to come into perspective. The figures presented in the form of pictures, accounts, and explanatory notes clearly outline both the lives of Ivan and Lesley Schermbruker's personal lives and those within the SACP.

Chapter 2 provides background information and context to both the lives of Ivan and Lesley Schermbruker and that of communism in South Africa. The socio-political context within which Ivan and Lesley found themselves is crucial for understanding their stance as communists. The chapter titled 'The Socio-Political Context, Finding Communism and Ivan and Lesley's Early Years' provides a clear idea of what the author would cover in the chapter. The sub-topics highlighted in each chapter help the reader to locate the narrative within the apartheid era and come to terms with aspects such as the CPSA/SACP, ANC, transnationalism, African nationalism, and the role of women in the liberation struggle. Not only does this chapter provide an overview for the reader but also depicts the overlap between the lives of Ivan and Lesley and the changes to communism in South Africa. They both had to navigate "the changing directions in party policy, its blind loyalty to Stalinism and the Soviet Union, its linkages with other liberatory movements, transnationalism" and other aspects such as tension within the party. Ivan and Lesley, both as life partners and struggle partners are explored in this book, and their struggles through tightening repression in the forms of increased involvement, surveillance, and detention are highlighted. After Ivan Schermbruker was detained, he along with Bram Fischer and 13 others was sentenced to imprisonment. Ivan underwent trial and was sentenced to five years imprisonment as a minor office bearer in the Communist Party.

Chapter 6, 'Women Picking up the Spear: Lesley's Increasing Involvement, Arrest, and Trial" details the role that Lesley played in the SACP up until her arrest and trial. Lesley, along with Violet Weinberg took the place of their husbands on the central committee of the SACP. During a visit to the Schermbruker's house in January 1965, Bram Fischer said that he would like to purchase a house and had Doreen Tucker pass Lesley information

about available properties. Lesley also assisted Bram Fischer in opening a bank account at the Stock Exchange branch of Barclays Bank in the name M and W Wilson in which money was transferred to fund the house. In December 1964, after Bram Fischer decided to go underground, Lesley with the assistance of Violet and sympathetic friends such as Doreen Tucker, Luli Zampetakis, and others would be at the forefront. Their commitment to the party remained until her arrest on 18 November 1965. Apart from a brief visit from her children in December 1965, Lesley spent more than 300 days incarceration with no contact with her children. Even though she was called to give evidence against Bram Fischer after his re-arrest, she decided not to do so. This chapter goes on to iterate the challenges faced by Lesley and her two teenage children. The chapter also speaks about her unbreakable resolve as she did not testify against Bram Fischer and the consequences thereof.

The last two chapters detail the life in prison of both Ivan and Lesley and the aftermath of their imprisonment. Chapter 7 narrates both Ivan and Lesley's life in prison, and chapter 8 highlights the aftermath of the time spent in prison. Lesley was released from prison and placed under house arrest. Both Lesley and Violet Weinberg were not allowed out of their houses after dark. Two weeks after her release, she had to sell her house due to the Provincial Council expropriating the neighbourhood school grounds, and moved to Rustenburg Flats. In 1970 when Ivan was released from prison, he was also issued with a banning order that included house arrest. These two chapters highlight Ivan's nationalist focus and Lesley's changing ideologies. It also tracks their life in prison and follows their routines and movements. After Ivan and Lesley were released from prison, they went on to help those still in prison and often sought funds from overseas to assist those still in prison. Eventually, Ivan suffered three heart attacks and had to undergo a bypass operation in 1980. His health deteriorated until his death on 24 July 1981.

The book chapters provide comprehensive accounts of the subjects under discussion. The literary style of the book is narrative. The language enables the reader to follow the dual biography presented easily. The titles of each chapter and the sub0titles allow for a brief overview of the key aspects. The book displays an original lens on communism and the role ordinary communists played during the apartheid era.

Conclusion

The book comes across as a well-thought-through publication. The author has been able to trace the course of Ivan and Lesley Schermbruker's lives through a communist lens in the South African liberation struggle: it portrays what everyday communists endured,

the effects of the apartheid era, and the emergence of democracy in South Africa. Alan Kirkaldy's book is an interesting read that compensates for the gaps that exist in South African historiography. Undoubtedly, the author's thorough research reflected in this dual biography is commendable.

History Education at the Edge of the Nation: Political Autonomy, Educational Reforms, and Memory-shaping in European Periphery

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Brief summary

The cast of contributors for this book is quite intimidating and mouth-watering since their biographies, though brief, read almost like a Who is Who in History Education in Europe! All 17 contributors possess colourful qualifications on the teaching and learning of history, thereby making them more than appropriate to interrogate issues around the subject. It leaves any reader looking forward to delve into the contents of the book! The book itself confronts a contested but key topic as it also explores the teaching of the history of national minorities in schools. The pertinent subject of national minorities is approached from a cross-border perspective, since the contributors come from different parts of Europe. In a way the book is acting as 'the voice of the voiceless', since national minorities are usually not given any meaningful coverage on such a wide scale as done by this book. Topics around national minorities are usually classified under controversial issues in history due to the emotions, sensitivity, and debates that they evoke and ferment among history learners, teachers, and scholars thereby making them left unexplored. It is such a topic that this book chose to confront, and it was done effectively. The sections in the book comprehensively discuss the subject under consideration. The literary style of the book is quite appropriate. The language used throughout the book enables the reader to trace the essence of the title. The headings and sub-headings of the sections capture a brief overview of the key aspects

covered.

Title

The title of the book is quite captivating and thought-provoking: *History Education at the Edge of the Nation: Political Autonomy, Educational Reforms, and Memory-shaping in European Periphery*. It leaves the reader spellbound, wondering as to what it means for a subject to be at the edge. The title therefore captures the attention of the reader thereby ensuring that they cannot wait to read the whole book. The authors were very careful in choosing the wording for their title considering that it is such a concise title for such a thick volume.

Introduction

The book was given a fitting introduction titled 'Denationalising and Reinventing Historical Education — In a Time of History Wars' which unpacks the complicated relationship between political conflict, social memory, and history teaching in schools from a cross-border perspective. Interestingly, the topic has already attracted a significantly broad corpus of literature. The introduction is quite suitable for the book as it captures the salient themes covered in the sections.

Sections

The book is divided into three sections which converge on common themes around identity politics, educational governance, and the history curriculum (Part I); competing narratives in history schoolbooks, and teaching arrangements (Part II); and managing complexity and multiperspectivity in the history classroom (Part III). The sections are further sub-divided thereby making it easy for the reader to follow the themes under consideration. The enduring thrust in the book is on the educational reference to a shared past which is analysed from different perspectives ranging from the textbooks, debates on curriculum reform, and the original narrative solutions resulting from the issue of recognition of otherness. What strikes the reader is the way all the main headings and subheadings are phrased throughout the book. This was consistently done in a way that seeks to capture the reader's attention to attract them to read the book. The different issues highlighted in the wordy headings and subheadings were then meticulously unpacked throughout the sections in a way that leaves the reader spellbound. Throughout the plethora of issues discussed in the sections

of the book, history education is the golden thread that permeates through the fabric of the diverse issues concocted, helping to neatly and firmly tie them together. The enduring and consistent reference to history education and different curricula is the fortress upon which the sections are firmly premised. History education is intricately fashioned as the tool that sanitises the 'nation-building' role of the curriculum and the lens through which the whole book is fashioned.

The sections are illuminated by the inclusion of content on the political drama in the Balkan region in Part I under the heading 'Challenges of Teaching History for the Bosniak Ethnic Community/National Minority in the Republic of Serbia within the Post-Conflict Setting'. Apart from discussing the critical role of history education, the sections also include critical details in content. This shows the integral role of content in the subject of history and reinforces the claim that history may never be devoid of content no matter how much educators try to emphasise the critical role of equipping learners with the skills of 'proto historians'. Part II stresses the importance of textbooks in the teaching and learning of history. This is a key inclusion in the book, considering the integral role of textbooks in the teaching and learning of history.

The hidden hand of the state in determining the history curricula with the intention to saturate the young minds ideologically is also exposed. Pierre Nora actually characterised school curricula using the befitting metaphor of "national novel" and this has been confirmed in different contexts in Europe. This shows how the book clearly confirms the well-known narrative of the state's use of history teaching for an instrumentation value in most parts of the world. This is confirmed through a concerted effort by one of the contributors (PS Colla) to demystify the sacred narrative of school history that is already contested due to its presentation of the nation state as the main character and autonomous community whose culture determines the form of school history that is served to the learners. Despite the existence of other stakeholders in the school history matrix, admittedly, the nation-state is the most important player.

The issue of national minorities is given coverage due to its sensitivity in European history discourses and it took centre stage in the 1990s after the incorporation into the European Union (EU) of former communist countries with their host of national minorities. However, the recent withdrawal in September 2022 of Russia's membership of the Council of Europe, a key strategic partner of EU may have thrown spanners in the works towards the EU's thrust to consider national minorities as being of strategic relevance. The determination to use history teaching as an antidote for stereotypical discrimination among learners became more relevant during regional conflicts in Chechnya, Georgia, and

Nagorno-Karabakh but also fermented questions on the infallibility of national narratives together with their unacceptance of different persuasions and interpretations. Apparently, history teaching was supposed to impart tolerance among learners which would in turn spread beyond the confines of the school campuses.

In discussing the teaching of history in schools in South Tyrol from 1945 to the present day with a thrust to move from the promotion of identity to the building of a common history, Andrea Di Michele convincingly presents the instrumental role of education in the regime's attempt to strengthen Italian-ness in the northern borderlands. This appeared to draw similarities with the Habsburg Empire where schools were used to institutionalise the national struggle (how the author and editors missed the wrong spelling of Habsburg, spelt as Hasburg, potentially leaves many readers confused). The teaching of history epitomised fascism as the focal point of Italian history thereby proving the danger that arises if history is abused by the state. However, the collapse of fascism in 1943 led to the introduction of an education for German-speaking people within the Italian system. The post-World War II era witnessed a bitter conflict over contestations about the history curriculum. The author (Andrea Di Michele) did well in unpacking the reasons for the bitter confrontations surrounding the teaching of history through a judicious chronicling of the programme followed in the teaching of the subject in schools.

In a discussion of history teaching in the 'intermediate' state of Luxemburg, Machteld Venken demonstrated how trainee teachers understood the role of history teaching in giving meaning to the supposedly nationalised space in the country. The trainee teachers apparently turned the history classrooms into a metaphorical laboratory in the 1950s–1970s that went on to generate novel ideas and experiments on how best to teach their nation's history. The presentation was covered so well that it shows the importance of adequately preparing history teachers. In Serbia, history teaching is presented as being crucial for developing critical thinking skills and nurturing and nourishing national identity. The subject has therefore been made compulsory for all learners in the country as if to reinforce its integral status in the school curriculum as part of subjects deemed of national importance. Interestingly, Serbia respects the rights of national minorities to the extent that they (minorities) are taught in their mother tongue and have textbooks written in their own languages.

Part III begins with Anna-Lill Drugge and Björn Norlin highlighting the complexities in teaching practice in contemporary Swedish classrooms for history trainee teachers. The possibilities and challenges in teaching about the history and civics of minorities in an informed and sensitive way is brought to the forefront. The main challenge is seen as

the lack of instructional material, since there are no textbooks that cover such topics in an initiated manner. The authors also expose the complexities around the navigation of classroom discussions when the potential risk of unearthing stereotypes and prejudices acts as a constraint. This confirms the challenges commonly faced by history teachers in dealing with controversial topics due to their emotive and sensitive nature.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this thoroughly impressive book presents the conundrum faced by Alsace at the end of the seventeenth century, since it was caught up in the midst of the ambiguity presented by French and German construction processes. The problem of articulating a specific regional narrative linked to the Germanic area and the national French narrative proved quite insurmountable due to the engendered debates which remained unresolved to date. The book concludes with an observation that Alsatian has become both an object of research and of teaching at the University of Strasbourg, thereby setting the stage for a way to change history. This appears to prove that the belief in the use of German and French in the region may also be questioned from certain angles. However, the sense behind the teaching and learning of Alsatian is also questioned despite the normalisation it offers for the Alsatian situation. This appears to be a fitting conclusion to the book, given all the success stories highlighted throughout the sections where the rights and cultures of national minorities are respected. The conclusion appears to reflect that although considerable ground has been covered in the pursuit of honouring national minorities through the teaching and learning of their histories in schools, there are some grey areas to be covered. The authors were able to consistently stick to the narrative highlighted in the title up to its logical conclusion. The book is of great service to the history teaching and learning constituency!

Archives of Times Past: Conversations about South Africa's Deep History

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Simple people

On a visit to a museum in the city of York some years ago, I came across a visual illustration of the construction of the cathedral, a sketch of people passing rocks to each other. The label read, "These people were simple, but not simplistic." This label may well apply to *Archives*, which focuses on researching Deep History when no written records exist. The book is simply written in clear, accessible language without sacrificing complexity.

Kros attributes her ability to write and explain with meaning to her years teaching history at a state high school in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. She had to develop an approach to concepts such as "the military-industrial complex"[1]. The editors have all had experience in teaching and/or teaching-related careers.

The use of language links to another aspect of the book: the use of personal journeys to demystify and enliven the research process. The authors describe their engagement with archives of many kinds, with pleasure but without underestimating the hard work involved. Nomalanga Mkhize tells of how school history did not speak to her the way her father's knowledge of places and spaces did. Another fascinating story is that of Sekiba Lekgoati, whom Kros and Wright interviewed over a number of days. The format of the interview

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1   This is a concept I taught to Grade 9s.

adds to the feeling of being in the room with the people involved. The title of the interview is, *From herd boy to professor*, which says it all. The editors' commentaries thread throughout the book, integrating the insights of the contributors as well as their own.

One of the most readable and sophisticated pieces is that of recording and writing African history from the 1800s. Each phase is carefully contextualized. The debates about decolonizing knowledge, particularly history, emerged from the #Fees Must Fall student movement from 2015 onwards. There is ongoing dissatisfaction with existing history, which, they argue is written and taught from the perspectives of the colonisers. They see the "elders"' as important sources of alternative, decolonised knowledge, though these also have their limitations (Chapters 4 and 19). These critiques can be read alongside *The Black archive* (pages 51-52).

What constitutes an archive?

In the last two decades or so, the term "archive" has been expanded to include pictures, photographs, objects, maps, landscapes, rituals, songs, performances, oral testimony, in addition to books, collections of papers and museum holdings. This requires an interdisciplinary approach to research and exhibitions, among other activities. Many of the archives have digitized their collections. One of the most impressive is the Rock Art Research Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand, and the wonderful *The Archive in Pictures: A Visual Essay*, picks up the themes in this book comprehensively.(Chapter 21). Student unrest and Covid have pushed academics and teachers to reconceptualise their teaching and research for an online medium.

Reading ethnologists and missionaries

While all the contributions and commentaries in the book have merit, a couple of topics in *Archives* stand out. One is the concern of a number of ethnologists, missionaries, and ethnologist-missionaries, all male[2], about the loss of African "cultures" in the face of industrialisation and urbanisation. The question of the relationship of authors with their material and how the material can be seen and used in different ways raises its head. Their work, mainly in the Transvaal and Lesotho, constitutes the only sources of Deep History, which has replaced the term "precolonial history", which implied that little significant history existed before colonists arrived.

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2   They are Nicolaas Van Warmelo, Paul-Lenert Breutz, Rev. Carel Hoffman, Rev. David Ellenberger and Rev. AT Bryant.

The relationship between the beliefs of the ethnologists and those of funders and the Native Affairs Department (NAD) raises the question: how they squared their spiritual beliefs with their attitudes towards their subjects. Two of them, Nicolaas van Warmelo and Paul-Lenert Breutz, both worked for Native Affairs for a long time. Van Warmelo was head of the Ethnological Section of the department. He studied the history and culture of the Transvaal Ndebele, but his influence lay in developing handbooks for administrators and magistrates on the location and culture of each "tribe" in the reserves. He also developed a research model that included a set of questions for interviewing chiefs and headmen. Breutz's work among the Setswana-speaking men used Van Warmelo's list of questions. The reports were sent to the NAD.

The Berlin Mission Society (BMS) sent many missionaries to the Transvaal, who acted as unpaid observers and witnesses to its Deep History. The BMS funded them and expected copious reports in exchange. Hoffman wrote many reports and articles for the BMS, including those about Northern Sotho speakers, and other projects such as compilations of folk-tales and a Sotho-German dictionary. It would be interesting to know whether these reports fed into the material used in the development of "Volkekunde" curricula in German universities during the 1920s and 1930s.[3]

David Ellenberger was a French-speaking priest in the Swiss Mission at Morija in Lesotho. As a missionary, he studied the history and cultures of the Basuto. His magnum opus was *A History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern*, which was published in 1912. He also wrote two books about King Moshoeshoe. He wrote in Sotho, French and English. *The History of the Basuto* is still used as a source of Deep History.

In 1883 Rev Alfred Bryant joined the Trappist brethren and lived with them at a mission station at Marion Hill, Natal. In 1887 he was ordained as a Catholic missionary. His magnum opus was *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, published in 1929, with government funding. The book, shortened by the NAD before publication, covered events from the fifteen hundreds, up to the assassination of Shaka.

Most of the men[4] mentioned here regarded their subjects as inferior and uncivilised. (Ellenberger made some concessions regarding the Basuto. He saw them as the most civilised of all the "native tribes"). Yet they spent years collecting oral testimonies about every aspect of African lives and histories. However, those who wrote during the 1920s and 30s contributed directly or indirectly to the state project of "'retribalisation" via the

3 HF Verwoerd studied *Volkekunde* in Germany during the 1930s. It formed part of the Sociology curricula.
4 The men mentioned in this article did not interview women or ordinary people in general.

NAD[5]. How they were able to reconcile their views of Africans with their Christian faith and spiritual life is not clear.

These men used interlocuters when interviewing chiefs and headmen, even if the men could speak their languages. It is only recently that researchers have asked questions about who the interlocuters were and how their testimony and translations contributed to the overall reports and published material. It is difficult to find out much about them as, for example, only their first names appear in the researchers' notes.

All the material mentioned here has been used by historians until the present day. They afford indispensable sources of South Africa's Deep History. The questions asked by contemporaries should bear this in mind and contextualise the materials accordingly. The attempts by missionaries convert the people around them, which was their primary goal, should be seen in this context, (Chapters 6 - 9).

Imagining Mapungubwe

This excellent piece is particularly relevant for teachers. The author makes two salient points about how Mapungubwe is treated in the CAPS Social Sciences and History curricula. The first is that Mapungubwe is dealt with early – Grade 6 (Standard Four). The second is that this is the history of elites only. This chapter is a great source for reconceptualising what is in the curriculum. Hard-pressed teachers do not have to carry out research on this topic – it's all there in Chapter 18.

Questioning archives

In Chapter 20 there is an outline of the fundamental questions that researchers should ask of an archive or a collection of archives in preparation for work which is both "hard and rewarding".

- What are the available resources?
- Who made them - when, where and why?
- Why have some sources survived and others not?
- What is the particular nature of the archives on South Africa's Deep History?

Engaging with archives has consequences

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5   The policy of "retribalisation" predated apartheid. The identification the location of distinct "tribes" and their cultures in the reserves made for easier for Native Administration.

This aspect of engaging with archives is not covered in the book. In this section, I will consider the impact of doing so. I will look at archives from the other end, so to speak.

To do so I go back to the year 1979, which was the centenary of the battle of Isandlwana, in the Anglo-Zulu War (January to July 1879)[6]. It was also the year historian Jeff Guy wrote his pioneering article on the causes of the War. In it, he argued that the war was not about neutralising the "warlike and thieving Zulu" who threatened Natal. Instead, the War aimed to destroy the Zulu kingdom to free up labour for Natal farmers and the Kimberley diamond fields.[7]

A history tour with an agenda: knowing and unknowing

In July 1979, four teachers (including Cynthia Kros and I) from two Johannesburg high schools took 25 standard tens on a tour of the battlefield and environs of the battle of Isandlwana. It is the site of the famous clash between the Zulu and British armies, and the only battle where the Zulus prevailed. While the archives had yet to be so broadly defined and the apartheid state tightened its hold on schooling, these teachers acted intuitively, engaging with people, landscapes, places and spaces. And so did the students.

The second part of our agenda was to expose the pupils to the aims and implementation of the homeland system. We planned to drive through Nquthu, then a rural slum about 50 kilometres from the battlefield. Before we embarked on the tour, we handed out Guy's article and briefed the pupils on the homeland system.

My first port of call had been the history master at St John's College who often took school tours of the Natal battlefields, including that of Isandlwana. I asked him how he dealt with the causes of the Anglo-Zulu war. "Oh no", he said, " We don't do causes." I was speechless.

The tour started on a high note. At the entrance we met an elderly man with his grandson.[8] He gave an account of the battle from the Zulu perspective. I remember how he described the way the Zulu army came over the Nquthu plateau, humming like bees. A regiment of British soldiers, which was camped below the Isandlwana hill, must have been terrified. They were also vulnerable because they were woefully short of ammunition. The

6 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Zulu_War

7 In 1979 I had a centenary pamphlet containing Guy's article but have been unable to find it. Guy's *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand 1879-1884*, is excellent, moving, and a great read.

8 The following year the elderly man was no longer at his post. His grandson had taken his place.

Zulus overran them and pursued them along the Buffalo River (a tributary of the Tugela) as they made for the mission station at Rorke's Drift. There are white cairns along the trail the soldiers took. Each cairn indicates where a British soldier fell.

We went on to walk up the Isandlwana hill. At the summit, a pupil took over the tour. He had acted in the film *Zulu Dawn*, so he was the ideal person to set the scene. He recommended that we walk to Rorke's Drift, following the cairns. He also reminded us that the battle took place during a torrid January, when the river would have been in full flood.

At this point the tour began to disintegrate. One party decided to follow the river rather than stick to the cairns. Two pupils promptly fell into the relatively shallow water. The other party found themselves sliding down the steep banks of the river and could not easily get up again. Eventually the two parties met up and we retired to our base, a converted convent in Dundee.

The next morning, we set out for Nquthu. It was a rural slum where women and children had been dumped after being sent "home"' from the "'white" cities. Their menfolk, working in the mines as migrant labourers, were absent. I was a naive 24-year-old teacher who had not prepared the pupils and the teachers sufficiently for what we might find. Also, I did not think about what it would look like having white teenagers gawking at the population of this sad place. The atmosphere in Nquthu was one of resentment, lethargy and anger. We left there as soon as we could.

That evening, the pupils were somewhat subdued. One young man with tears in his eyes came to me. "Ma'am," he said, "how can you unknow what you know now?" Behind this question was another: "How will I fit in as a young white man, now that I know something new and upsetting?" Our archives around us and our readings had affected him deeply. Many years later we met on Facebook, and he told me that the tour had changed his life. This is an extreme example, but it illustrates the fact that engaging archives can be life-changing.

Engaging archives can confirm the trajectory of a person's research. However, the process may require a different direction, which could undermine the original thesis. Or the researcher could decide to "follow the archives" and produce an almost entirely new work. Amanda Esterhuysen tells of her excavation of the cave of the Kekana people, where they were besieged by the Boers in 1854. Boer accounts of the siege, Kekana oral testimony, and human and other remains in the cave create a fascinating story, which had, until then, been told only from the Boer perspective. However, her journey was not over yet. She presented her findings to the Kekana Royal Council, but there was a split in the Council. The two sides argued about the reburial of the human remains. So, the remains reside in the

care of the University of the Witwatersrand, until the factions can come to some agreement. (Chapter 14)

What is missing from *Archives*?

Archives does not cover the Eastern or Western Cape areas. Perhaps including them would have made the book unwieldy. I hope that the editors (or a new set) will compile a volume that includes these areas.

Who should read and/or buy this book?

I recommend *Archives* to a wide range of people, including academics, teachers and students, but its accessible nature means that people, such as Grade 12s, would enjoy it and It could provide a basis for their history projects. Members of the public who read history and archeology for pleasure would find it fascinating. I urge you to buy it; it could transform your approach to history education.

TEACHERS VOICE / HANDS-ON ARTICLES

Unveiling The Tapestry: Nurturing Empathy and Perspective Through School History

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Learners often experience history as remote. In a constantly progressing world, many of them view the past as a record of a primitive existence that preceded inventions and technologies that are commonplace today. In a TED presentation Patrick Allitt points out that the generations that lived through those changes considered their world as "not in the least primitive" (Allitt, 2019).

The history educator plays a seminal role in guiding learners to make sense of the world. The current generation is part of the continuity of history. What they view as the forefront of progress, when seen through the prism of hindsight, makes the past seem less primitive and remote (Allitt, 2019). History should be taught as an experiential exercise. The history educator must encourage learners to place themselves in the shoes of those who participated in the unfolding past (Ketchell, 2014). Teaching empathy opens a perspective and ability to understand the world and people. W & A Durant postulated that "total perspective is an optical illusion. We do not know the whole of man's history" (Durant, 1968). The history educator can only present snapshots of the past. Being able to view the past through a lens of empathy, builds a gentler, kinder outlook on humanity. Robert Burns, reflecting on human perspectives, puts it as follows:

> *"O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us*
> *To see oursels as others see us!*
>
>   (Burns, 1786)

The converse is equally valid: Would that students of history also see others as they see **them**selves.

As an accurate predictor of the future history has failed dismally. Attempts have been

made to apply lessons from the past. However, to what extent have the **correct lessons** been learnt? "History doesn't teach us tidy lessons" (Allitt, 2019). Allitt cites examples of humanity having based critical decisions on erroneous conclusions drawn from past mistakes. Prior to the First World War technological advancements had placed subsequent combatants on a hair trigger alert. They believed whoever mobilised first would have an overwhelming and overpowering advantage. A war that was expected to conclude quickly, dragged on and left more than twenty million dead. Before the Second World War, the leaders of Europe attempted to avoid the mistake of rushing into combat. Appeasement of Hitler's aggression precipitated an even greater conflagration after the Nazis had been allowed to rearm themselves and bludgeon their neighbours. That war left over sixty million dead. Erroneous lessons were repeated prior to the Vietnam War too. The domino theory was a refinement of a policy to eschew appeasement. Getting into conflict too early in that instance, led to a war of attrition from which the USA withdrew ignominiously.

Another failure to extract the correct lessons from history concerns the abuse of propaganda. During the First World War, stories about German atrocities abounded. Many of these stories made their way into sermons from the pulpit, giving them credence. Germans were portrayed as uncivilised beasts. A few years after the armistice most of these stories were debunked. The conclusion that could be reached is that people rushed to judgment. Seemingly "far-fetched" stories ought to be treated with caution by historians. When rumours of genocide against the Jews surfaced during the Second World War, these were met by disbelief. Liberation uncovered overwhelming evidence of the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis. In this instance the pendulum had swung too far in the opposite direction. Having been too credulous during the Great War, humanity had become too disbelieving during the Second World War (Allitt, 2019).

History is indeed not an accurate predictor of the future. Learners need to scrutinise historical evidence and temper their conclusions with awareness of the world's complexity. The future unfolds in mysterious ways. Sensitise learners to the complexity of humanity; encourage appropriate questions. Neither be too credulous nor too sceptical. A first-person narrative in which learners don the boots of previous generations would enhance empathy, reason, knowledge, and debate. Any action is fraught with risk, but assiduous reasoning promotes a fortuitous outcome.

"History is written by the victors" is a truism. Progress is not a record of an unfolding higher virtue. Self-satisfying elevated morality is not an inevitable outcome. Good does not always prevail over evil. History rarely provides such satisfying outcomes.

Learners should grasp that the conflict is often between "right" and "right". Soldiers

rarely believe they are fighting for a doomed cause. Were learners to empathize with *Wehrmacht* troops, they would understand that Nazi propaganda encouraged belief in the virtue of their cause. Both losers and victors in great human contests invoked God on their behalf with equal enthusiasm. Those losers were eclipsed by a morality that appears to self-evidently occupy a higher moral plane. (Allitt, 2019)

Tidy lessons from past mistakes need to be treated with caution, given humanity's complexity. Learners need to ask appropriate questions and analyse the rationale behind actions. They need to appreciate the intricacies of human behaviour. It is the educator's role to give children the wherewithal to educate themselves. In his book *Africa First* Jakkie Cilliers notes that in education models bequeathed to Africa "we find a commitment to **first teach learners how to learn**" (Cilliers, 2020). Classroom practices must foster a love for learning and provide the means to engage critically. History teachers should promote empathy, compassion, and critical thinking.

Unveiling the tapestry of a complex world is achieved by viewing it through various lenses.

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An analysis of gender bias in Kenyan History textbooks and its implication for the youth

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Introduction

Over the past decade as a history teacher, my attention has been drawn to my students having little or no information about female leaders in world politics. Girls in my classes in particular have consistently stated that politics is a dirty game not to be ventured by women. Arguably, such views negatively impact girls' aspirations to be politicians, or to vie for elective seats. This undermines Kenya's Constitution which calls for gender parity in all elective positions.

The above sentiments by my students motivated me to critically examine the role of the curriculum and textbooks in influencing Kenya's youth, and its implications on gender relations. The curriculum is a central component of the education system since it provides children with role models, aspirations, and moral values (Dawar et al., 2017). Consequently, this shapes students' self-image, behaviour, aspirations, and expectations. At the same time, schools also serve as agents of socialisation.

Curriculum and textbook studies have consistently underscored a significant, nearly ubiquitous gender bias. According to Shaffer and Shevitz (2001), both the formal and hidden curriculum can contain gender bias, potentially hindering the learning and educational opportunities of all students. Women have achieved considerable milestones in various fields, but history books are biased toward them (Lisanza, 2021). Bloomberg (2008) suggests that teachers and students spend an average of 70%–90% of their classroom time interacting with textbooks. Textbooks as educational tools significantly influence teachers' teaching methods and shape students' ideologies (Rong et al 2021). History textbooks, in particular, play a pivotal role in shaping and legitimising historical contexts and defining societal roles (Pamuk, 2021).

Osler (1994) identifies several areas of gender bias within the curriculum, including exclusion/invisibility, imbalance/selection, linguistic bias, stereotypes, unreality, and

fragmentation/isolation. He recommends a multifaceted approach to teaching history, encompassing political, economic, technological, scientific, social, religious, cultural, and aesthetic perspectives. This is at the expense of a disproportionate focus on political history, such as wars, which may contribute to bias against women's historical contributions (Osler, 1994).

The Case of Kenya

In order to understand how women and girls are portrayed in the Kenyan history curriculum, I examined one history textbook that is widely used in secondary schools—namely, *The Evolving World*, Book 3 and Book 4. The book contains the following forms of gender biases:

Linguistic Bias: While there has been some progress in adopting gender-neutral terms and avoiding overtly sexist language, there is a need for improvement for a more balanced historical record. The textbook incorporates neutral terms such as 'chairperson' in descriptions. However, this represents only partial progress towards a deeper understanding of women's lives in the past.

Quantitative Discrimination: The textbook displays quantitative discrimination against women since they are few compared to their male counterparts. For example, in the topic 'Lives and contributions of Kenyan leaders', the book highlights the role of five males as compared to one female leader. In the topic 'Formation, structure and functions of the government of Kenya', no single woman is mentioned compared to 18 men whose names are given as examples. The trend is repeated in other topics.

Gender Stereotypes: Topics related to politics, governance, and leadership predominantly focus on men, depicting them as leaders within communities and political associations, and as warriors who fought against colonial domination. Women are portrayed as wives, mothers, and sisters to male leaders. This portrayal perpetuates the notion of leadership as a masculine attribute, emphasising traits like competition and violence in the political arena. The textbook narrows down on Wangari Maathai as a female Kenyan leader, but the focus is on her conservation activities rather than on politics. The topic 'Social, economic and political developments in Kenya since independence' gives elaborate examples of men in the political arena (33 men versus three women). In contrast, women are widely discussed in making contribution in the field of athletics, music, and in the film industry, with 22 women acknowledged as excelling in the social spheres of life.

Exclusion and Invisibility: The textbook often renders women invisible, thus

undervaluing women's contributions and experiences. This despite scholarly documentation of the lives and contribution of women in Kenya throughout the country's history. The sub-topics on settler agriculture, land policies, education and health, urbanisation and railway building, for instance, ignore women's experiences during the colonial period. Colonial policies such as heavy taxation and forced labour negatively affected women's positions and roles in the society. Rather, the book focuses on men's experiences and impacts on men's positions and roles. Chelagat Mutai, Micere Mugo, and Charity Ngilu are stated as examples in the struggle for multiparty democracy but with great exclusion of their contributions. Women are totally invisible in the topics such as 'National philosophies', 'Devolved government', and 'Public revenue and expenditure'.

Fragmentation/Isolation and Tokenism: The text evaluates 'Political developments and the struggle for independence in Kenya through movements such as the Mau Mau'. The sub-topic 'Women's role in Mau Mau' segregates females rather than integrating them into the main historical narrative. The textbook states "*as we shall see later, women supported the movement so generously*" (p. 114). This fragmentation diminishes the significance of women's contributions to history. Wangari Maathai's sub-topic is an example of tokenism, whereby an author includes one popular woman in the text in an attempt of achieving gender equity. There are several noteworthy women in Kenyan history, such as Charity Ngilu, Martha Karua, Chelagat Mutai, Wambui Otieno, among many more.

Imbalance/Selectivity: While men's struggles for independence, democracy, and good governance receive substantial attention in the textbook, women's efforts toward equality in all spheres of life are overlooked. Gender inequality, a prominent issue in Kenya, is rarely discussed, even though it could be integrated into various topics. Change in gender roles, female genital mutilation, and gender inequality are mentioned as impacts with no further discussions. These factors act as barriers to the achievement of gender equality in the modern world. The book is silent on gender-based violence more so in the political arena, undermining the concept of free and just elections.

Unreality: Controversial topics such as gender discrimination and prejudice are either dismissed or avoided in the textbook. The absence of discussions on gender-based violence and the 2/3 gender rule means that students are deprived of critical knowledge about societal beliefs and discrimination, hindering their understanding of complex problems in society. Female genital mutilation is stated as a major grievance during the colonial period, however, the book does not delve further into the topic as a serious human rights violation against women and its effects. For example, the book states that: "*The female circumcision controversy in Central Kenya was one of the factors that aroused deep hostility. Africans were*

ready to uphold their cultural values at any cost. To demonstrate their seriousness, the Africans at the Kijabe AIM stronghold forcefully circumcised an elderly white missionary woman. She later died due to heavy bleeding." (p. 111)

Visual Representation: The textbook features few pictures of women, and when they are depicted visually, it is either in stereotypical traditional roles or negatively portrayed as barbaric and lacking any modern career aspirations. Out of the nine pictures of women in the textbook, only one bears a name. The majority are random pictures of women as advocates of female circumcision, while others are performing traditional roles. In addition, four pictures present women wearing traditional attires while brandishing knives for FGM, or dancing, whereas male visual images depict modernity in terms of dressing, diverse professions and with each picture bearing a name and title. This is clearly demonstrated in the following figures.

Fig. 5.1 A woman displaying her dance

Fig. 5.16 Marshal Muthoni (centre) with other Mau-Mau activists

Fig. 4.0   Traditional female circumcision

ig. 7.15   Prof. Wangari Maathai during one of
her tree planting campaigns

Conclusion

Addressing gender bias in history textbooks, both in textual content and visual representation, is not only essential for promoting gender equality but also crucial for providing students, especially girls, with inspiring role models. Gender-biased textbooks at secondary school level are a great disservice to the girl-child as they omit or under-represent women's contributions to Kenyan history.

Gender bias can also influence boys' perceptions and attitudes towards gender equality. Internalised unequal gender norms among boys can lead to harmful behaviours such as gender-based violence. GBV is a serious violation of human rights and a public health concern.

Publishers and teachers should pay attention to the portrayal of women's roles, positions, and narratives in textbooks to ensure a balanced and comprehensive representation.

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A reflection on the use of *Amandla!*: *A Revolution in Four-Part* Harmony and South African music produced in the 1950s to 1990s in the history classroom

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Introduction

The South African History grade 9 curriculum covers apartheid South Africa from its inception in 1948 and focuses on the introduction of segregationist laws and changes in resistance against the apartheid government from the 1940s to the 1970s in South Africa. When teaching about apartheid in schools, there tends to be a focus on the big-man approach and history textbooks provide a patriarchal and Eurocentric voice to history in the classroom. As a reflection of this approach, in prescribing such content the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) Social Sciences Final Draft (n.d :11) does not make reference to how music played a role or how music can be used as a teaching resource for this topic.

The purpose of this paper is to provide history educators with a different approach to teach apartheid in grade 9 and to share resources that I have used in my classroom with the hope that this will provide an in-depth understanding of all the stakeholders involved in the struggle against apartheid. This teaching method has allowed for a better engagement when dealing with history and for better retention of knowledge for some of my learners who struggle with a content-heavy subject.

According to Collinson (2023), films and music can be used in the classroom as an icebreaker to set the tone and to explore questions of representation, to tell stories, and to make theory tangible. Building on this view, I argue that the use of music and films

within the history classroom should be seen as a mechanism to allow for inclusion as it enhances learning and cultivates discussions and inquiry in learners. Their use allows for the inclusion of historical figures who might have not been widely known while facilitating learners' engagement. This is facilitated by the fact that music is relatable to all the learners and easily accessible. Music pieces tend to be short, hence they can be applied to a 45–55 minute lesson while learners can easily go back and listen to the same films and songs after the lesson.

The Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble and the Amandla Cultural Ensemble

Such a lesson could look at the role of music in the resistance against the apartheid government through the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble and the Amandla Cultural Ensemble. They would allow learners to explore ways in which culture was actively recruited to promote the anti-apartheid struggle internationally.

The Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble was a London-based ANC grouping that achieved considerable success in Europe with its agitprop performances incorporating narrative, poetry, and song. Mayibuye was established in early 1975, and despite its rapidly shifting and amateur membership the Ensemble was able to function successfully for approximately five years, raise international awareness about the anti-apartheid cause, and simultaneously raise consciousness within the movement about the practical ways in which cultural activity could further the struggle of national liberation.

The Amandla Cultural Ensemble, on its part, was formed in the late 1970s amongst ANC exiles based largely in Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)4 training camps in Angola. This Ensemble was led for much of its existence by trombonist Jonas Gwangwa. Amandla Cultural Ensemble became a popular ambassador for the ANC throughout Africa and further afield in Europe, South America, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere. Unlike Mayibuye, it offered large-scale, increasingly professionalised performances incorporating choral singing, jazz, theatre, and dance. Its performances were intended not only to raise international awareness about apartheid but also to present an alternative vision of a more dynamic, inclusive South African culture.

This examination of the ANC's two professional ensembles thus represents an initial contribution towards understanding a significant dimension of South African cultural and political life, namely, the deliberate and focused role that music was mobilised to play in the struggle. The development and activities of these two groups also sheds some light on the

ANC itself, its changing attitudes towards culture, and its broader diplomatic strategies in exile.

How can teachers use films and music as a teaching resource in the history classroom?

The first step when teaching this topic is to start with the textbook content and touch on the union of South Africa in 1910 and the formation of the ANC in 1912. It is crucial to pinpoint the presence of segregation in Southern Africa within this period and before the implementation of apartheid in 1948 and how resistance would change from negotiations and petitions to an armed struggle in the 1960s, while making reference to the various historical events that explain these changes in resistance.

After covering the content on the implementation of apartheid and changes in resistance, and before starting with content on the Sharpeville massacre and silent 1960s, the educator can introduce the film *Amandla: A revolution in four-part harmony* to the learners and list aspects that the learners need to look out for as a way to guide them through the film.

After the film, it is important to debrief and reflect on learners' experiences of the film. For this purpose, the 1 2 3 key feedback activity is a useful tool. The activity allows for learners to individually reflect in writing. After the debrief, it is crucial to implement what has been learnt in the film in a test format. I was able to achieve this by creating sources that included some of the songs that they heard in the film and asking learners questions that they would normally have to answer in a source-based questions test.

Lesson Plan

Objective:
To introduce students to the concept of four-part harmony and its significance in cultural and historical contexts, using clips from the documentary film *Amandla: A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony.*

Materials:
Projector or screen
Access to the documentary film *Amandla: A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony*
Whiteboard and markers

Activity Outline:

Introduction and screening of the *Amandla Four-Part Harmony* **(1 hour 20 minutes)**
Amandla: A four-part Harmony

Begin the class by asking students if they have any prior knowledge or experiences related to the role of music in the apartheid struggle. Write their responses on the whiteboard.

Discuss the importance of harmony in music, how it creates depth and complexity, and how it can convey emotions and cultural significance.

Divide the class into smaller groups (if applicable), and provide each group with a specific question or theme related to the film.

For example:
- What was apartheid, and how did it affect the people of South Africa?
- How did music play a role in the anti-apartheid movement?
- What are some examples of songs or artists that were significant during this period?
- How did the four-part harmony style of singing symbolise unity and resistance?
- How did four-part harmony contribute to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa?
- What role did music play in the political and social movements depicted in the film?
- How was music used to resist the Group areas act?
- In what ways can music be a form of protest and social activism?

Start screening the documentary. Encourage students to take notes during the film and pay particular attention to their assigned themes or questions.

Source-Based Question Activity

Source A
Song by Vusi Mahlasela *When You Come Back* taken from Lyrics.com
Listen online- https://www.lyrics.com/lyric/2165407/Vusi+Mahlasela/

When+You+Come+Back#google_vignette

This is the unknown grave
The one who died maintaining his might
His will being so strong and musically inclined
His sad melodies coming out like smoke from the wood fire
And he sang

Mayibuye iAfrica, sing now Africa
Sing loud, sing to the people
Let them give something to the world and not just take from it

And we'll ring the bells when you come back
We'll beat the drums when you come back home

We'll ring the bells when you come back
We'll beat the drums when you come back home

We'll ring the bells when you come back
We'll beat the drums when you come back home

Our lost African music will turn into the music of the people
Yes, the people's music, for the people's culture
And I'll be the one who'll climb up the mountain
Reaching for the top of our Africa dais
While the poor women working for the lazy
Lord sing

Africa sing, Africa sing
Sing, sing Africa, sing, sing Africa
Let this illusion of memory be over from the people's minds and souls

Our lost African music will turn into the music of the people
Yes, the people's music, for the people's culture
And I'll be the one who'll climb up the mountain

Reaching for the top of our Africa dais
While the poor women working for the lazy
Lord sing

Africa sing, Africa sing
Sing, sing Africa, sing, sing Africa
Let this illusion of memory be over from the people's minds and souls

And we'll ring the bells when you come back
(When you come back)
We'll beat the drums when you come back
(When you come back)

We'll ring the bells when you come back
(When you come back)
We'll beat the drums when you come back
(When you come back)

1.   What message is conveyed in the source?
2.   Who is the author referring to when he speaks of the unknown grave?
3.   Why will they ring the bells?

Source B
Meadowlands song written by Nancy Jacobs
Taken from Genius.com, https://genius.com/Mango-groove-meadowlands-lyrics

O tla utlwa makgowa a re "Are yeng ko Meadowlands" O tla utlwa makgowa a re "Are yeng ko Meadowlands"	[Verse 1] Have you heard what the white people say? "Let's all go to Meadowlands" Have you heard what the white people say? "Let's all go to Meadowlands"

Meadowlands, Meadowlands
Meadowlands, sithandwa sam
Meadowlands, Meadowlands
Meadowlands, sithandwa sam

O tlwa utlwa botsotsi ba re (Eita!)
"Ons gaan nie; on phola hier"
O tlwa utlwa botsotsi ba re (Eita!)
"Ons dak ni; ons phola hier"

Phola hier, phola hier
Phola hier sithandwa sam
Phola hier, phola hier
Phola hier sithandwa sam

O tla utlwa makgowa a re
"Are yeng ko Meadowlands"
O tla utlwa makgowa a re
"Are yeng ko Meadowlands"

Meadowlands, Meadowlands
Meadowlands, sithandwa sam
Meadowlands, Meadowlands
Meadowlands, sithandwa sam

[Chorus]
Meadowlands, Meadowlands
Meadowlands, our beloved place
Meadowlands, Meadowlands
Meadowlands, our beloved place

[Verse 2]
Have you heard what the hoodlums say?
(Go!)
"We're not going! We're chilling here"
Have you heard what the hoodlums say?
(Go!)
"We're not leaving! We'll chill right here"

[Chorus]
Chill right here, chill right here
Chill right here in our beloved place
Chill right here, chill right here
Chill right here in our beloved place

[Bridge]

You might also like
Kinders van die Wind / Children of the
Wind (English translation)
Mango Groove
MY EYES
Travis Scott
TELEKINESIS
Travis Scott

	[Coda] Meadowlands (Meadowlands) Meadowlands (Meadowlands) Meadowlands, our beloved place Meadowlands (Meadowlands) Meadowlands (Meadowlands) Meadowlands, our beloved place

1.   Explain why Meadowlands would be considered a protest song.
2.   What was the message of the protest song *Meadowlands*?
3.   Where is Meadowlands situated?
4.   What apartheid law do you think the song makes reference to?
5.   What laws focused on forced removals during the apartheid era?
6.   What role did music play in resisting apartheid laws?
7.   Do you think the use of music as a form of protest was effective and why?

1 2 3 key Feedback activity

Instructions

Give learners half a page of paper then ask them to write down their answers to the questions below.

1- Name one thing that touched you the most in the film
2- Two things that changed your perspective on how you saw apartheid
3- Three emotions that you felt while watching the film

Using the answers from the 1 2 3 key create a silent conversation activity where the answers to the feedback activity are shared among different groups in the classroom. The learners need to make comments on what their peers have shared by writing down their thoughts next to the feedback provided by others.

Concluding reflections

The use of music and the *Amandla: A revolution in four-part harmony* film in the classroom allows for constructivism as a theory to come to life. The film allowed for me as an educator to be a facilitator in the discussion around the role that music played in the struggle against the apartheid government. The learners were able to learn through the experiences of music written in the 1950s through the 1990s as various artists spoke about love, hope, the need to continue fighting, and to tell a story about what was happening in South Africa during the period of apartheid.

Through watching this film, learners in my classroom were able to relate the lyrics of the various songs to various parts of history or periods during the apartheid struggle. For example, they could relate the forced removals in Sophiatown and the lyrics of Meadowlands. Constructivism was evident in the classroom in that the learners were able to learn through the reflections of others, in this case artists who contributed to the music that would give hope to the population of South Africa during the apartheid struggle.

One of my grade 9 classes noted how some of the speakers in the film could not converse in English and the accent was very different compared to what they were used to, therefore they mocked them. This allowed for the question of why this is the case. In my classroom, this created an opportunity to have a discussion on what happened after 1967 when many young people would decide to leave the country to join the MK and Poqo in the armed struggle. It allows for a conversation on the sacrifice that those who joined the struggle had to make, including abandoning their education and leaving their families behind.

I encourage my fellow history educators to recognise and give voice to the power of music and its historical role in their classrooms. In my experience, our learners stand to learn a lot from such teachings.

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CONFERENCE REPORTS

Conference report: 5th Afrika Association for History Education (AHE) International conference 02-04 August 2023

The 5th Afrika Association for History Education (AHE) international conference held from 2–4 August 2023 brought together history educationists from Africa and globally. The three-day conference was global, with participants from Britain, France, Portugal, and Africa. The African countries represented included South Africa, Zambia, Malawi, Eswatini, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mauritius, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya. The attendees ranged from secondary school teachers to university lecturers, history education researchers, and curriculum developers. Among key attendees were the UNESCO associate project officers from Paris, Ms Heather Mann and Mr Ngandeu Ngatta Hugue of the UNESCO Regional Office for Eastern Africa.

The Kenyatta University Vice Chancellor, Prof. Paul Wanaina, opened the conference. In his address, he underscored the place of history education, especially its role in reshaping the future. The guest speaker, Prof. Erick Masinde of Africa International University, set the tone and direction of the conference. His talk was anchored in the conference's theme: politics, policies, and practices. He argued that studying history should transform leadership, research, and nation-building. The subject is vital in policy formulation, enhancing national consciousness, and creating a just and equitable society and a national culture. He contended that history should be studied using an interdisciplinary approach and that educators of the discipline should be engaged in formulating theories of history education. The presentation was motivating, engaging, and an eye-opener on the place of history in societal development.

The AHE co-chair, Doctor Denise Bentrovato (University of Pretoria), delivered the

first keynote address which focused on history education for African renaissance and global citizenship: "Colonial durabilities and the promises of repositioning Africa in world and global history". This presentation allowed the delegates to think about African history and where Africa positions itself on the global stage. It brought up gaps and silences in the continent's history and the curricula of other countries.

Professor Maurice Amutabi of the Technical University of Kenya delivered the final keynote address. His paper was entitled "Teaching history and historicising historical facts historically". He emphasised the importance of presenting African images in history positively. Using examples from the United States of America, he explained how they recreate people's ideas to have a positive impact, especially on leadership. He argued that we can decolonise the portrayal of African images in history books and even media through embellishment. This placed history education within the Kenyan context and helped the audience to draw a link between the Kenya situation and the case in their own countries.

The conference used a blended model, with about ten papers being presented online compared to twenty-nine face-to-face. The presentations were split into fourteen panels, with twelve running concurrently in two different venues. This allowed the delegates to select which panels they would like to attend based on their research interests. These themes allowed for numerous academic discussions following the presentations.

During the parallel sessions across the three-day conference, papers focused on the specific aspects that sparked insightful debates and discussions that left the delegates and the attendees with many interesting points of view to consider moving forward.

The presentations were dominated by the sub-themes on democracy and social cohesion, silences, and invisibilities in African history education and the related sub-theme—decolonising history education in Africa and beyond. The participation of secondary school teachers, both locally and internationally, was a vital feature of the conference. The papers they presented dealt with issues related to teaching the subject in terms of their preparedness and the gaps and biases in history curricula and textbooks used at the secondary school level. Their presentations created a lot of interest and discussions and provided an opportunity to learn what happens in the history classrooms in Kenya and Africa.

Although there were presentations on all the sub-themes, some areas in the sub-themes needed to attract paper, including the following: contemporary politics, government policies, issues of truth, citizenship education, lifelong learning and sustainable development, African consciousness, African renaissance, and lessons from COVID-19 and other pandemics. Other omissions were on in-service teaching and creative and innovative

practices in history education. These areas need to be researched for future presentations in history education conferences.

The strength of the conference was adequate time assigned to presenters, unlike in other meetings where people are given ten minutes or less to discuss their papers. The additional strength was the calibre of people it attracted. Getting teachers to attend conferences, make presentations, and even contribute to discussions is rare. Third, there was a workshop and a book launch at the meeting. Dr Bentrovato organised the seminar on teaching to prevent atrocity crimes in Africa and the promises of the pedagogical use of the general history of Africa. The book launched was *Teaching to prevent atrocity crimes: a guide for teachers in Africa*. To crown it all, the group visited the Nairobi Museum, where there was much learning on Kenyan history. However, the conference faced one shortfall: failure to ensure that only registered participants presented their online and face-to-face papers. It has been difficult following up on no payments to date. Time management was also an issue which affected the smooth running of some activities.

Generally, the conference successfully fulfilled its objectives of providing a unique forum for scholars, teachers, and curricular developers to share and deliberate on various issues in history education about politics, policies, and practices in Kenya and other African countries. It created awareness of the imperative role of history in education. It led to the conclusion by educationists who were not historians that it should be made a compulsory subject in the curriculum. This conference encouraged continued collaborations and networking and the creation of new linkages for improved research in history education among individuals, institutions, and nations. One significant outcome of this fifth conference will be establishing the AHE-Afrika Kenya chapter.

Conference Report: The 37th South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) Conference 03–04 October 2023

The 37th South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) conference welcomed delegates from across South Africa and international institutions from 03–04 October 2023. Most of the representatives, specialising in history education or history research, were placed in sub-categories based on the abstracts presented at the beginning of the year. They worked as a collective within these subgroups to impart their specific knowledge to academically hungry audiences. The theme of this year's conference posed the question, "*History Education, where are we going?*" This theme is vital, especially with the promise of a new history curriculum being in the works. The categories that the conference used to group the delegates were as follows:

- the history curriculum and its purpose within the history classroom
- four poster presentations touched on historical consciousness, controversial issues, and sports history
- challenges with teaching history
- the history teachers, both in-service teachers and preservice teachers
- second-order historical concepts
- controversial issues

The conference was attended by 70 attendees, from preservice teachers to curriculum designers, postgraduate students, university lecturers, and historical researchers across South Africa and the globe. With this tremendous turnout, 41 presentations took place over the two-day conference.

The keynote address presented by Professor June Bam of the University of Johannesburg, who opened the conference, was nothing less than robust. Professor Bam spoke about the

multiple silences in South African History, emphasising the silence of women and the marginalised communities within South Africa that have almost no presence in school history.

During the parallel sessions across the two days, papers were delivered focusing on one of the elements mentioned above, which allowed the presenters twenty minutes each to present and ten minutes for any questions that may have emerged during the presentation of the paper. The posters and presentations allowed for lively discussions and questions of clarity to be asked by all who attended the session of their choice. This allowed for a mutual learning environment for the audience and the presenters themselves, as insight was given from multiple perspectives as the audience ranged from preservice teachers to historical researchers in academia.

"My experience at the SASHT conference as a Teacher in Training was genuinely enriching. Initially, being surrounded by experienced academics and educators of such calibre felt daunting. However, by the end of the conference, I was assured of the value and place teachers in training held at the meeting, especially as invaluable contributors. One of my highlights was a particularly enthralling presentation, now among my top 3 personal favourites from the conference. This presentation was delivered by a panel of JGF fellows and proved the remarkable talent from which the education sector benefits, thanks to JGF's support.

I had a fascinating personal conversation with Prof. Jansen during the conference. We discussed a master's presentation focusing on Novice teachers and their handling of controversial topics. I contributed to our discussion by suggesting that examining experienced teachers' ability to teach controversial issues effectively is equally important. I also questioned what their presence, or sometimes lack of transformation, means for the educational change of Historical Consciousness in the broader teaching of History. In summary, it is clear that JGF undoubtedly adds value wherever they are involved. #iJGFYethu." - Siphesihle Tlisane's reflection as a PGCE student

The conference went well, given that the conference organisers were located in three universities in South Africa. The success of this conference was due to the dynamic personalities between the organising partners and the assistance provided by Dr Valencia Mabalanes' final-year students, who assisted with the registration of the delegates and the general tasks required at a conference of this magnitude. The social aspects of the meeting were successful as the representatives ranged from former SASHT members and new

representatives who attended their first conference. This allowed networking channels to be established and older tracks to be reopened.

The 37th South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) Conference 03–04 October 2023

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

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Where to From Here? – The metaphorical 'Good Wind' as a cognitive embodiment of 'deep listening' in the archive

Good morning, colleagues, and thank you to the SASHT for this honour to address you at this important conference as the keynote speaker. I have arrived here to address you today with a long journey of working in history education and historiography over a number of decades behind me.

Some of you may know that my long journey started way back when I co-authored my first book for high school teachers with fellow school teacher Pippa Visser. It was in 1995, shortly after the first democratic elections in South Africa. That book with its glossy rainbow colours cover titled *A new history for a new South Africa* (Kagiso) was published almost 30 years ago, and I would, of course, write many things differently today. I was a young history school teacher on the Cape Flats then, and Pippa was teaching at a Model C school. The book was informed by our vastly different backgrounds and experiences in South Africa, but I think that chapter 5 in our book titled 'The things we call each other: The problem with terminology in the new history' is still very relevant in South Africa today, as we now have to witness the shocking scourge of xenophobia and racism within our own communities. We should perhaps consider to make this chapter available again to school teachers in South Africa today. Who would have thought we would have arrived at this surprising point almost 30 years later?

From that publication, I went on to contribute to a number of books relevant to interdisciplinary scholarship in history education and historiography—notably three recent books after the #Rhodes Must Fall student campaigns in 2015 for a departure from

Eurocentric education: one, an edited volume with Lungisile Ntsebeza and Alan Zinn as editors, *Whose history counts: Decolonizing precolonial historiography* published in 2018, followed in 2021 by a second one informed by feminist historiography which I edited with Bernadette Muthien titled *Rethinking Africa: Indigenous women re-interpret southern Africa's pasts*. I then went on to publish a monograph Ausi told me: *Why Cape herstoriographies matter in that same year*, which was joint winner of the National Institute for Human and Social Sciences (NIHSS) 2023 Best Non-fiction Monograph Award. These books were all inspired by my passion for strengthening history teaching and making it relevant to our society and the children we teach today in South Africa. One of my principles as a professionally trained school teacher is to never stop learning, even though I obtained my PhD way back more than twenty years ago.

My scholarship and way of thinking in history education have been enriched especially over recent years since working with indigenous scholars from Namibia, Ghana, Kenya, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the UK, and the USA. My scholarship interactions with these scholars have helped me to critically trouble the disciplines and about how we think of knowledges and their validation; to ask more critical questions about whose voices and knowledges get marginalised, how such erasure impacts on society and well-being, and how we could better understand the most recent and deep pasts by 'listening deeply'. A new awakening in 'deep listening' started for me with participation with 'First Nations' professors in a sacred pipe ceremony with Native American chiefs at the opening and closing of a conference at the University of Alberta in Canada—where time was consciously, as an intention, not hurried.

This philosophical departure resonates with the theoretical understanding of time as 'enfolded'—to quote South African historian Carolyn Hamilton in theorising the refiguration of the archive, and how we should critically engage it as a site of knowledge production rather than a site for extraction of knowledge per se. Or to see time differently such as in the Aboriginal Australian scholar Miriam Ungummer-Rose's expression in understanding 'deep listening' within the 'archive'—that you can't hurry the river. Western-based knowledge production processes work on the assumption of linear time as absolute and therefore the compulsion to extract 'objectively' from the institutionally validated and governed archive rather than to practice wider 'deep listening' within communities as 'holders' of knowledge. Within our context, in isiZulu, we speak of being mindful of practising *lalela*.

Lalela in history education helps students with developing more fully the history education skills within an African context. These include conceptually understanding

indigenous languages, developing empathy, applying appropriate and relevant analyses, practicing extrapolation ('since communities know or knew this, it might be true that …'), synthesis (bringing together and being able to explain what is known and what is not but what might be known), and judgment (being able to interpret beyond the conventional forms of 'evidence', and being able to also admit 'not knowing'). But how do we release development of these skills trapped within a western culture of knowledge production and validation based on the limitations of English as a hegemonic language and simplistic meanings? In hegemonic English and western methodologies, 'comprehension' means to 'understand the content'; empathy means to 'study others' with 'understanding of their situation or position'; 'comparison' is confined to 'identify contradictions or inconsistencies based on evidence'; 'analysis' is the compulsion to identify 'bias' in a simplistic sense based on 'evidence' in conventionally acceptable and defined 'sources'; the focus is on 'argument'; and conclusions are reached on 'evaluation of evidence' and conventionally-defined 'data'.

Lalela in history education encourages a different way of doing and knowing. In the 'deep listening' circles at the University of Alberta we formed research circles in which we dialogued in a Freirean sense (all with equal voices in the circles) but within methodologies rooted in indigenous feminist orality of the past and present through dialogues on metaphors of rivers, wind, and sky. This opened up an entirely new language as opposed to the restrictive and alienating scholarly references to 'primary source', 'secondary source', and 'objectivity'. Indigenous metaphors were spoken from a different truth through different language-ing from the plural essence of marginalised and colonised peoples with their own metaphors and knowledge validation processes which fall outside the hegemonic spaces of the English language and the defined archive of 'sources' and 'data'. These circles allowed for a multiplicity of truths, interpretations, and perspectives of the entangled past, present, and future—an enfoldedness understood metaphorically, which can also be described as an ecology of knowledges. There are not 'objective truths' that have to be extracted in these circles, and hurriedly so.

In my book *Ausi Told Me* I speak therefore of seven concomitant erasures and necessary restorations in an ecology of knowledges that came with colonisation and the systemic entrenchment of western scholarship that followed—how the languages and meanings in a landscape that capture people's deeply profound understanding of change, cause, and effect have been erased (through colonisation and genocide). This process of epistemicide (colonial attempted erasures of knowledges; a process which was not entirely complete) also occurred through the economic exploitation processes that followed during brutal enslavement of African and globally displaced communities at the Cape and the migrant

labour system which followed 200 years later in South Africa. People were dislocated from their land and their ecologies that secured their survival for thousands of years. Both the resilience against the erasure attempts and their impact are ongoing, and we need to acknowledge and recognise this as history educators. It is therefore simply not good enough to teach about about forced removals in terms of apartheid and how people experienced that dislocation on a 'surface' level (such as about moving away from mixed 'race' communities, and away from transport, places of work, and the city). It should fundamentally also be about what happened to communities and the knowledge archive they were dislocated from that gave them social cohesion and ensured intergenerational well-being. What were these ancient knowledges they had and cultural rituals they practiced within those landscapes they were violently uprooted from, and how could that give us a fuller understanding of our pasts and the losses suffered? What more could our cultural archives in these dislocated landscapes tell us about our interconnectedness in the world across land and sea? How could they help us to rethink Africa and its place in the world?

I believe that we currently work largely within deficient models of scholarship in an African context. This is so because Western scholarship encourages proprietorial and silo-thinking in terms of how we perceive 'archive' and 'data'. In my work with many scholars over decades in different part of South Africa, the continent, and the world, I have encountered the often arrogant assumptions of where knowledge and its validation resides as often exclusive certainties—even if these scholars know really little about the communities they study or have little knowledge of their pasts and presents to begin with. Such dislocated approaches to research have been formidably critiqued by black South African scholars like Archie Mafeje as 'extroversion'. A prestigious scholar, Mafeje was suspiciously not taken seriously in anthropology in his own country. What Mafeje critiqued is relevant to all disciplines—by positioning the local as universal rather than the other way around (through imposition of external frameworks of analysis such as how to analyse societal change, for example). This does not imply advocating doing local history for its own sake but universalising what can come out of small, powerful local studies that trouble universal assumptions about the past. In other words, we have to negate the negation (to helpfully, in this instance, apply Marxist theory within this context). However, Marxist theory also has its own limitations and also offers a deficient scholarship model—a critique which I deliberate on briefly later.

Intellectual indigenous ceremony helps us to listen deeply below the surface, past our assumptions and compulsions to simplistically judge and evaluate 'evidence'. It commands humility, letting go of the cognitive ego and its proprietorial approach to knowledge

production processes and to not rush the metaphorical river in gaining access to deeper and more complex insights. I know this is difficult in academic institutions with their emphases on 'research production' within linear times, but we can try to start the process of teaching to think differently about intellectual work and processes of knowing and by centering inclusive validation methodologies. In our regular ceremonial knowledge circles at the conference, we constantly reminded ourselves of the non-hierarchical nature of knowledge, the importance of flattening knowing, and to listen in other levels and frequencies of meanings in indigenous languages and their metaphors and proverbs.

What can ceremony and ritual tell us through immersive deep listening when we let go of the cognitive and proprietorial ego? What would it mean when we listen differently with the eyes, and see with the ears? What would such liberation look like in knowledge production and research methods? What if our intellectual comfort zones are constantly troubled and disrupted, including the local and indigenous ones—but in a good way that restores ancient ecologies of knowing, looking for, and finding missing pieces of the puzzle as an ongoing questioning? Scholars like dos Santos would call this 'cognitive justice'—and it is relevant to all forms of knowledge making processes, whether in Africa or Europe or the West.

Not long ago, we got a profound sense of the importance of sitting with epistemological discomfort when our sense of certainty around 'sources of knowledge' was rudely disrupted when tragedy struck at the University of Cape Town on 18 April 2021. That unforgettable devastating fire on that fateful Sunday morning that ripped through the African Studies Library and Collections, caused huge scholarly trauma to our assumed certainties of the institutional archive as the presumed safe custodian of the 'sources' for objectivity and validation of the people's history—a perceived loss of the definitive site of knowledge. When natural disasters and fires unexpectedly destroy our institutional archives, our egotistical and proprietorial sense of certainties of knowledge that resides there finds itself in abysmal loss. The trouble with certainties in Western-based knowledge production is that it grooms the cognitive ego to find refuge in individual 'knowing' through sources and verification methods in the institutionalised governed archive. This is often the limiting nature of 'disciplined' knowledge and imposed silos in our research and teaching methodologies.

Yet, if we dare to allow it, we could locate our own sense of reliability and safety in ancient collective knowing within the intangible—such as recognising the existence and role of intuition, dreams, and prophecies embedded within our cultural rituals. This 'knowing' is central to our ancient engagement with landscape—something deeply embodied at a cellular level. And we all know it, because all humanity the world over is indigenous to land

and ecosystems, although colonialism and imperialism have violently dispossessed and displaced indigenous people from certain lands inhabited for thousands of years, creating the binary 'indigenous' and 'non-indigenous' people. In short, all humanity has feminist indigenous knowledges located within landscapes, which take us in Africa beyond the known Western Annales' School methodology to historically understanding people and environment over the *long durée*. A new historiographical methodology therefore warrants more than the Marxist Revisionist approach. It asks of us to listen reverently into the layers and in-betweens of the dispossessed and colonised indigenous people's long muted voices and cultural ritual identifications of reading sea, land, sky, and wind in enfolded time (not epochs). It is not simply a structural analysis of societies (or of social formations) and their enactment with the environment over time (as in understanding historical consciousness in a Hegelian sense), but it is more inclusively about bringing (in intellectually nuanced and more complex ways) the long muted voices and their many intersectionalities of class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, etc. to the surface. But in getting into the muted voices in their subdued complexities, we have to guard also against centering well-known celebrated patriarchs (indigenous and black included) within our own midst, which can be a tendency even in our stories 'from below' and in our various uncritical contemporary national grand narratives. These are equally problematic.

In history education, we should also acknowledge land. Indigenous scholars recognise that our universities and schools are located on sites of violence, where unspeakable colonial atrocities were committed on the very land many of these institutions occupy today. Colonial atrocities and cultural imperialism informed the establishment of the colonial universities on those very lands and their Western-based canons of history, anthropology, philosophy, science, archaeology, etc.

Hence, in our intellectual ceremony circles we dialogued regularly about the 'good wind' and the 'bad wind' in knowledge validation processes. A good wind sweeps clean and brings the cleansing rains. The bad wind causes devastation and trauma, shutting out tried and tested intergenerational knowledge which has been barred from the canons through violence that is both epistemic (institutional) and epistemological (through knowledge production processes). In the 'shutting out' process, marginalised voices are even barred from mourning such loss through judgmental sentiments expressed by 'critical' and 'objective' scholarship, audaciously and hurriedly naming such new endeavours as 'subjective' or 'emotional'. In the indigenous intellectual ceremonious circles we therefore take care in quoting a western scholar ad nauseum (we have been conditioned to do so with endless citations of the same scholar, for example—often a white man in Europe) that

has very little knowledge and understanding of the local. We avoid repeating those ones that get reproduced in lists of accredited citations in incestuous networks of knowledge validation and journal publications of what we should know and how we should validate how and what we know. We recreate (even as women) this cognitive patriarchy over and over again without practicing 'deep listening'. This happens decade after decade, creating a particular political economy in the disciplines. This is a form of both epistemic and epistemological violence—the bad wind that shuts out the good wind. Scholars who have been shut out of the mainstream of knowledge production about our pasts, speak and debate about knowledge production processes from a different and deeper understanding of the ecologies of knowledge. The good wind represents circles of knowledge that flatten out hierarchies of knowledge, because there have to be more voices around the fire for the story to be fuller, with more nuance, and for 'deep listening' to take effect. The story around the fire is ongoing, never closed, and care is taken that one voice does not dominate. Because what then is the point of finding meaning in gathering?

Modern notions of 'objectivity' can only capture a small fraction of our pasts because it works on the premise of 'shutting out' and arriving at 'conclusions'. People the world over (wherever they found themselves—Europe included) have known for thousands of years about cause, change, continuity, discontinuity, and effect through their own everyday experiences, of what they observed in the everyday, of how they resolved problems, of what brought about conflict and peace, food security, migrations, and of why dialogue around the fire was important. They knew very well about violences and recognised them in their many forms, through their many languages, around the fires, to warn that to shut out a voice of the story of the day's events and the interpretation thereof would cause an imbalance in how the story of the day is told more fully and remembered to the benefit of the collective. This is what one can call a cognitive embodiment of deep listening—through trance and performance, as captured in rock script. It was about telling the story with ceremony and performance, the essence of interpretation of the story curated in the smoke of the burning medicinal plants, embellished with its various truths and contradictions—which people understood. What mattered for people was not the artificially created fixities, certainties, timelines, judgment, and frontiers of those who came later to curiously observe their ritual archives at work and to name and classify them in new hegemonic European languages and systems of knowing. Their own sensibilities and sovereignties of knowing their truths, tried and tested over thousands of years, mattered more. It was this collective sensibility that knew not to abdicate to the cognitive and proprietorial ego of positioning an interpretation of a story (from the outside) as more 'certain' or 'objective' than others. For this reason,

stories of the day's events were collectively told in metaphors and proverbs, strung together in a never ending cycle in the recognition that knowledge of today, and what happened yesterday, and what will happen tomorrow is infinite and its interpretation can be performed and storied in different ways over and over again. This was the way in which natural disasters or colonial genocidal trauma and even recent atrocities such as apartheid were dealt with—it was about storying over and over again through different performative interpretations allowing the cycles of healing to blow from generation to generation as the good wind to hopefully create a new peaceful and sustainable future for all humanity.

When we listen with the heart to these story-ings in a cognitive embodiment of deep listening, we would be tempted not to easily and hurriedly consign them to romanticisation of indigenous knowledges and people or to classify them with equal haste as 'essentialist discourse'. Whilst these do certainly exist and are equally troubling, we should correspondingly take care with meaningless Western buzz words that may form part of a continuum of Western scholarly strategies of erasure that thrive on extractive methodologies that do not care to listen with respect and empathy for loss and for comprehending other ways of being in landscape and therefore knowing. We should practice humility in knowing as key to new teachings and new ways of doing. Metis mathematics scholar Florence Glanfield cites her own indigenous philosophy she was taught—that there are no greater or lesser humans, there is only the whole. The same accounts for the knowledges of all humanity. There can be no balanced ecology without humility. Trophy hunting of wildlife, for instance, depends on a destructive proprietorial ego. In the same way that some scholars in certain disciplines tend to speak with appropriation of 'my bones' when studying unethically acquired indigenous human remains in collections of museums and universities.

Humility is also about appreciating lifelong learning; that we are always becoming, always relational, never complete—drawing on the theories of Freire and others. The bad wind in the canons and disciplines came with the selfish agendas of mercantilism, colonialism, slavery, genocide, imperialism, and capitalism—with the patriarchal structural reproduction of archival erasure in its many forms. We can restore our ecologies to collective benefit through humility and pedagogical cleansing and through rethinking our research methods and how we view and validate knowledge, and where it resides as we constantly travel between the present, back to the past, and towards an imaginable future. When we travel our knowledges in entangled senses of time and cultural archives, we embrace new concepts such as 'relationality'—a different way of doing and knowing about how we are infinitely interconnected.

What then could practising *Ubuntu* really mean for teachers in classrooms beyond being an overused buzz word and rhetoric for patriotic sporting events or just for 'freedom' national commemorations? What would it mean when we think of its existence in the vast infinite spaces of everyday knowledge making outside in fauna, flora, ecosystems, languages, in our ritual archives, and our everyday weaving of getting our students to make sense of our collective and interconnected present? The importance of stressing our relationality is becoming increasingly relevant in these dangerous times in South Africa and the world— children dying of war, conflict, hunger, displacement, the devastating impact of femicide, racist tribalisation, and xenophobia. The list is endless. When the women marched to the Union Buildings in 1956, those were 20 000 interconnected archives of intergenerational feminist knowledges of deep time marching. When femicide is committed, profound epistemicide and what I call feminism-cide is committed. The same violences occur when xenophobic acts are committed.

How do these atrocities connect to the canons and disciplines, to the metaphorical bad wind of knowing? In our teaching, are we constructing the nation state as an unproblematic given through an 'area studies' approach? One example is the cartographies of xenophobia— how in our methods in our disciplines and teaching we unknowingly entrench the artificially created frontiers which promote reactionary tribal histories, that do not help us to get into the complexities of local histories of migrations, entangled shared ritual, and linguistic archives of refugees, for example. Related to this 'bad wind of knowing' are the pervasive Eurocentric and Western ways of creating and understanding knowledge which are informed by what dos Santos terms 'ignorant ignorance', which I would argue is rooted in 'shutting out' methods of 'under the nose' knowledge. We would hardly understand ancient indigenous methods, for example, about understanding and witnessing rising sea levels in the practice of indigenous elders when they push sea shells found far inland against the children's ears to understand how close the sea once was, or the knowledge they carry when they speak in their indigenous languages of mountains once rising out of seas, and warn around the fire galleys that the sea levels will rise again as was seen before by their ancestors. There are many examples the world over where indigenous knowledge of landscape, environmental sustainability, and climate change has been ignored outright by the structurally powerful as 'myth' because the knowledge is expressed as 'prophecies'— leading to devastating floods and other natural disasters that could have been avoided.

We therefore also need to talk about the political economy of history education— beyond Marxist rhetoric and its pedagogical limitations, beyond conventional oral history which starts out with a set of pre-determined questions based on what was found in the

colonial archive. This is not good enough. We have to revisit the how that is left out in our assumed scholarly rigorous methodologies. The problem is that such methodologies can still teach to reproduce the hierarchal egotistical 'knowledge trap'—whose knowledges count, whose philosophies count, whose ways of doing count, whose interpretations count.

There is a lot unsaid about interpretation in ceremony, such as the voices of women who have been left out of how we interpret the long past. Much has been focused on oral histories on apartheid which are still hugely unfinished work, and so many archives have already been lost as there has not been an investment in South Africa to do the healing storying, now long overdue. Generations with untold stories are dying daily and with them the storying of the performative psyche of survival around the fire. For example, the 1976 and 1985/6 education uprising generations are already in their 50s and 60s, yet their storying of indigenous psychic survival against apartheid remains untold. They knew about the reading of the seasons, the herbs and rituals that would give them resilience. It is this storying of the psychic survival through indigenous knowing that we have not succeeded to integrate into our methodologies of knowing and interpretation of the present and past. We have therefore inherited pedagogical frameworks that position and centre diminished interpretations and truths in the canons—the bad wind, storying of people and their pasts as devoid of ritual, of archive and therefore limited only to understanding ideological persuasions that drove their political agency. Most of these ideologies, except perhaps for Black Consciousness, can be traced to intellectual formations during the French Revolutions and Industrial Revolutions in Europe. So, through our Eurocentric methodologies for validation, we got to know and produce very little of the *long durée* in Africa and its place in the world. Our oral histories are often also confined to narratives of the recent past within linear time (of the experience and impact of apartheid, for example, confined only to the 1950s onward, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission from the 1960s and so on). Deficient knowledge production models and pedagogies lead to errors in judgement and misguided interpretations of the past and its relation to the present.

So what could our new African philosophy of history teaching be through a cognitive embodiment of deep listening? Knowledge of the past and its impact on how we understand and empathise the present and imaginable future can be undeniably emotional, and why not? We are human after all. Watch the dramatic emotional and egotistical response from the Eurocentric male historian when challenged on his interpretation of where indigenous people 'belong' and why he is so certain about what he knows about indigenous people. Or the male Eurocentric archaeologist who dismisses people's knowledge of an excavation site or claims to human remains as belonging to an inclusive collective, rather than a DNA-

defined 'source community', or who claims to know more about menstruation cycles of women in thousands of years old rock scripts. Or the one who compulsively dismisses the ongoing presence of *long durée* knowing in assumed 'non-indigenous' spaces. Such dismissive approaches to indigenous knowing are trapped in the bad whirlwind—their knowledge production processes become irrelevant to the lived realities of the majority and remain trapped in journals on library shelves for the purposes to merely attract funding for the reproduction of self-centered knowledge.

We can trace the origins of the colonial racist attitude to such knowing in the colonial archive of early travel writers describing 'the savage' and their 'pagan ways of knowing'. Are we still trapped in those frameworks, even through our historical materialist leftist and liberal interpretations of the past? Is this not the knowledge and archives of the majority, of the unemployed, of the working classes, the oppressed, and all their intersectionalities (gender, race, etc.) of the world?

When we teach and listen with the heart focused on the good wind, a whole new world of knowledge wonderment could open up, of infinite (not trapped) knowing. When we commit to bringing about cognitive justice in how we do research or how we teach, then a multitude of vectors of non-violence in multidimensional and intersectional forms open up, because we are taking the necessary risk to imagine a possible future of hope. What is the method of our listening that we teach? Are we teaching to work with silences, and to listen to silences, and not to haste the river? Can we teach to sit—with necessary discomfort—with the silences and to avoid hastening to extract and mine 'data' off peoples?

This brings me to the next issue. How do we approach data? The fire galley on the Cape Flats, for example, can be defined as a 'data space', a living archive. In the capitalist and neoliberal educational institutions we approach data with the ego, not for collective benefit—and we universalise knowledge from the standpoint of the ego. In addition, we do this violence through the hegemonic language of English with its further layers of deficiencies, and further positioning the knowledge within private property paradigms of the neoliberal universities. What possibilities will open up in our teaching if we redefine data spaces and archive, and approach interpretations thereof differently? How could knowledges, comprehension, and interpretations be expanded? What new meanings and relevance could this new approach to 'data' and 'archive' bring to the children we teach?

Our ritual archives (as theorised by Nigerian historian Falola) and their proverbs allow for innovative and new interpretations of our past to create more sustainable futures. *Ka mua ka muri*— as Maori scholar Tracy McIntosh explains— 'we walk back into the future', which links to the familiar *Sankofa* bird metaphor from Ghana in the Twi language

meaning 'go back and fetch'. Who are the children whom we teach? With which totems and ritual archives do they sit silently muted with their intergenerational archives in our classrooms? How could we work with what they are integrally part of every day—dreams, visions, prophecies, telepathy; those metaphysical aspects of knowing with the heart that the bad wind has so speedily swept to the dustbin of history?

The generations of the 1976 uprising will tell you that the August frogs fall no more in their dozens from the winter skies on the Cape Flats—that confidently predicted that Spring was on its way and that the berries will follow soon to quench our thirst in the relentless heat of the impending hot summer. We have lost our way of knowing these stories of our shared changing landscape. If we care to listen respectfully and deeply to these vanishing frequencies in nature, we'll notice the silently fading croak of the frog and be able to safely and accurately predict the destructive things to come and know from deep tried and tested wisdom how to avoid it. In the old Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA), saying that I come from as a young aspirant teacher in the 1980s and early 1990s, let us always be reminded to live for our children. Where to from here?

Editorial policy

1. *Yesterday & Today* is a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal and is accredited since the beginning of 2012.

2. History Education, History in Education, and the History of Education and where research related submissions are welcomed.

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

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

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

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

7. The titles of articles should preferably not exceed 15 words.

8. The names of authors and their full institutional affiliations/addresses, city and country of the institution must accompany all contributions. Authors also have to enclose their E-mail addresses and orchid numbers.

9. The Harvard or the Footnote methods of reference may be used. The authors' choice of which reference method will be respected by the editorial management. References must be clear, lucid and comprehensible for a general academic audience of readers. Once an author has made a choice of reference method, the *Yesterday & Today* guidelines for either the Harvard reference method or the Footnote reference method must be scrupulously followed.

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

11. Articles should be submitted online to Professor Johan Wassermann, the editor-in-chief, can be contacted electronically at: Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za Notification of the receipt of the submission will be done within 72 hours.

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

13. The length of articles, all included, should preferably not exceed 8 000 words.

14. Authors must sign the author declaration document when submitting their articles for consideration.

15. For scientific research articles, page fees of R400:00 per page will be charged from the

South African author's university. It remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.

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THE FOOTNOTE OR HARVARD REFERENCE METHODS – SOME GUIDELINES

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

THE FOOTNOTE REFERENCE METHOD

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

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

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

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

Examples of an article in a journal

R Siebörger, Incorporating human rights into the teaching of History: Teaching materials, *Yesterday&Today*, 2, October 2008, pp. 1-14.
S Marks, "Khoisan resistance to the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries", *Journal of African History*, 3(1), 1972, p. 76.

Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

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

To:

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

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

Examples of a reference from a book

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

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

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

Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book

From:

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

To:

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

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book

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

Shortened version:

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

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

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

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

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

or

Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references

Interview(s)

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

Example of interview reference

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

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

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

Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter

E-mail: W Khumalo (Bigenafrica, Pretoria/Z Dube (Researcher), 22 October 2006.

National archives (or any other archive)

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

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

A source accessed on the Internet

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

A source from conference proceedings
First reference to the source:

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

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

Shortened version:

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

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

GENERAL

Illustrations

The appropriate positioning of the image should be indicated in the text. Original copies should be clearly identified on the back. High quality scanned versions are always welcome. **Authors, PLEASE obtain copyright and reproduction rights on photographs and other illustrations.**

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THE HARVARD REFERENCE METHOD

References in the text

References are cited in the text by the author'(s) surname(s) and the year of publication in brackets, separated by a comma: e.g. (Weedon, 1977:13).

If several articles by the same author and from the same year are cited, the letters a, b, c, etc. should be added after the year of publication: e.g. (Fardon, 2007a:23).

Page references in the text should follow a colon after the date: e.g. (Bazalgette, 1992:209-214).

In works by three or more authors the surnames of all authors should be given in the first reference to such a work. In subsequent references to this work, only the name of the first author is given, followed by the abbreviation *et al.*: e.g. (Ottaro *et al.*, 2005:34).

If reference is made to an anonymous item in a newspaper, the name of the newspaper is given in brackets: e.g. (The Citizen, 2010).

For personal communications (oral or written) identify the person and indicate in brackets that it is a personal communication: e.g. (B Brown, pers. comm.).

Ensure that dates, spelling and titles used in the text are accurate and consistent with those listed in the references.

List all references chronologically and then alphabetically: e.g. (Scott 2003; Muller 2006; Meyer 2007).

List of references

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order, under References. Bibliographic information should be in the language of the source document, not in the language of the article.

References should be presented as indicated in the following examples. See the required punctuation.

Journal articles

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of article, unabbreviated title of journal, volume, issue number in brackets and page numbers: e.g. Shepherd, R 1992. Elementary media education. The perfect curriculum. *English Quarterly*, 25(2):35-38.

Books
Surname(s) and initials of author(s) or editor(s), year of publication, title of book, volume, edition, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Mouton, J 2001. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

Chapters in books
Surname(s) and initials of author(s,) year of publication, title of chapter, editor(s), title of book, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Masterman, L 1992. The case of television studies. In: M Alvarado & O Boyd-Barrett (eds.). *Media education: an introduction*. London: British Film Institute.

Unpublished theses or dissertations
Fardon, JVV 2007. Gender in history teaching resources in South African public school. Unpublished 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.

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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)'.