

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Ian Macgregor
Testing transformation and decolonisation: Experiences of curriculum revision in a
History lessons module 1

Yvonne Malanda Kabombwe & Innocent Mutale Mubanga
Implementation of the competency-based curriculum by teachers of History in selected
Secondary Schools in Lusaka district, Zambia 19

Byron J Bunt & Louise R Bunt
Developing a serious game artefact to demonstrate World War II content to History
students 42

Gerbrand Groot
Indigenous South African poetry as conduits of History: Epi-poetics – a pedagogy
of memory 60

Pieter Wiersma & Henriette Lubbe
Taking the sting out of assessment: The experiences of trainee teachers experimenting
with innovative alternative performance assessment in the History classroom 88

Mawole C Ngweni-Mawole
Historical Significance in the South African History curriculum: An un-silencing
approach 119

HANDS-ON ARTICLE

Kirstin Kuback
An exploration of the shifts in imagined academic and civic identities across four
history curriculum documents 137

BOOK REVIEW

Ralph Mathibane
Ramaphosa's turn: Can Cyril save South Africa?
Dabalo Mwanza 166

YESTERDAY&TODAY

NO. 22, DECEMBER 2019

NO. 22
DECEMBER 2019

YESTERDAY
& TODAY



Yesterday & Today

No. 22, December 2019

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

<http://www.sashtw.org.za>

AND

http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_issues&pid=22230386&lng=en&nrm=iso

AND

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

Two peer-reviewed issues are annually published.

Journal focus and vision

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

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

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

History research: Relates to any historical content or theme, especially represented in the History curricula of Southern Africa.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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Editor-in-Chief

Prof Johan Wassermann (University of Pretoria)

Assistant Editors

Dr Kate Angier (University of Cape Town)

Dr Marshall Maposa (University of KwaZulu-Natal)

Dr Claudia Gouws (North-West University)

Book Review Editor

Mr Bafana Mpanza (University of KwaZulu Natal)

Editorial Advisory Board

Prof Elisabeth Erdman (Honorary Chairperson Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik, Germany)

Prof Sussane Popp (Chairperson Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichtsdidaktik, University of Augsburg, Germany)

Prof Terry Haydn (School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of East Anglia, UK)

Prof Joanna M Wojdon (Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław, Poland)

Prof Rob Siebörger (University of Cape Town)

Prof Elize van Eeden (North-West University, Vaal Triangle Campus, Vanderbijlpark)

Prof Arend Carl (University of Stellenbosch)

Dr Chitja Twala (University of the Free State)

Dr Gengs Pillay (Department of Education, KwaZulu Natal)

Ms Rika Odendaal-Kroon (Rand Girls' School, Johannesburg)

Mr Nick Southey (University of South Africa)

Ms Dee Gillespie (Jeppe High School for Girls, Johannesburg)

Mr Jake Manenzhe (Department of Education, Limpopo Province)

Mr Barry Firth (Cape Peninsula University of Technology)

Mr Robert Faltermeier (Jeppe High School for Boys, Johannesburg)

Mr Gordon Brookbanks (Westerford High School, Cape Town)

Ms Michelle Friedman (Sacred Heart College, Johannesburg)

Ms Leah Nasson (Herschel Girls' School, Cape Town)

Layout and Publishing

Layout & Cover design

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

Postal address – Yesterday&Today

Prof Johan Wassermann
HOD: Department of Humanities Education
Faculty of Education
Groenkloof Campus, University of Pretoria
Private Bag X20, Hatfield, 0028

Telephone: (012) 420 4447

Email: johan.wassermann@up.ac.za

Ms Lebo Serobane (Journal distributor & subscriptions)

E-mail: 22391282@nwu.ac.za

Local subscriptions

R 400.00 for institutions

R200.00 for individual members

Overseas subscribers

US \$60 or GB £40

ISSN 2223-0386 (Print version)

ISSN 2309-9003 (Online version)

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 South African Society for History Teaching or the Editorial Board.

Contents

Editorial I

Articles

Ian Macqueen

Testing transformation and decolonisation: Experiences of curriculum revision in a History honours module 1

Yvonne Malambo Kabombwe & Innocent Mutale Mulenga

Implementation of the competency-based curriculum by teachers of History in selected Secondary Schools in Lusaka district, Zambia 19

Byron J Bunt & Lance R Bunt

Developing a serious game artefact to demonstrate World War II content to History students 42

Gerhard Genis

Indigenous South African poetry as conduits of History: Epi-poetics – a pedagogy of memory 60

Pieter Warnich & Henriëtte Lubbe

Taking the sting out of assessment: The experiences of trainee teachers experimenting with innovative alternative performance assessment in the History classroom 88

Maserole C Kgari-Masondo

Historical Significance in the South African History curriculum: An un-silencing approach 119

Hands-on Article

Kirstin Kukard

An exploration of the shifts in imagined academic and civic identities across four history curriculum documents 137

Book Review

Ralph Mathekga Ramaphosa's turn: Can Cyril save South Africa? 166
Paballo Moerane

SASHT Constitution 171

Yesterday&Today reference guidelines 177

Yesterday&Today subscription, 2019-2020 187

Editorial

Welcome to the first electronic only edition of *Yesterday & Today*. For a range of reasons, including financial and moving with the times it was decided to discontinue the print version of *Yesterday & Today*. From now on *Yesterday & Today* can be read on, amongst others, Scielo, the webpage of SASHT and other fora.

The December 2019 edition is also the final one overseen by the current editorial board. On behalf of all involved with, and interested in *Yesterday & Today*, allow me to thank all the editorial board members for the services they have rendered. In constituting the new editorial board in 2020 many of the current members will be asked to stay on. They will be supported by new appointees from across the global south.

The December 202 edition contains seven articles covering a wide spectrum of research ideas related to History Education.

- In his article Ian Macqueen shared his experiences in transforming and decolonising the History Honours module on historiography that he teaches.
- In their article Yvonne Kabombwe and Innocent Mulenga unpacked the experiences of History teachers in Zambia of the implementation of a competency-based curriculum.
- Byron and Lance Bunt looked at developing a serious game artefact to demonstrate World War II content to History students.
- In a conceptual article Gerhard Genis proposed the use of indigenous South African poetry as conduits of memory to teach History.
- Pieter Warnich and Henriëtte Lubbe presented, in a practical article based on the experiences of trainee teachers and their learners, the possibilities of alternative performance assessment in History classrooms.
- In her conceptual article, Christina Kgari-Masondo argued, by drawing on her personal experiences, for the inclusion of Historical Significance as a historical thinking concept in the curriculum as to foreground indigenous knowledge as it relates to symbols and symbolism.

- Finally, in the teachers' voice article, Kirsten Kukard explored the shift in civic and academic identities across recent English and South African History curriculum documents.

Happy reading.

Johan Wassermann and the rest of the editorial team.

Testing transformation and decolonisation: Experiences of curriculum revision in a History honours module

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2019/n22a1>

Ian Macqueen
University of Pretoria
ian.macqueen@up.ac.za
ORCID No: 000-0001-9154-4625

Abstract

This article discusses the revision of a history honours historiography module. It discusses the rationale, methodologies and material used to respond to the imperative of curriculum transformation and decolonisation. The article is titled 'testing transformation and decolonisation' to emphasise the exploratory nature of this revision, but also to underline the challenging nature of teaching new material, which educators have often not been taught themselves. The article draws on the University of Pretoria's 2016 Curriculum Transformation Framework document and narrates the practical challenges of implementing its recommendations. The article also provides a personal perspective of my embrace of calls for transformation and decolonisation of the university, which highlights the continuities I see in these contemporary calls with the historical concerns of the previous generations of progressive South African scholars who similarly called for and worked to realise a decolonisation of knowledge.

Keywords: Transformation; Historiography; South African History; Global History; Postgraduate Education.

Introduction

The excitement of self-discovery, the excitement of shattered certainties, and the thrill of freedom: These are experiences that are closed to white South Africans. The price of control is conformity. But these patterns can be broken. And it is important try to break them. It is important to show the whites they have to gain from a free democratic society. Once cultural preservation and development becomes freed from the preservation of privilege it becomes possible to visualize a society in which cultural identity does not imply exclusivity and fear. Until white South Africans come to understand that present society and their present position is a result not of their own virtues but of their vices; until they come to see world history over the last five hundred years not as the "triumph of white civilization," but simply as the bloody and ambiguous birth of a new technology, and until they come to see these things not in the past but in hope for the future,

*they will not be able to communicate with black people, nor, ultimately, with one another.*¹

Written in the early 1970s by the South African philosopher Rick Turner this short passage provides a succinct description of the heart of an intellectual and practical project in which Turner and a small group of white academics and activists in Durban in the 1970s engaged. In retrospect it is perhaps apt to characterise this as an equivalent White Consciousness that developed in tandem with the emergence of Black Consciousness in South Africa.² Considering recent challenges to the academy by a new generation of black students, it appears the above sentiment remains to be fulfilled if only the audience addressed has changed. While transformation and decolonisation are very much part of the current academic imperatives, they are obviously concerns whose history runs deeper the last few years. Indeed, part of the emphasis in this article is to present transformation, or decolonisation as it has increasingly been called, as an inherent component of the academic project in South Africa and one in which white academics have played a part, though this must of necessity be a limited one.

This article provides a description of how I responded to transformation or decolonisation in a core honours historiography module. Jasper Knight describes transformation as the process that has been underway since 1994, and which has “included bringing to the fore viewpoints of black history, literature and politics ... with revisionistic descriptions and interpretations of South African historical events”.³ This process thus interacts with the more recent emphasis on decolonisation and Africanisation that have informed the challenges to tertiary institutions of Fees Must Fall. Siseko Kumalo and Leonhard Praeg emphasise decolonisation to be “the realisation of epistemic justice for the peoples of the global South”.⁴ Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni adds that decoloniality is “a call for democratization of knowledge, de-hegemonization of knowledge, de-westernization of knowledge, and de-Europeanization of knowledge”.⁵

1 R Turner, *The eye of the needle: Toward participatory democracy in South Africa* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1980), p. 101.

2 I Macqueen, *Black consciousness and progressive movements under apartheid* (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2018).

3 J Knight, “Decolonizing and transforming the Geography undergraduate curriculum in South Africa”, *South African Geographical Journal*, 100(3), 2018, p. 273.

4 S Kumalo and L Praeg, “Decoloniality and justice *a priori*”, *Journal of Decolonising Disciplines*, 1(1), 2019, pp. 1-9.

5 SJ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, “Decoloniality as the future of Africa”, *History Compass*, 13(10), 2015, p.492.

This article is titled “testing transformation and decolonisation” to emphasise the practical challenges of responding to the injunction of decolonisation and transformation of a university historiography curriculum. I have found this to be a challenging and exciting process, which has re-emphasised the need for critical thought and questioning of assumptions. Responding to the need for transformation and decolonisation has been an exciting and creative challenge, in the words of Turner, the rewards have been the “excitement of self-discovery, the excitement of shattered certainties, and the thrill of freedom”.

South African universities have been pushed to respond to the need for decolonisation most directly in the Rhodes Must Fall movement of 2015. This article draws on a document that was drafted in response to the 2015 protests, namely the University of Pretoria’s Curriculum Transformation Framework document.⁶ The article specifically discusses the practical challenges of implementing the recommendations of this policy.

A personal view of transformation

It is beneficial at this point to lay bare the journey that has led me to embrace transformation and decolonisation of the curriculum but also to stress the continuities of this contemporary call with the progressive thrust of radical scholars in the South African academy, represented in this article by Turner. It was to these scholars that I owed a critical part of my personal transformation.

I was born in Johannesburg in the early 1980s and the transition to democracy informed my early and secondary schooling – I was in Standard Five in Newcastle, in the then Northern Natal, when our school received its first black children, although only a very small number. My introduction to high school was a shock. In my first year as an innocent “Standard six” learner I witnessed running battles where black students were targeted and badly beaten up by a core of aggressive, senior white, predominantly Afrikaans students. This seemed to subside as my high school years continued, but there were more confrontations between white and Taiwanese students, who stood their ground and did not allow themselves to be intimidated.

6 University of Pretoria, “Reimagining curricula for a just university in a vibrant democracy: Work stream on curriculum transformation at the University of Pretoria” (available at https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/9/HumPdf%20docs/up-curriculum-transformation-framework-final-draft_23may2016_1.zp89110.pdf, as accessed on 21 August 2019).

I had the reflex opinions of what I would deem the “average” white English-speaking South African. “We” had brought development to Africa. I recall lampooning *Umkhonto we Sizwe* veterans who paraded on the television, sneering at the sincerity of Archbishop Tutu crying at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings and teased my brother that he would marry “Susie Mtwetwe” one day. Afrikaners were “rock spiders” or “Dutchmen”.

After finishing matric in Durban and a gap year in the United Kingdom I entered the University of Natal in 2002 (renamed the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2004 after being merged with the University of Durban-Westville). The late Professor Jeff Guy taught the first year students in a module for which we had to purchase Jared Diamond’s *Guns, Germs and Steel*, a text that rejected essentialist explanations of human development (Europeans were inherently more intelligent) and located the differential outcomes of global wealth distribution in the random chance of geography⁷ Guy made a strong impression, as a wiry, stalking intellect, a “communist”, a term that in my mind was associated with a vague nefarious force up until that point, but in Guy was grounded above all in a quest to *understand*. The second year featured the passionate lecturing of Dr Catherine Burns in the “Law and Society” course, for which students had to prepare research assignments of 8 000 words. This was an exciting intellectual challenge. In the third year the focus shifted to the “foreign country” of South African history where I began to uncover a past of which I had no knowledge, and of which school history had provided only a caricature. This new world included the 1913 Land Act, the role of mining compounds in garrisoning black labour, and South Africa’s Prussian route to development sparked by its mineral discoveries, all dominant insights of revisionist South African historiography, made between 1970 and 1974.⁸ Suddenly, the reflex notions that had guided me, quite comfortably, through South African reality until that point broke down and were rendered dangerously simplistic.

At university the Student Christian Associations (SCA) enabled me to attend a conference at the University of Fort Hare. The experience of being one of a handful of white students among a majority of black students left an impression on me, as well as the feeling of visceral hostility I experienced in the vicinity of Alice. I can still remember the central motif

⁷ J Diamond, *Guns, germs and steel: A short history of everybody for the last 13,000* (London, Vintage, 1998).

⁸ U Dhupelia-Mesthrie, “‘A blast from the past’: The teaching of South African History at an apartheid university, 1960s-1980s”, *South African Historical Journal*, 42, 2000, p. 60.

of that conference. This was another foreign country. The experience of one to one Bible study with the staff worker of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Danellia Daniels, a Coloured female, was also significant. She openly identified with the "Struggle" and embraced her faith together with a political and social justice awareness, whilst at the same time giving pastoral care to middle-class white students as part of her broader mandate. Something began to further be dislodged.

Honours study in the Department of History was a new world of intellectual discovery. In addition to its academic staff the department was comprised of a dynamic postgraduate cohort who now staff many South African university history departments. Dr Keith Breckenridge's African States module contextualised South Africa in broader African history. Catherine Burns' Theory and Methods course emphasised the dynamic relationship between history writing and theory, such as the work of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, and the implications their ideas had for historical research. The Wednesday afternoon seminars in the "Shark Tank" were the weekly highlight. The passionate investment of academics in their work perhaps was the most abiding impression. My honours dissertation on Archbishop Alpheus Zulu, supervised by Dr Vukile Khumalo, exposed me to the frustrations, tragedies and fight for dignity of the *amaKholwa*, and exposed me to a prominent black clergyman who rose to the heights of acting as president of the World Christian Council (WCC) and yet retained his Zulu identity, but became embroiled in the vicissitudes of *Inkhata* and the Zululand Bantustan in the 1980s. Two studies that guided my research were Tim Couzen's *The New African: A Study of the Life and Work of H.I.E. Dhlomo* and David Attridge's *Rewriting Modernity: Studies in Black South African Literary History*.⁹ It was of course a sad irony, that this department that was so critical to my own transformation was to be targeted after 2006 by a transformation agenda and dispersed to the benefit of other universities around the country.

One could not be an undergraduate at the university and not encounter the memory of Rick Turner. I recall, wrongly or not, a small portrait of him in the Student Hall where we wrote exams in first year. I was drawn to understanding who he was and what his relationship with Steve Biko was, once a student at the university's medical school in the late 1960s.

⁹ T Couzens, *The New African: A study of the life and work of H.I.E. Dhlomo* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985); D Attwell, *Rewriting modernity: Studies in black South African literary History* (Athens, Ohio University Press, 2006).

The question of the relationship of Turner and Biko informed my doctoral research at the University of Sussex under the supervision of Saul Dubow and Alan Lester and continued the process of personal transformation that had begun as a student. My research provided a fascinating window into what can now be called a push for decolonisation by the Black Consciousness Movement, as well as the response of progressive whites to this challenge.¹⁰

I returned to South Africa in 2012 to a postdoctoral fellowship in the Society, Work and Development Institute at the University of Witwatersrand. The institute had been set up in the 1980s by Eddie Webster, a sociologist who had been one of many scholars to take the intellectual baton from Rick Turner. Under the mentorship of Professor Karl von Holdt I set about publishing the findings of my doctorate and beginning the process of turning it into a book, published in 2018 by UKZN Press.¹¹ I began at the University of Pretoria in 2015.

Transformation at the University of Pretoria

2015 was of course the year of Rhodes must Fall/Fees must Fall. It was midway through the second semester when the university was closed on 21 October 2015. One of the local leaders was taking a module in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies and was simultaneously in court prosecuted on charges of public violence.¹² In response to the nationwide strikes, and after the University of Pretoria had reopened its doors, the institution held a *lekgotla* in March 2016, chaired by former justice of the Constitutional Court, Yvonne Mokgoro, out of which emerged the curriculum transformation framework document “Reimagining Curricula for a Just University in a Vibrant Democracy”. The process was driven by Professor Norman Duncan, the Vice-Principal: Academic, a psychologist by training, with speciality in critical race theory. Prof Christi van der Westhuizen was also employed by the university in 2015 with a 50 percent transformation mandate.

Overall the university put in place three work streams to tackle the broad goal of transformation, namely: curriculum, language policy, and institutional culture. For each of the work streams the intention was to

10 I Macqueen, “Re-imagining South Africa: Black consciousness, radical christianity and the New Left, 1967-1977” (Doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2011).

11 I Macqueen, *Black consciousness and progressive movements under apartheid* (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2018).

12 For a detailed history see “University of Pretoria 2015-2016 Student Protests Timeline” (available at <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/university-pretoria-2015-2016-student-protests-timeline>, as accessed on 14 September 2019).

gain input from students, academic and support staff. A team drafted the curriculum transformation framework, made up of Prof van der Westhuizen (Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities), Prof James Ogude (Director of the Centre for the Advancement of Scholarship), Prof Derick de Jongh, (Director of the Albert Luthuli Centre for Responsible Leadership), Dr Joel Modire (Senior Lecturer, Department of Jurisprudence, Faculty of Law), and Dr Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu (Senior Lecturer, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities).

Christi van der Westhuizen recalls that the transformation document was explicitly informed by the emergent literature on decolonisation and the response the team received from the university community was that this language was unfamiliar. This led the task team to embark on a roadshow, where they presented the document to all the major faculties, except the Gordon Institute of Business Science, where they were able to take feedback and adapt the framework document. The University of Pretoria formally adopted the Curriculum Transformation Framework in 2016. In retrospect, Van der Westhuizen saw the process as one of the most comprehensive and democratic processes initiated by a South African university in the wake of Fees must Fall.¹³ The framework document outlined four drivers that were seen to be vital for meaningful transformation of curricula, namely: “responsiveness to social context”; “epistemological diversity”; “renewal of pedagogy and classroom practices”; and “an institutional culture of openness and critical reflection”.¹⁴

The first driver of “responsiveness to social context” called for the retrieval and foregrounding of “historically and presently marginalised narratives, voices and subjugated knowledges and an acknowledgement of indigenous knowledge systems hitherto repressed in the South African context”. Such local knowledge systems needed to be characterised as “sites of contestation”. The document also drew attention to the impact of “race, class, gender, sexuality, culture and other categories of identification and disadvantage” and their impact on disciplines. The aim of such responsiveness to context, was for the purpose of positive social transformation, and the framework document called for university education to produce “thoughtful citizens”

¹³ C van der Westhuizen, skype interview with author, 22 August 2019.

¹⁴ University of Pretoria, “Reimagining curricula for a just university in a vibrant democracy: Work stream on curriculum transformation at the University of Pretoria” (available at https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/9/HumPdf%20docs/up-curriculum-transformation-framework-final-draft_23may2016_1.zp89110.pdf, as accessed on 21 August 2019).

that “display critical thinking” and “critical literacy”. It was important, the writers urged, to engage the “life worlds that students inhabit by linking teaching material to current affairs and cutting -edge research.” It lastly called for a foundational course on South African history “for all first-year undergraduate students”, a requirement that perhaps showed optimism despite the complexities that such a foundational, and therefore instrumentalist, use of history could pose.¹⁵

The document described “Epistemological diversity” as the need to bring “marginalised groups, experiences, knowledges and worldviews emanating from Africa and the Global South to the centre of the curriculum” and in the process “challenging the hegemony of Western ideas and paradigms and foregrounding local and indigenous conceptions and narratives”. The framework further emphasised the need for a process of “excavating and recuperating African, Latin American and Asian knowledges and practices that have been devalued and marginalised”. It also addressed the need to engage the histories of disciplines themselves and the prioritisation of certain forms of knowledge over others.¹⁶

The third driver, “Renewal of pedagogy and classroom practices”, called for the need for responsiveness and reflexivity in pedagogical practice and emphasised the importance of scaffolding between levels, recognising the “invisibility of certain groups”, being open to technological innovation in teaching, incorporating “inquiry-led teaching and learning”, creating a “robust” but “affirming and sensitive” space that promotes the learning of key competencies.

The last driver, “An institutional culture of openness and critical reflection”, spoke of the need to address “the hidden curriculum”, “found in the spaces, symbols, narratives and embedded practices that constitute the university and in the diversity, or lack thereof, of the staff and student cohort”. It called for diversity in employment, as well as “reviewing and redefining the identity of the university”, in the process “dismantling institutional hierarchies and reviewing organisational processes and practices to enable collegiality, dialogue and democracy at all levels of the

15 University of Pretoria, “Reimagining curricula for a just university in a vibrant democracy: Work stream on curriculum transformation at the University of Pretoria” (available at https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/9/HumPdf%20docs/up-curriculum-transformation-framework-final-draft_23may2016_1.zp89110.pdf, as accessed on 21 August 2019), p. 2.

16 University of Pretoria, “Reimagining curricula for a just university in a vibrant democracy: Work stream on curriculum transformation at the University of Pretoria” (available at https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/9/HumPdf%20docs/up-curriculum-transformation-framework-final-draft_23may2016_1.zp89110.pdf, as accessed on 21 August 2019), pp. 3-4.

university”. Lastly, it prioritised the need to critically re-evaluate “spaces and symbols to situate the university in its historical, cultural and global landscapes”.¹⁷

The remainder of this discussion uses the curriculum transformation framework document to assess my attempts to revise a historiography module. These revisions were not made firstly as a response to the framework document, but rather in an effort to “update” the module. The curriculum transformation framework document is thus used as a heuristic and diagnostic yardstick for the revisions of the historiography module.

Transforming a Historiography module

The rationale behind the core honours module is to ground history students in a broader disciplinary conversation. The intention, though often unrealised, is that students will use this introduction to critically ground their research theses in the wider disciplinary context. At the University of Pretoria, two core modules split historiography from historical methodology, which on the one hand examines the historical development of the discipline and on the other hand, explores the theoretical and methodological challenges of the discipline. There are often synergies between the modules, although this has not been explicitly planned as such. The historiography module was split into two segments, the first introducing students to the development of Western historiography and the second segment an introduction to South African historiography.

I initially received the South African historiography section, which I co-taught with Dr Glen Ncube, while Professor Alois Mlambo taught the first segment. South African historiography took up five weeks of a twelve-week module. In its original form the introduction to the module read as follows:¹⁸

The aim of this module is to portray by means of certain examples the development of history as a science from its origins in the 19th century to the present. This goes for both Western and South African historiography. The speculative philosophy of history aims at a universal-historical approach to history which reveals the pattern of thought and structure of thought of the presenters.

17 University of Pretoria, “Reimagining curricula for a just university in a vibrant democracy: Work stream on curriculum transformation at the University of Pretoria” (available at https://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/9/HumPdf%20docs/up-curriculum-transformation-framework-final-draft_23may2016_1.zp89110.pdf, as accessed on 21 August 2019).”, p.5.

18 GES 701 Study Guide, 2015.

The discussion will return to this introduction in more detail at a later point. The section on South African historiography gave students an introduction to separate “schools” of South African historiography. It began with “GM Theal as representative of colonial white-centric South African historiography”. The second week moved to explore “The development and characteristics of Afrikaner historiography, 1877-1990 & Gustav Preller and FA van Jaarsveld as representatives of Afrikaner historiography”. The third week explored “Liberal historiography in South Africa until the early 1960’s” using Leonard M Thompson as a case study. The fourth week engaged the emergence of the “radical school of South African historians” through its “main themes, ideological principles and characteristics”. The final, fifth week, was presented as a question: “While the views of the first black writers on South African history were led by a Christian liberal-human perception, black nationalistic writers after 1948 interpreted their past as a struggle for freedom and emancipation.” Discuss critically.” As far as I have been able to determine this is not a quote from a published source. The key texts of the module were both published in 1988, namely Christopher Saunders’ *The Making of the South African Past*¹⁹ and Ken Smith’s *The Changing Past*.²⁰ In addition there were various works of FA Van Jaarsveld.²¹ There were a wider range of lesser-used authors and sources, but of these, of which there were approximately 20 sources, not one was a black author, and only one source explicitly dealt with black historical perceptions, written by a European scholar.²² The need for transformation and decolonisation could not have been more strongly apparent.

Our initial revision of the module in 2015 and then in 2016 took place at the same time as Fees Must Fall and the subsequent institutional response from the University of Pretoria. The first and most apparent need was to update the sources and introduce black authors, such as Magema Fuze,²³

19 C Saunders, *The making of the South African past: Major historians on race and class* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1988).

20 K Smith, *The changing past: Trends in South African historical writing* (Johannesburg, Southern Book Publishers, 1988).

21 Among them, FA Van Jaarsveld, *Geskiedkundige verkenninge* (Pretoria, Van Schaik, 1974); FA Van Jaarsveld, *Omstrede Suid-Afrikaanse verlede: Geskiedenis ideologie en die historiese skuldvraagstuk* (Johannesburg, Lex Patria, 1984); FA Van Jaarsveld, *Afrikanergeskiedskrywing: Verlede, hede en toekoms* (Johannesburg, Lex Patria, 1992).

22 WRL Gebhard, *Shades of reality: Black perceptions of South African History*, African Literatures in English 3 (Essen, Blaue Eule Verlag, 1991).

23 M Fuze, *The black people and whence they came: A Zulu view* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1979).

Sol Plaatje,²⁴ Bernard Magubane,²⁵ Premesh Lalu,²⁶ Jabulani Nxumalo ('Mzala')²⁷ as well as works on black history by white scholars such as that of Edward Roux²⁸ and Dora Taylor.²⁹ Furthermore, the two volumes of the new *Cambridge History of South Africa*³⁰ were used. While we retained the basic approach of "schools" of South African historiography we moved what we now called "Black and anti-colonial history" to the third week, thus according it more relative importance than where it was in the final week. In addition, we included two additional weeks on "Postmodernism" and "New Voices/New Directions", to reflect what we felt were some of the major recent impacts on South African historiography and to give the students a sense of new trends that were emergent in the discipline, of which they were part.

It was apparent, however, that including additional sources to the existing structure was inadequate. As it stood, the South African historiography module in effect privileged English and Afrikaner histories, which took four out of five of the original themes. To challenge this bias the module was changed in 2017 to engage with the development of South African historiography chronologically, putting works of history by different "schools" together in comparative perspective. In theory this meant that students would be free to explore a historical approach or historian in context. The rationale for this approach was explained to the students as follows:³¹

There are distinct advantages of placing different approaches to South African history in comparative perspective within a particular historical context, one of which is that no particular approach can be taken to speak completely for that period. The other is that it gives a fuller sense of how contested the past is. You will come to see that some of the readings assume relatively neat divisions of South African history writing, for example that of "liberal" versus "radical" interpretations of the past,

24 S Plaatje, *Native life in South Africa* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press and Witwatersrand University Press, 1982).

25 B Magubane, "'Whose memory – Whose History? The illusion of liberal and radical historical debates'", HE Stolten, *History making and present day politics* (Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), pp. 251-279.

26 P Lalu, *The deaths of Hintsa: Post-apartheid South Africa and the shape of recurring pasts* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2009); P Lalu, "When was South African history ever postcolonial?" *Kronos*, 34 (November 2008), pp. 267-281.

27 J Nxumalo, "The national question in the writing of South African history: A critical survey of some major tendencies", *Working Paper*, 22, The Open University, n.d, pp. 36-59.

28 E Roux, *Time longer than rope. A history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa* (Madison, WI; London, University of Wisconsin Press, 1964).

29 N Majeke (D Taylor), *The role of missionaries in conquest* (Johannesburg, Society of Young Africa, 1952).

30 C Hamilton, BK Mbenga and R Ross, *The Cambridge History of South Africa: Volume 1: From early times to 1885* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009); R Ross, A Kelk and B Nasson, *The Cambridge History of South Africa: Volume 2, 1885-1994* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011).

31 GES 701 Study Guide (2017).

whereas others reject these divisions as contrived and self-declared. The aim of each session will be to distinguish differing interpretations of the South African past alongside each other in their historical context.

To achieve this aim required an active search for alternative sources, and a move away from the “standard” works on South African historiography, some of which were listed above. The challenge, though, was that the “schools” of historical thinking approach still dominated discussions and students, especially academically weaker students tended to resort to the “standard works” that were easily accessible on the library shelves and paraphrase their perspectives and arguments. In addition to the initial set of black history works further new studies were included, especially research by black scholars, such as Hlonipha Mokoena,³² Vukile Khumalo,³³ Sifiso Ndlovu,³⁴ and Archie Dick.³⁵

As a result of this revision, the South African historiography module now looked as follows. The first week began under the title “Recovering Lost Voices” that discussed the challenges of pre-colonial history; the second week, as part of “First Histories” examines the first published accounts of the history of the region. In the third week, “History writing and the Forging of Identities c1800 to 1930s”, explores the role of histories in the consolidation of new identities in the fledgling South African state and the ways in which narratives of the past played a legitimating function for competing political claims. The fourth week covers, “The Professionalization of History Writing c. 1930s to 1960s”, which allows for discussion of the consolidation of both Afrikaner histories, and the emergence of liberal historiography, as well as forms of anti-colonial history that were emergent at the time. The fifth week moves to explore “History and the Anti-apartheid Struggle, 1960 – 1990”, a topic which includes the so-called “liberal-radical” debate, but also seeks to consider this debate in the broader role of history in the struggle, exploring the contestation between official histories and counter-narratives, which gave the vocation of the historian a particular power. In week six, the topic has been broadened to address “History, post-apartheid and postmodern”,

32 H Mokoena, *Magama Fuze: The making of a “Kholwa” intellectual* (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011).

33 V Khumalo, “Ekukhanyeni letter-writers: A historical inquiry into epistolary network(s) and political imagination in KwaZulu”, K Barber, *Africa's hidden histories: Everyday literacy and making the self* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University press, 2006), pp. 113-142.

34 S Ndlovu, *African perspectives of King Dingane kaSenzangakhona: The second monarch of the Zulu kingdom* (Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

35 A Dick, *The hidden history of South's book and reading cultures* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012).

covering the crisis in the discipline after the sureties of the anti-apartheid struggle and the challenge to the empiricism of both liberal and radical histories. The final week broadens the discussion to address “New Voices and New Directions”. The material is covered with weekly seminars that students prepare for, with preselected presenters leading the discussion each week based on their research paper on that week’s theme. The presentation and the research paper itself are then graded by the module facilitator.

To evaluate the new structure in terms of the curriculum transformation framework’s four drivers, it seems that at least “Responsiveness to social context” and “Epistemological diversity” have been responded to, though admittedly not fully met, by the restructuring and inclusion of new material. The revisions, through an inclusion of more voices, a chronological approach, and an emphasis on the contested nature of the past, have aimed to recover “marginalised narratives, voices and subjugated knowledges” and engage in a diversity of knowledge about the past. The drivers of “Renewal of pedagogy and classroom practices” and “An institutional culture of openness and critical reflection” both refer to pedagogical challenges that seem to me to be of a different scale and challenge. In terms of scaffolding and preparation for postgraduate studies, this must begin at undergraduate level, which our department has already recognised and attempted to address through the inclusion of more independent research projects. Both drivers also speak to a dynamic that is only addressed through demographic diversity, and it is apparent that conversations in the postgraduate spaces remain limited if dominated by one group of people (in our case, postgraduate studies are still dominated by white students).

Several further challenges remain, which are discussed in turn here. The first quandary has been the question of whether previous standard historiographical works should still be included in reading lists? As noted, often (weaker) students tend to paraphrase these older works, which then replicates their voice and militates against the type of conversation and debate intended. Secondly, there are challenges that the discipline faces in teaching resources. The standard works on historiography have been noted and the alternative is a wider and more challenging search for voices and sources. Available black voices in English are limited, which flags the challenge of recovering African historical texts in African languages, a call that has been made by scholars such as Sifiso Ndlovu. Another instructive example is taken from an article by Helen Bradford and Msokoli Qotole,

who in response to a statement made by Hans Erik Stolten that “South Africa’s historiographical tradition is characterised by the absence of black historians”,³⁶ note that:³⁷

Even if ‘historian’ is equated with ‘published historian’, black historians of South Africa have probably far outnumbered their white counterparts. Typically, however, they published in African languages and in the popular media arenas which most scholars have yet to explore. It is not lack of education that has barred blacks from being recognized as historians. It is rather lack of knowledge of African languages among most scholars who pronounce on South African history.

One way of responding to the challenge of Bradford and Qotole would be through an engagement with such African ‘popular media arenas’ through new avenues that have become available. The African Newspaper series offered by the American company Newsbank, for example, offers a fully searchable internet database of popular media content from as far back as 1789 in some cases. However, this raises the need for translation of these texts into English, as well of course as the greater challenge of learning African languages that historians should engage with. In the immediate interests of students, especially international students who attend South African universities in growing numbers, it is imperative these texts can be read in English.

Bradford’s and Qotole’s article is a fascinating example of the rewards that this approach gives, which translates the debate between the Xhosa historian William Wellington Gqoba and a retired colonial official, Charles Brownlee, on the history of the so-called Xhosa Cattle-Killing in the pages of a monthly Christian newspaper, *Isigidimi SamaXosa*. As they observe: “if isiXhosa categories start outweighing those in officialdom’s accounts, then everything may change: the object of analysis, the period of concern, the region of relevance, the social forces underpinning the catastrophe”. However, they also note that while “such African-language accounts illuminate much, formidable linguistic barriers to their full appreciation nonetheless exist”.³⁸ The linguistic barriers of translation are a matter of priority of course; consider the commitment of scholars of other regions of the world to the study of orthographies of their old languages. Thus, the excuse of impracticality or difficulty cannot be sustained.

36 HE Stolten, “History in the new South Africa: An introduction”, HE Stolten, *History making and present-day politics: The meaning of collective memory in South Africa* (Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), p. 8.

37 H Bradford and M Qotole, “Ingxoxo enkulu ngoNongqawuse (a great debate about Nongqawuse’s era)”, *Kronos*, 34(1), 2008, p. 66.

38 H Bradford and M Qotole, “Ingxoxo enkulu ngoNongqawuse...”, *Kronos*, 34(1), November, p. 70.

In 2018 the first half of the module came under scrutiny. Initially the module looked as follows: it began with a seminar on Leopold von Ranke “the founder of the modern scientific historiography”, and moved to consider in consecutive weeks: “The Marxist view of history as influenced by the Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels”, “The French Annales School (1900 — 1945)”, “The Christian vision of history, as determined by the Old and New Testament and St. Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei*”, “The Enlightenment’s doctrine of progress”, “Oswald Spengler’s philosophy of cyclic downfall”, and lastly “Arnold Toynbee’s view of genesis, growth, breakdown and disintegration of civilizations”. The module evidently was an effective overview of significant trends of Western historiography. It was also a prime example of Western-centric, or perhaps even a *Eurosolipstic* (there is nothing noteworthy outside of Europe/West) approach to historiography.

The revision of this part of the module was initially guided by a 50-page article by Canadian scholar, Daniel Woolf. The revealing premise of Woolf’s historiography is that the global dominance of Western historiography reflected European military and economic dominance, and thus was not a product of inherent intellectual superiority. In Woolf’s own words:³⁹

A consequence of the global dominance of Western academic historical practices is that not just history, but historiography, has been “written by the victors.” None of the major histories of historical writing produced in the last century addresses other historiographical traditions, undoubtedly in part owing to linguistic difficulties. This has produced a thoroughly decontextualized and celebratory grand narrative of the rise of modern method that has only been challenged in recent years. It is thus critical that any new survey of historical writing not only pay serious attention to non-Western types of historical writing (and indeed to nonliterary ways in which the past was recorded and transmitted), but that it also steer clear of assuming that these were simply inferior forms awaiting the enlightenment of modern European-American methodology.

It is evident that Woolf’s approach to historiography is congruent with the broader imperative of decolonisation for “epistemic justice”, that is, a fairer acknowledgement of forms of historical consciousness in peoples around the world.

Drawing on Woolf the new structure allowed students to begin with the fundamental question of “What is Historiography and why is it important?” Over the next three weeks students then engaged with what

³⁹ D Woolf, “Historiography”, MC Horowitz, *New dictionary of the History of ideas*, 1 (New York, Scribners, 2005), p. xxxv

Woolf describes as the major traditions of historiography respectively, Chinese, Islamic and Western. Each of these traditions is examined in a separate week. Woolf is careful to qualify his distinction of “major” and “minor” traditions, emphasising that the former are determined to be major “in terms of their international scope, longevity, and influence” and is thus not a judgement on their quality.⁴⁰ In the fifth week, we cover four of the five minor traditions Woolf discusses, namely “Ancient Indian, precolonial Latin American, East and Southeast Asia” historiographies. Due to our context, we spend the following week covering African historiography and conclude the first part of the module by reflecting on the approach of “Global history”, of which Woolf’s work is an example, as evidenced by the development of his article into his book published six years later.⁴¹

Clearly the main achievement of the revision of the module, was in achieving a far greater degree of “epistemological diversity” than was present before. It could even be argued that epistemological diversity has been prioritised to the point that engagement with different historiographical traditions becomes superficial – how can one traverse the depth and scope of any of the major traditions in a single seminar? As such a student who has passed through our historiography module now, would not be able to match a student from another university, who has spent six weeks studying the development of historiography in its European form. It must further be admitted, that the authors covered in European historiography are much more widely-known, and thus easier to deploy in footnotes, as students seek to publish their work.

The rewards from the approach were apparent however. Firstly, students expressed great excitement in being exposed to other historiographical traditions. For many, it was their first engagement with Chinese history, not to mention Chinese historiography. Engaging with a historiographical tradition, several thousand years old, that had developed mostly independently and often ahead of Europe, was a helpful corrective of the Eurocentrism of our thinking, even discussions that attempted to move beyond Europe. Furthermore, our session on Western historiography questioned what exactly Europe and “the West” was? Was it Roman or Greek, or “transalpine” as one author who resorted to geographical

⁴⁰ D Woolf, “Historiography”, MC Horowitz, *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, 1, p. xxxv.

⁴¹ D Woolf, *A global history of history* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011).

boundaries did?⁴² Despite, Woolf's careful emphasis on the basis of his division of historiography into "major" and "minor" traditions, there was strong criticism of this approach, with one student in particular emphasising the way in which each fed into and informed the other. Our final discussion looked at Global History as a corrective to the imbalance of historiographical voices, but students pointed to the way in which Global History (represented by scholars such as Woolf) was still dominated by scholars from the West.

To return to the driver of "Renewal of pedagogy and classroom practices" the seminar format already provides for a great amount of student participation and direction. In addition, a graded online discussion forum with starter questions prior to the seminar worked well as a way of helping students prepare and to get a sense of what students think of the readings and the topic for the week. This has been a helpful exercise, and students themselves often refer to the comments they made on the online forum, which they elaborate on in the seminar. 2019 was the first year that included a group work element, where students would share a weekly topic and were required to give a combined presentation. As a result, this allowed them to break down the topic into manageable segments, but also exposed students to the broader concerns of that week.

Lastly, to return to a point made already, it has been apparent that curriculum revision has to occur alongside demographic diversity and that honours seminars are critically denuded if comprised of only white students. In this respect, I am aware of my own limitations as a facilitator of these types of discussions as a white, male lecturer. In addition, gender representivity remains an avenue for further development in the module, and it is apparent that the quest for epistemic diversity of voices was conducted primarily through the lens of race rather than gender.

Concluding thoughts

The intention of this article has been to reflect on the revision of a historiography honours module in terms of the imperatives of transformation and decolonisation. It is therefore intended to be a candid account of what such a revision has entailed. The article has also sought to establish continuities in the concerns of South African historical scholarship that

42 JGA Pocock, "Western historiography and the problem of 'Western' history", Initiative for an "Alliance of Civilizations", Workshop on "What is Civilization", United Nations (available at <https://www.unaoc.org/repository/9334Western%20Historiography%20and%20Problem%20of%20Western%20History%20-%20JGA%20Pocock.doc.pdf>, as accessed on 10 September 2019).

are congruent with current calls for transformation and decolonisation and which should not be disregarded. This is of course a limited exercise and the article aims to generate discussion on how to further improve historiography offerings at South African universities and to respond to the concerns raised, such as by the University of Pretoria's curriculum transformation framework document.

Implementation of the competency-based curriculum by teachers of History in selected Secondary Schools in Lusaka district, Zambia

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2019/n22a2>

Yvonne Malambo Kabombwe
The University of Zambia
yvonnekmalambo@gmail.com
Orcid No: 0000-0002-1844-7797

Innocent Mutale Mulenga
The University of Zambia
innocent.mulenga@ymail.com
Orcid No: 0000-0002-2636-3630

Abstract

The study investigated teachers of History's implementation of the competency-based teaching approaches in the teaching and learning of History in Lusaka district, Zambia. A mixed-methods approach particularly the explanatory sequential design was used in this study. The study focused on schools in Lusaka from the ten zones. The total sample size of this study was 99. A total of 80 teachers participated in this study and 10 of them were interviewed. The participants were randomly and purposively selected. A questionnaire was used to gather information from the teachers. Interview guides were also used to collect data from one Chief Curriculum Specialist, one Subject Curriculum Specialist, 2 Standard Officers, 5 Head-Teachers, 10 Heads of Sections and 20 Teachers. Classroom lesson observations and document analysis were also done. Quantitative data was analysed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) and qualitative data was analysed thematically. The findings of the study revealed that 67% of the teachers of History did not understand the concept of the competency-based curriculum or outcome-based curriculum. It was also revealed that teachers of History were not using the competency-based or outcomes-based approaches to a large extent in the teaching and learning of History in the selected secondary schools because they did not have the knowledge and skills of the competency-based approaches. Thus, it was recommended that the Ministry of General Education (MoGE) should strengthen the in-service training and continuous professional development meetings in schools and zones for the competency-based curriculum to be successfully understood and implemented effectively in schools.

Keywords: Competency-Based Curriculum; Teaching; Learning; History and Competences.

Introduction

The study of History in schools still occupies a place in the school curriculum in Africa and across the globe in modern education. Madeley

(1920:10) argued that the key aim of History teaching should be ‘the making of the citizen’. The purpose is to instill a sense of pride; History writing and teaching of a nation’s History contributes to the creation and strengthening of nationalism and national identity. The role of History as a school subject has now evolved to contemporary notions of providing historical awareness and consciousness (Lee, 2011; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Seixas, 2006; 2012). Governments often use History as a tool for legitimization (Lévesque, 2008; Taylor, 2006, Chia, 2012). Thus, History education has been harnessed to furthering national goals. To that end, Harris and Ormond (2018) have argued that it is important for governments to be clear on what type of historical knowledge should be promoted in order to develop a knowledge economy in a global context.

Zambia has had two major curriculum reforms from the inception of formal education by the various missionary groups. The first curriculum which Zambia was using was a Knowledge-based curriculum. Wangeleja (2010) contended that a knowledge-based curriculum (KBC) focuses on the grasp of knowledge and thus the curriculum is content-driven. The Tanzania Institute of Education (2004:1) pointed out that “a knowledge-based curriculum emphasizes on the theoretical content and is rooted in traditional teaching and learning approaches”. Hence it can be noted that it focused on rote memorization and acquisition of factual knowledge.

In 2013, the Zambian school curriculum was revised. The education system adopted a competency-based curriculum (CBC) which is an outcomes-based education (OBE) type (Curriculum Development Center, 2013). Like in other countries, the curriculum was reformed in a bid to prepare learners for future challenges in the rapidly changing global world (CDC, 2013). The competency-based curriculum specifically, adopted the UNESCO educational quality framework as part of the Standards and Evaluation Guidelines and commitment to the provision of quality education (ZANEC, 2017).

According to UNESCO (2017), a *competency-based curriculum* is a *curriculum* that emphasizes what learners are expected to do rather than mainly focusing on what they are expected to know. It implies that learners should acquire and apply the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes to solve situations they encounter in everyday life and across the globe. Mosha (2012) also pointed out that a competency-based curriculum contains the specific outcome of statements that show the competencies

to be attained. Furthermore, Fitzpatrick (1991:18) elaborated that an outcomes-based education type focuses on “what learners should know at the end of their schooling career, what learners must be able to do, and what do learners need to feel or believe?” Consequently, a competency-based curriculum capitalizes on competency-based learning which focuses on understanding the concepts, skills and attitudes which in turn calls for changes in teaching, learning and assessment approaches (Woods, 2008; World Bank, 2011; Wangeleja, 2010).

Current approaches to teaching and learning of History include historical thinking (Wineburg, 2001) and historical inquiry (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Both approaches emphasize the role of the learner in constructing historical knowledge. This clearly shows that there are some competences that learners can acquire as they study History. It is for that reason that Yilmaz (2008a) argued that the nature of History is characterized as interpretive, tentative, subjective, empirical, literary-based and embedded in a socio-cultural context. These characteristics are consistent with competency-based approaches of teaching and learning which fall under constructivist perspectives of knowledge. The discourses about universal primary education and learner-centred approaches have become popular in Sub-Saharan Africa and have received support from the donor community (Schweisfurth, 2011; O’Sullivan, 2004). While learner-centred approaches are seriously encouraged by its proponents, Schweisfurth (2011) warned that implementing the approaches has mostly failed.

Wheelahan (2007:645) attacked competency-based models of vocational education as being “unproblematic ‘descriptions’ of the skills needed by employers”, and argued that people need to see content as a product of disciplinary thinking. Similarly, McPhail and Rata (2016) critiqued the genericism for focusing on perceived relevance to the “real world” as an organising principle for a curriculum rather than disciplinary concerns. (Betram, 2009) argued the implication is that learners may be assessed on generic comprehension skills rather than on the substantive and procedural knowledge that makes History a specialised discipline. The inherent danger of using an outcomes-based system in the study of History is that the focus on procedural knowledge might overshadow substantive knowledge (Betram, 2009).

Mwanza (2017) observed that teachers are central to achieving universal access to high quality and equitable education for all learners because teachers

have first-hand knowledge of the learning environment, the learners and how the two relate. The competency-based curriculum may appear uncomplicated in design but it is not as easy as it appears, in theory, it requires teachers to be knowledgeable of the key principles of the curriculum and equipped with skills and desirable attitudes to teach using competency-based approaches appropriately (Mulenga & Kabombwe, 2019).

Therefore, it is important for teachers of History to know and understand the kind of curriculum a nation is using in order to interpret it correctly and avoid wastage of educational resources and ensure that necessary skills are attained. Thus, it is important for curriculum designers to provide proper guidelines to teachers so that the curriculum is implemented effectively. Teachers are familiar with the classroom situations therefore might discover the gaps and bring about change and improvements that can help learners achieve the specified outcomes (Mulenga & Mwanza, 2019).

Statement of the problem

Teaching History using competency-based approaches of teaching and learning might help learners acquire competences such as historical skills, historical terminology and concepts (Mazabow, 2003). Although policy documents, teachers and other education stakeholders in the country claim that the Zambian education system is now competency-based there is no evidence from research which indicates the extent of the implementation of this new teaching, learning and assessment approach to support those statements. Lack of knowledge of competency-based approaches of teaching and learning by teachers of History might hinder the successful implementing of the competency-based curriculum. It was thus, the intent of this study to investigate the extent to which competency-based teaching approaches have been implemented in Zambia by teachers of History. In attending to this main objective, the major research question that guided the study was: what is the level of understanding and implementation of competency-based teaching approaches among teachers of History in secondary schools? This study sought to have the following questions answered.

- To what extent did teachers understand the competency-based curriculum?
- To what extent were teachers using competency-based approaches in the teaching and learning process of History?
- How were teachers assessing learners of History using competency-based approaches?

Theoretical framework

This study was guided by the Concerns-Based Adoption Model (CBAM) which is based on the belief that all change originates with individuals. It focuses on enabling teachers to adapt the curriculum and to view it as their own. Stages for this model include awareness of innovation, awareness of informational level, concern for self, concern for teaching and concern for learners. In this model, the curriculum is not implemented until teachers' concerns have been adequately addressed (Fuller, 1974). The model has three dimensions for conceptualizing and measuring the change in individuals: Stages of concern, levels of use and innovation configuration. Thus, for the competency-based curriculum initiative to be successful, teachers need to express a level of interest in the initiative's success, use it and modify it. In the next section, a brief literature review that is related to the study was presented.

Literature review

Overview of the History curriculum reform in Zambia

After independence, Zambia inherited a British education system that was based on western education. The curriculum content was Eurocentric. However, the 1966 Education reforms which were introduced advocated for Africanisation of the curriculum. (Ministry of Education, 1966). Thus, the curriculum content in History was revised and included topics in West and East African History. The government's focus during this period was to change the curriculum to a more Africanised content to support the policy of decolonisation. Later on the curriculum content included topics from Central Africa and Southern Africa. History was taught at Junior secondary (Grade 8 to 9) to senior secondary school level (Grade 10 to 12) (Focus on Learning, 1992).

In 1996, the History syllabus was revised in order to fully localize the high school examination which was formerly set by the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate in the United Kingdom (UK). The review of the syllabus was occasioned by the need to improve the quality of education at the high school level as stipulated in the national educational policy document: *Educating our Future-1996* (Curriculum Development Center, 1996). There were two examination papers to be written in History as a subject and each of them was to be written in one hour thirty minutes. Paper One (1) was African History, comprising Part

One on Central African History and Part Two on the History of Southern Africa. The papers consisted of twenty (20) questions. Paper Two (2) conversely was based on World History from 1870.

Essay type of questions was the only type of assessment items. In this case, learners were only required to answer three questions. The examination paper was structured as follows; Section “A” was based on European History, West African History was in Section “B”, Central African and Southern African History in Section “C”. West African History was not taught but examination questions were prepared. Teachers of History were tied to using the traditional mode of delivery, with little or no innovation (Adeyinka, 1989, 1990; Boadu, Awuah, Ababio, and Eduaquah, 2014). Learners were given notes so that they could master the facts. Therefore, learners were only required to recall the teachers’ notes.

The 2013 competency-based curriculum for Senior Secondary History syllabus for Zambia aims at enabling learners to apply historical knowledge, skills and values to the understanding of historical events; evaluate sources of historical information to determine their authenticity; empowering learners with skills to write reasoned essays on some historical topics; assist learners to evaluate current social, political, economic and cultural challenges with a view to offering possible solutions in Zambia, and Southern Africa. It also seeks to help learners to appreciate and understand the state and development of the modern world social, economic and political order from 1870 to the present time. The key competences for learners to achieve are to write essays on selected topics perform elementary historical research from primary and secondary sources and evaluate sources of historical information to determine their validity (History Syllabus, 2013). Therefore, it can be noted that there is a need to shift the teaching and learning of History because teachers need to know the competences that learners should acquire and focus on ways in which teachers can help learners to cultivate those competences.

At Junior Secondary School the History syllabus was integrated into social studies. Integrated Social Science aims at developing an understanding of the economic, political, civic, cultural, geographical and historical factors which influence social development; create an understanding of relationships between man and the environment, develop skills needed to read and interpret maps, charts and diagrams, create an understanding about why and how we learn about the past and develop an understanding

of political development and governance in Zambia since 1964 (History Syllabus, 2013).

The key competences for Junior Secondary School are to show understanding of human rights by participating in human rights activities in school and community, understanding of civic education by participating in gender advocacy in school, state understanding of civic education by participating in anti-corruption activities in the community, demonstrate knowledge, skills of directions by guiding other people and measure distance and interpret relief features in the local environment (History Syllabus, 2013).

The teaching methodologies recommended are learner- centered. These include activity learning (individual/pair/group), educational visits (visits to various relevant institutions and organizations), role-play, debate, demonstration, question and answer technique and teacher exposition. It is expected that learners will be assessed periodically to determine whether the intended outcomes have been internalised and competences mastered. For the sake of this, teachers are advised to conduct continuous assessments, whether weekly, fortnightly or monthly. A mid-term assessment would also be ideal so that where deficiencies are observed some remedial measures are put in place. However, it is strongly recommended that an end-of-term assessment be conducted at each grade level (History Syllabus, 2013).

Expected competences using a competency-based curriculum

Mazabow (2003) has outlined five expected outcomes that learners should acquire when teaching History using a competency-based curriculum. There is a shift from a theory of instruction focused on the teacher to one more focused on the learner (Betram, 2009). The first outcome is the acquisition of historical concepts. Learners should know the key historical concepts such as time, change and causation. The second outcome is that learners of History are expected to achieve the construction of historical knowledge and understanding. The third outcome that a learner of History is expected to acquire is the application of historical skills. The fourth outcome is the ability to evaluate and use evidence is yet another competence that learners of History should acquire in the teaching and learning process. Finally, learners should acquire civic competences and democratic values. A major purpose of historical studies is to raise “good citizens”, a value which has been considerably modified during the past few decades (Mazabow, 2003). Hence, it can be argued that for the competency-based curriculum to be

successfully implemented teachers need to know the competences that learners should acquire.

History practitioners commonly regard historical knowledge to be differentiated into two main forms substantive and disciplinary knowledge. Harris and Ormond (2018) have argued that central to the curriculum reforms in both contexts are questions about knowledge, and the type of knowledge is deemed to be valuable and useful. For example, in a knowledge economy the ability to 'learn how to learn' is deemed crucial. Substantive knowledge refers to knowledge of events, ideas and people and includes substantive first-order concepts such as nationalism or communism which enable connections to be made across different historical periods and places. Disciplinary knowledge includes procedural and conceptual dimensions. Procedural thinking involves the processes required to effectively work with evidence, develop interpretations and construct arguments. This focus on procedural knowledge, of learning how to know History, fits well with an outcomes-based system (Harris & Ormond, 2018).

Role of the teacher in curriculum implementation

Moodley (2013) noted that in educational change, a teacher's role is central and change theories which ignore the personal domain are bound to miss its objectives. Similarly, Smith (2001) stated that the role of teachers can no longer be overlooked, for policy changes would not have the desired effect if they were not accompanied by a supportive process intended to strengthen the role of teachers. Zheng and Borg (2014) argued that teachers need to follow a guideline provided by the curriculum developers that suit the competency-based approaches. On the other hand, Iwoni (2004) noted that to ensure that the curriculum is effectively implemented, infrastructural facilities, equipment, tools and materials must be provided in adequate quantities. For the competency-based approaches to be successful, teachers should be knowledgeable enough to let their learners get involved in the learning process since teachers are major players in curriculum implementation (Botha & Reddy, 2011; Wangeleja, 2010). Teachers also need to have expertise in their particular subjects in order for them to yield targeted products (Moodley, 2013).

Mwanza (2017) contended that teachers are the end-users and when they are not aware of the objectives of a curriculum, it may not be possible for a curriculum to be successfully implemented. Thus, it is crucial for teachers

to know the theoretical underpinning of a curriculum in order to interpret it accurately. In addition, Mwanza (2017) argued that curriculum developers should familiarize themselves with the issues faced by the end-users of the curriculum so that they can create relevant solutions as they revise the curriculum. In agreement with this argument, Okech and Asiachi (1992) added their views and suggested that teachers need to interpret the curriculum correctly to the learners for it to be successful. Hence, teachers' knowledge of the competency-based curriculum for successful implementation of a curriculum is paramount in the implementation stage of the competency-based curriculum. In the next segment, the methodology that was employed in this study has been presented.

Methodology

This study employed a mixed-methods research approach that allowed the researchers to collect analyze and interpret both quantitative and qualitative data sets in a single study. The implementation of the competency-based curriculum by teachers of History was investigated using an explanatory sequential design. An explanatory sequential design, according to Clark and Creswell (2011), consists of first collecting quantitative data and then collecting qualitative data to help explain or elaborate on the quantitative results. The rationale for this approach is that the quantitative data and results provide a general picture of the research problem; more analysis, specifically through qualitative data collection is needed to refine, extend or explain the general picture.

Research sample and data analysis

The study focused on schools in Lusaka. The total sample size of this study was 99. Participants included 1 Curriculum Specialist, 1 Subject Specialist of History, 80 Teachers, 20 schools, 5 Zonal Head Teachers from the ten (10) zones, 5 Heads of sections from 10 zones and 2 Standards Officers. The participants were purposively then randomly selected. The random sampling method enabled the researcher to have a detailed sampling frame for selected clusters for the entire target area. In an effort to give each teacher an equal chance of participating in the study, simple random sampling was employed by selecting four (4) teachers per school who participated in the study and stratified sampling to ensure adequate gender representation. A questionnaire was used to gather information from the teachers. Interviews guides were also used to collect data from one Chief

Curriculum Specialist, one Subject Curriculum Specialist, two Standard Officers, five Head-Teachers, ten Heads of Sections and ten Teachers. Those who were interviewed were selected with the hope of providing rich information regarding the topic of this study Classroom lesson observations and document analysis were used to cross-check teachers' responses from the questionnaires and interviews. Quantitative data was analysed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) and qualitative data was analysed thematically. In the next section, the researcher presented and discussed the findings of the study.

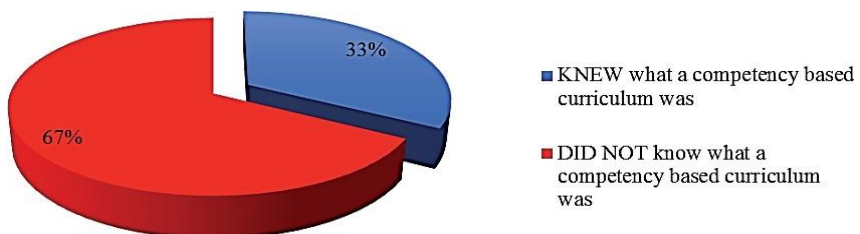
Results and discussion

The information that was obtained from participants through interviews and questionnaires were combined and discussed in a sequence according to themes that emerged from them. The sections that follow have the results and their discussions.

Teacher's knowledge of the competency-based curriculum

In order for the 2013 revised curriculum to be successfully implemented, a teacher of History should know what a competency-based curriculum is. The key focus in a competency-based curriculum is competences or outcomes rather than knowledge. Therefore, in this study participants were asked to state whether they knew what a competency-based curriculum was. In eliciting this information, the researcher was guided by the teachers' questionnaire. Most of the respondents (67%) indicated that they did not know what a competency-based curriculum was. While (33%) of the respondents indicated that they knew the competency-based curriculum. The summary on teachers of History knowledge of the competency-based curriculum has been provided in Image 1.

Image 1: Percentage distribution of teachers' knowledge of the concept of the competency-based curriculum



In order to have in-depth information on the teachers' knowledge of the competency-based curriculum, the researcher used an interview guide to establish teachers' knowledge of the 2013 revised curriculum. Most of the teachers indicated that they did not know what a competency-based curriculum was. For example, one of the respondents, explained that:

I did not know the principle behind the revised curriculum, all that I know is that the structure for examinations for History papers has changed it now incorporates pictures, short word answers and map reading.

Another respondent also added that:

I do not know the concept of the competency-based curriculum because I did not receive any in-service training. The school sends representatives to go for these in-service workshops but when they come back they do not share the knowledge with other teachers they just brief the Head Teacher.

In responding to the same question, another teacher stated that:

Am aware that the curriculum has been revised it is two pathways academic and vocational pathway. But I do not have much information on it as we sent the guidance and counselling teacher for training thus, she is the best person who knows about the competency-based curriculum.

Regarding the same issue, some teachers explained that they had an idea of the competency-based curriculum but there were not sure if it was correct.

One teacher explained that:

A competency-based curriculum is a curriculum that is learner-centred.

While teacher (5) five noted that:

A competency-based curriculum means inclusive learning.

In addition to the (2) two teachers, teacher (6) six explained that:

A competency-based curriculum intends to prepare learners holistically.

In a separate interview the same question was asked to two (2) teachers who indicated that they knew what a competency-based curriculum was.

Teacher (1) one stated that:

A competency-based curriculum is a curriculum that focuses on the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes to use in the future in society.

Regarding the same issue, Teacher (3) three explained that:

It is a curriculum that focuses on developing skills that are required in society.

Another Teacher noted that:

The curriculum focuses on skills. However, the orientation of the curriculum was poorly done. As teachers, we were just given a curriculum and were not guided on how to implement it. We were not even given a sample of the new lesson plan. Teachers had to come up with their own lesson plans, that is why there was a variety of lesson plans in schools.

Similarly, Standards Officer agreed with the teachers' view by explaining that:

The orientation that was given to teachers was done using cascade model in zones and clusters, unfortunately, the information handed over to teachers was distorted by Train of Trainers (T.O.T). The other challenge is that the teacher's curriculum implementation guide and syllabuses have not yet been availed to teachers on time as they are still in draft form.

A Curriculum Specialist confirmed that not all teachers have been trained due to lack of funds from the Ministry of General Education. He explained that:

It is true some teachers have not been oriented on the revised curriculum or competency-based approaches of teaching. Nevertheless, it is not only teachers, but even some Standard Educational Officers and Educational Administrators also have not yet been oriented on the competency-based approaches. The curriculum was implemented hurriedly and teachers received less training. Teachers need more sensitization and training.

The findings of this study indicated that most teachers of History were not conversant with what a competency-based curriculum was because only a few teachers were able to point to competences or outcomes as a key focus of the competency-based curriculum. The findings from the standard officers and curriculum specialist also indicate that teachers were not given proper orientation on the competency-based curriculum. The findings of this study suggest that most teachers did not know what a competency-based curriculum was and the quality of the knowledge of the competency-based curriculum was too limited to implement the competency-based curriculum effectively. These findings were similar to what was revealed in the research findings of Eltis and Mowbray (1997), Williamson (2000), Jansen (2009) and Muneja (2015) who argued that most teachers did not know what a competency-based curriculum was and were unable to give a unified definition competency-based curriculum in the United Kingdom, Australia, South Africa and Tanzania. The authors argued that the range of meanings implied a lack of coherence and focus on the communication of the policy on OBE. Teachers in South Africa complained that the language for OBE was too complex and terminologies were too confusing (Williamson, 2000).

The findings of this study are supported by several studies that have been done where some researchers argued that in-service training for teachers on OBE has not been adequately done in most cases (Jansen, 1998; Muneja, 2015; Benjamin, 2014; Chisholm, 2000; Mosha, 2012). Makeleni (2013) argued that one of the formidable challenges to implement OBE was the inadequate orientation, training and development of teachers. This finding is interesting because teachers who are supposed to implement the curriculum were not knowledgeable of the curriculum they were expected to implement in schools. Lack of knowledge of an educational innovation has a twofold impact on the nation and the learners.

Teachers' lack of knowledge of the competency-based curriculum could thwart the educational system efforts in Zambia in its bid to attain national goals and provide quality education. This finding is an impediment to the attainment of Sustainable Development Goal four which emphasizes the provision of quality education. The observation that the majority of teachers did not know the objectives of competency-based curriculum seemed to be a challenge, considering that teachers are the cornerstone in the implementation of any educational initiative (Komba & Mwandanji, 2015).

Teacher's application of competency-based approaches

Teaching methods in the classroom provide information on how teachers are applying a curriculum. In this regard, the researcher decided to find out how teachers of History were implementing the curriculum using a questionnaire.

Results from Table 1 show that teachers were not using competency-based approaches of teaching and learning. The results were suggesting that the teachers were still using teacher-centered methods thus implementing a content-based curriculum. This could have been as a result of teachers not being given in-service training for competency-based approaches for teaching and learning. In a competency-based curriculum, there is a shift in teaching methods from traditional methods of teaching to learner-centered approaches.

Teacher's responses in the questionnaires indicated that they did not use competency approaches in the teaching and learning of History. Using the interview guide, the researcher also sought to find out how teachers were teaching competency-based approaches. This was done through an interview guide in the interview schedule for teachers.

Table 1: Frequency and percentages distribution of teaching and learning approaches used by teachers

Approach		Very Often	Mostly	Sometimes	Rarely	Not Used	Total Response
Teacher Exposition	f	34	29	10	2	5	80
	%	43	36	13	3	6	100
Project	f	2	8	22	37	11	80
	%	3	10	27	46	14	100
Group Work	f	26	26	21	1	6	80
	%	33	33	26	1	7	100
Question and Answer	f	54	16	7	0	3	80
	%	67	20	9	0	4	100
Discussion	f	33	27	9	5	6	80
	%	41	34	11	6	8	100
Debate	f	2	9	31	27	11	80
	%	3	11	39	34	14	100
Drama	f	1	6	23	38	13	81
	%	1	7	29	47	16	100
Role Play	f	5	8	18	38	11	80
	%	6	10	23	47	14	100
Field Trip	f	5	2	11	49	13	80
	%	6	3	14	61	16	100
Problem Solving	f	21	24	9	18	8	80
	%	26	30	11	23	10	100

On the contrary, when asked in a separate interview on what kind of teaching methods they were using in order to implement the competency teachers indicated that they were using learner-centred approaches in teaching and learning. For instance, one teacher explained that:

I use group work, drama, discussion, role play, pictures and maps while teaching History.

A similar view was shared by another teacher who confirmed that:

We use learner-centred approaches now in the teaching and learning of History.

Ten (10) classes were observed from the classroom selected from the ten zones. From all the 10 observations, it was noted that teachers of History were using competency/ outcomes-based approaches to some extent. The prominent methods of teaching were group work, discussions, question and

answer method and teacher exposition. While most teachers indicated that they were using the learner-centred method in reality from the classes that were observed drama, debate and role play were not used in the teaching and learning of History.

A study of teachers files' which contained lesson plans, syllabi schemes of work and assessment items revealed that some teachers were not using competency/outcomes-based approaches in the teaching and learning of History. Teachers were using different types of lesson plans. Some teachers were still using lesson plans that are stating behavioural objectives while others were using lesson plans that state learning outcomes. Thus there was no uniformity among teachers of History on the type of lesson plan that they used in implementing the competency-based curriculum. Some teachers were still using the old syllabus.

These findings are supported by several studies that have been done where researchers have argued that the curriculum is still content driven (Moshia, 2012; Kimaryo, 2011; Kafyulilo, 2012; Benjamin, 2014). For example, Benjamin (2014) indicated that (80%) of the teachers who were surveyed from selected schools never took the trouble to use the competency-based approaches during the teaching/ learning process in Tanzania. Teachers argued that using a competency-based approach was time-consuming to practice in relation to the content coverage hence they always opted for a teacher-centred approach regardless of the understanding of the learners. Similarly, findings in Kafyulilo (2012) contended that teachers were continuing to use the normal lecture methods even after having been trained about the competency-based approaches. They gave varied opinions on what was understood to be effective teaching. Views also differed on the preparation of lessons, assessing, recording and reporting students' progress. Thus, the implication is that a competency-based curriculum was not being implemented because teachers were not using competency-based approaches in teaching and learning. From the discussion, it can be argued that teachers were still implementing a content-based curriculum instead of a competency-based curriculum.

Methods of assessment used by teachers

Assessment is an integral part of teaching and learning. Assessment can help education evaluators to assess the extent to which an innovation is being implemented The Teachers' Curriculum Implementation Guide (TCIG) for the Zambian Competency-based curriculum states that learners

can be either oral or written, depending on the task. Feedback can be provided by the teacher. However, feedback can also be provided by peers or by the learner her/himself (TCIG, 2013). Despite guidelines from the TCIG, most teachers indicated that they were using the traditional method of assessment in the teaching and learning of History. About 63% of the respondents indicated that they used class exercises very often as a method of assessment while 60% of the respondents indicated that they used tests and examinations as the usual methods of assessment. Teachers were using the traditional paper and pencil or pens assessment methods commonly used in schools for assessing students' competences which encouraged learners to memorize their lecture notes which were deemed crucial for passing the examination. These often tested ability to recall memorized facts, knowledge and principles. A summary of the assessment methods used are indicated in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Frequency and percentage distribution of assessment methods

Methods of Assessment		Very Often	Mostly	Sometimes	Rarely	Not Used	Total Response
Interviews	f	3	10	13	38	16	80
	%	4	13	16	48	20	100
Conference	f	1	5	7	45	22	80
	%	1	6	9	56	28	100
Assessing Products	f	14	11	10	23	22	80
	%	18	14	13	29	28	100
Oral work	f	32	25	3	9	11	80
	%	40	31	4	11	14	100
Performance	f	18	22	7	14	19	80
	%	23	28	9	18	24	100
Class Exercises	f	50	19	2	3	6	80
	%	63	24	3	4	8	100
Homework	f	0	24	45	5	6	80
	%	0	30	56	6	8	100
Test and Examination	f	48	24	2	1	5	80
	%	60	30	3	1	6	100

A competency-based curriculum uses authentic assessment methods such as portfolios, classroom or field observation, projects, oral presentations, self-assessment, interviews and peer-assessment (Kitta & Tilya, 2010). Authentic assessment methods are more useful for a competency-

based curriculum than other forms of assessment because they provide an opportunity for students to demonstrate the competencies they have mastered in real life or an analogous situation. This does not mean that the traditional methods of assessment are not relevant as they are part of the competency-based assessment methods. Assessment items from document study showed that teachers of History were still using content-based methods of assessments namely; tests and examinations only. Teachers of History were giving learners continuous assessment such as middle term tests but they are not added towards the final examination. In some schools, learners were given projects but they were not added to the final part of the examination mark. Therefore, it can be noted that teachers of History were still using traditional methods of assessment instead of competency-based methods of assessment that required a teacher to come up with a portfolio.

The findings of this study correlate with the works of Msonde (2011), Benjamin (2014) and Muneja (2015) whose overall findings indicated that teachers still preferred tests and examinations because they were stipulated in the school regulations such that teachers were strictly enforced by the school administration and teachers administered monthly tests and examination per school term. None of the teachers produced portfolios, project work or written essays which promote creative and critical thinking. Jonassen (2008) argued that in constructivist teaching, the assessment was based not only on tests, but also on observation of the learners, the learner's work, and the learners' points of view. It is important that teachers use tradition and competency-based assessments for learners to develop the required competences in History.

One of the disadvantages of OBE is that there is a lack of clarity on the assessment practices to be followed. Moreover in places where there was an assessment scheme in place teachers appeared to be unable to cope with it (Brand, 1998). Jansen (1998) argued further that without intensive debates about the reorganization of the assessment system, traditional examinations will reinforce the curriculum status quo.

Therefore, the study findings indicated that the assessment methods that teachers of History were using were not competency-based assessment. It seems teachers did not know the competency-based approaches of assessment and they were not even provided in the syllabi for them to follow. Thus, there were no competency-based assessments items in their teaching files. In a case where teachers knew the assessment methods, it

could be argued that the reason why teachers were probably not giving competency-based assessments to learners could be that they did not count towards the final mark in the examination.

Conclusion and recommendations

There is a serious need for teachers of History to be equipped with knowledge of the competency-based curriculum for the curriculum to be implemented effectively in schools. Teachers should be the focus in any curriculum reform as they play a critical role in the effective implementation of the curriculum. It can be concluded that most teachers of History in Lusaka did know what a competency-based curriculum was and would need proper training for them to have knowledge of the competency-based curriculum. The study also found out that most teachers of History were not using competency-based approaches in the teaching and learning of History. Teachers were still using traditional methods of teaching and assessment. Traditional methods of assessment are not in line with competency-based approaches of teaching and learning. Teachers did not have portfolios for learners to indicate the competencies their learners should have or had acquired. The assessments were not performance-based assessment. In view of the results of this study and conclusions that were drawn, the study recommended among other things that teachers of History should receive in-service training on competency-based approaches of teaching and learning. There would be need to apply the Concerns-based adoption model (CBAM) to enable teachers to adapt the curriculum and to view it as their own. This can help teachers to be aware of the innovation, information needed to implement the curriculum and the needs of the learners. If well applied, the model can help in the successful implementation of the competency-based curriculum in the teaching and learning of History. The challenges of limited knowledge in the implementation of the competency-based curriculum could be avoided. Thus, it is crucial for teachers to know the theoretical underpinning of a curriculum in order to interpret it accurately.

References

- Adeyinka, AA 1989. Current problems of History teaching in some Nigerian Senior Secondary Schools. *Ilorin Journal of Education*, 9(6):55-63.
- Barton, K and Levstik, L 2004. *Teaching History for the common good*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Benjamin LS 2014. *The implementation of constructivist approach in competency-based curriculum: A case of Geography teaching in selected Secondary Schools in Songea municipality*. MEd, The Open University of Tanzania.
- Bertram, C 2009. Procedural and substantive knowledge: Some implications of an outcomes-based History curriculum in South Africa. *Southern African Review of Education*, 15(1): 45-62.
- Boadu, G, Awuah, M Ababio, AM and Eduaquah, S 2014. An examination of the use of technology in the teaching of History: A study of selected Senior High Schools in the Cape Coast Metropolis, Ghana. *International Journal of Learning, Teaching and Educational Research*, 8(1):187-214.
- Botha, M and Reddy, C 2011. In-service teachers' perspectives of pre-service teachers' knowledge domain in Science. *South Africa Journal of Education*, 2(31):257-274.
- Chia, YT 2012. History education for nation building and state formation: The case of Singapore. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 7(2):191-207.
- Creswell, JW and Plano Clark, VL 2011. *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Sage Publications, Los Angeles.
- Eltis, K and Mowbray B 1997. Focusing on learning in New South Wales. In: J Lokan (ed.), *Describing learning implementation of curriculum profiles in Australian schools 1986-1996*.
- Harris, R and Ormond, B 2018. *Historical knowledge in a knowledge economy – What types of knowledge matter? Educational Review*, 71(5):564-580.
- IBE-UNESCO 2017. The why, what and how of competency-based curriculum reforms: The Kenyan experience. Current and critical issues in curriculum, learning and assessment. *In Progress Reflection*, 11.
- Jansen, JD 1998. Curriculum reform in South Africa: A critical analysis of outcomes-based education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 28(3):321-331.
- Jonassen, DH 2008. Educational instructions. *Journal of Computing in Higher Education*, 3(51):49-73.
- Kafyulilo, A, Rugambuka, I and Moses, I 2012. The implementation of competency-based teaching approaches in Tanzania: The case of pre-service teachers at Morogoro teacher training college. *Universal Journal of Education and General Studies*, 4(2):311-326.

- Kimario, LA 2011. *Integrating environmental education in Primary School education in Tanzania: Teachers' perceptions and teaching practices*. Helsinki: Abo Akademi University Press.
- Kitta, S, and Tilya, FN 2010. The status of learner-centred learning and assessment. In: Tanzania in the context of the competence-based curriculum. *Papers in Education and Development*, 29:77-91.
- Komba, SC and Mwandaji M 2015. Reflections on the implementation of competence-based curriculum in Tanzanian Secondary Schools. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 4(2):73-80.
- Lee, P and Ashby, R 2000. Progressions in historical understanding among students ages 7-14. In: P Stearns, P Seixas & S Wineburg (eds.), *Knowing teaching & learning history: National and international perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.
- Lee, P 2011. History of education and historical literacy. In: I Davies (ed.), *Debates in History teaching*. London: Routledge.
- Lévesque, S 2008. *Thinking historically: Educating students for the twenty-first century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Madeley, HM 1920. *History as a school of citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mazabow, G 2003. *The development of historical consciousness in the teaching of History in South African schools*. PhD Thesis, University of South Africa.
- McPhail, G and Rata, E 2016. Comparing curriculum types: 'Powerful Knowledge' and '21st Century Learning'. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 51:53-68.
- Ministry of Education 1992. Focus on learning. Lusaka: MoE.
- Ministry of Education 1996. Educating our future. Lusaka: MoE.
- Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational training and Early Childhood education 2013. *Grade 10-12 History Syllabus*. Curriculum Development Center: Lusaka.
- Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational training and Early Childhood education 2013. *Grade 8-9, Social Studies Syllabus*. Curriculum Development Center: Lusaka.
- Ministry of General Education 2013b. *Teachers Curriculum Implementation Guide*. Lusaka: Curriculum Development Center.

- Mokhaba, MB 2005. *Outcomes-based education in South Africa since 1994: Policy objectives and implementation complexities*. Phd thesis. University of Pretoria.
- Moodley, V 2013. In-service teacher education: Asking questions for higher order thinking. *South Africa Journal of Education*, 33(2):1-18.
- Msonde, C 2011. *Enhancing teachers competencies on learner-centered approach in Tanzania*. MEd dissertation. University of Dar es Salaam.
- Mulenga, IM and Mwanza, C 2019. Teacher's voices crying in the school wilderness: Involvement of Secondary School teachers in curriculum development in Zambia. *Journal of Curriculum and Teaching*, 8(1):32-39.
- Mulenga, IM and Kabombwe, MY 2019. Understanding a competency-based curriculum and education: The Zambian perspective. *Journal of Lexicography and Terminology*, 3(1):106-134.
- Muneja MS 2015. *Secondary School teachers' implementation of the competency-based curriculum in the Arusha Region, Tanzania*. MEd dissertation, University of South Africa.
- Mwanza, C 2017. *Teacher involvement in curriculum development in Zambia: A role analysis of selected Secondary School teachers in Lusaka Urban*. MEd dissertation, University of Zambia.
- O'Sullivan, M 2004. The reconceptualisation of learner-centred approaches: A Namibian case study. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 24:585-602.
- Okechi, JG and Asiachi, AJ 1992. *Curriculum development for schools*. Nairobi: Educational Research Publications Ltd.
- Opong, CA 2009. *An evaluation of the teaching and learning of History in Senior High Schools in the central region of Ghana*. M.Phil dissertation, University of Cape Coast.
- Schmidt MJ 2017. The perils of outcomes-based education in fostering South African educational transformation. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 7:368-379.
- Schuh, KL 2004. Learner-centred principles in teacher-centred practices? *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20:883-846.
- Schweisfurth, M 2011. Learner-centred education in developing country contexts: From solution to problem? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31:425-432.

- Seixas, P 2012. Progress, presence and historical consciousness: Confronting past, present and future in postmodern time. *Paedagogica Historica*, 48(6):859-872.
- Seixas, P (ed.) 2006. Introduction. In: P Seixas, (ed.), *Theorizing historical consciousness*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Smit, B 2001. How Primary School teachers experience education policy change in South Africa. *Perspectives in Education*, 19(3):67-84.
- Taasisi ya Elimu 2013. *Maboresho na Mabadiliko ya Mitaala toka 1961 had 2010. [Curriculum Reviews and Changes from 1961 to 2010]*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Institute of Education.
- Taylor, T 2006. Disputed territory: The politics of historical consciousness in Australia. In: P Seixas (ed.), *Theorizing historical consciousness*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- The Zambia National Education Coalition 2017. *Policy brief on the status of education in Zambia report: A special focus on quality of education*. Lusaka: ZANEC.
- Wangeleja, M 2010. *The teaching and learning of competency-based mathematics curriculum: A paper presented at the Annual Seminar of the Mathematical Association of Tanzania at Mazimbu Campus*. Morogoro: Sokoine University of Agriculture.
- Wheelahan, L (2007). How competency-based training locks the working class out of powerful knowledge. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 28:637-651.
- Williamson, MC 2000. *A comparative analysis of outcomes-based education in Australia and South Africa*. MEd dissertation, University of South Africa.
- Woods, E 2008. *Tanzania case study*. In UNESCO, *Country profile commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2008: Education for all by 2015, Will we make it?* Paris: UNESCO.
- World Bank 2011. A regional exploration of pathways toward harmonization of Mathematics and Science curriculum in the East African community. *Discussion Paper*. Washington D.C: World Bank.
- Young, M and Muller, J 2010. Three educational scenarios for the future: Lessons from the sociology of knowledge. *European Journal of Education*, 45(1):11-27.
- Zambia 1966. *Ministry of African Education. Annual Report*. Lusaka: Government Printers.

Zheng, X and Borg, S 2014. Task-based learning and teaching in China: Secondary school teachers' Beliefs and practices. *Language Teaching Research*, 18(2), 205-221.

Developing a serious game artefact to demonstrate World War II content to History students

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2019/n22a3>

Byron J Bunt
North-West University (Vanderbijlpark)
20172672@nwu.ac.za
ORCID No: 0000-0002-2102-4381

Lance R Bunt
North-West University (Vanderbijlpark)
lance.bunt@nwu.ac.za
ORCID No: 0000-0003-0455-8493

Abstract

The following design paper reports on a serious game project being made by interdisciplinary researchers at the North-West University (NWU), Vanderbijlpark Campus. The aim of this venture is to develop a trading card game based on specific History content, using similar mechanics found in popular card games such as Magic: The Gathering and the Pokémon Trading Card Game. The game is called Dogs of War (DoW) and the historical figures will be depicted as various dog breeds to subvert player expectations and assuage a grim period of human History. The game itself is designed in such a way that up to six people can play together, with each player representing a faction that was involved in the war. These factions include: Nazi Germany, Imperial Japan, Fascist Italy, Great Britain, United States of America and Soviet Russia. The conceptualisation of DoW has already reached the initial play-testing phase, wherein the basic mechanics and units already having been designed. The game will be implemented in a third year History class at NWU in 2020, with the aim of researching whether the game itself can enhance self-directed learning through tangential and exciting gameplay. Focus group interviews will be held at the end of the first semester (2020) to gauge this prototype's overall effectiveness.

Keywords: Trading card game; Tangential learning; History education; Source-based questioning; Serious game design.

Introduction

The South African History curriculum states that one of the specific aims of the subject is “to create an interest in and enjoyment of the study of the past” (Department of Education, 2011:8). To this end, this paper wishes to address a specific History teaching strategy that will—in our opinion—address this specific aim of History education. This strategy is spearheaded by a new serious game artefact called *Dogs of War (DoW)*. This serious

game is a historically-themed, competitive trading card game with a focus on humorous and whimsical representations of historical figures set during the Second World War (WW II). One of the researchers is a lecturer at the NWU, Vanderbijlpark Campus, who teaches History for Education. The lecturer in question is seeking to create a novel and entertaining method to teach what could be considered a vast and complex period of History. It was the desire of this lecturer to try to make History fun and interesting – *DoW* was developed to this end.

A literature review revealed that locally a study has been conducted that compared two Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) curriculum Grade 10 History textbooks with the electronic video game *Assassin's Creed Unity*, using Seixas's (2017) six second-order historical thinking concepts (historical significance, source evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective taking and the moral or ethical dimension) as categorical filters. Findings revealed that any integration of electronic games into official educational practice will require that teachers devote themselves to establishing a particular historically literate learner in line with the Department of Basic Education (DBE) and South African government's agenda. For textbook researchers, the findings open the door to similar explorations into other sections within the CAPS approved History textbooks, particularly in relation to the South African Revolution (Malkin-Page, 2016). While this study did look at the *Assassin's Creed* video game, it looked at an electronic game which can also not be considered a serious game with the aim of teaching history. The *DoW* game is a physical artefact that is designed to specifically develop historical thinking.

DoW has altered historical agents where different anthropomorphic dog breeds each associated with one of the six major nations that take part in the war; with major historical events and figures being depicted in this manner. Players of *DoW* will be able to control one of six factions or nations that were involved in WW II, namely Nazi Germany, Imperial Japan, Fascist Italy, United States of America, Great Britain or the Soviet Union. Once a faction is chosen, the player can control the military forces of that nation using some traditional trading card game mechanics, such as amassing some form of power in which cards can be placed according to their cost. Card types include production points, units (either land, sea or air units with different abilities) as well as special event cards that can boost or diminish other cards. The aim of *DoW* would be to defeat the opposing

player's general using strategy, deck-building and subject-knowledge.

The main focus of *DoW* is to teach WW II History from a tangential learning perspective (Armstrong, 2004). While the game itself can be enjoyed without any knowledge of WWII, the aim is to tangentially teach historical concepts and content in an engaging and fun way. Special flavour text at the bottom of each card, or a QR code, will link to the accurate History of that particular card. For example, the Nazi general card for Adolf Hitler would have a code that would take students to a website with more information on Hitler as a historical figure.

Philosophical underpinnings

The following section outlines the various philosophical underpinnings which are imbedded in *DoW*.

Gotta catch 'em all!

The theme of collecting sought after objects as a metaphor for developing knowledge/understanding of a subject within a certain discipline is explored in *DoW*. The cards themselves are attributed value based on a rarity scale developed by the researchers. Cognitive levels therefore determine the rarity of the cards in *DoW*. The rarer the card, the deeper the questions at the back of the card in question. Firstly, common cards only focus on basic information extrapolation. Secondly, uncommon cards focus on analysis. Thirdly, rare cards focus on evaluation. Cards are therefore named and then stratified into these three categories and from there the developers created a worksheet based on which cards are common, uncommon and rare.

A fourth type of rarity—hyper rare—was also developed during game conceptualisation. These cards are linked to application History or the practical use of History knowledge. An example of this could be a general card, such as Joseph Goebbels, who was the propagandist for the Nazis. His card is hyper rare, with a QR code link giving more information on him and propaganda. The source-based activity could ask students to synthesise all they have learned and to do a practical activity, such as creating a propaganda poster of their own using the online information. Another example could be Adolf Hitler as a hyper rare card. His URL would give information on him as a leader and his oratory skills. The activity would entail students writing a speech for their nation, to boost the morale of soldiers during WW II.

The assessment of students will be set according to this rarity scale. For example, a common Wehrmacht soldier would have a QR link to a diary entry of a German soldier. This is how the developers can ask the question: “What can be learned regarding the emotional state of German soldiers during WW II?”. Basic extrapolation from the text is thus undertaken by the student to correctly answer the question posed.

Ludic activity

Transforming static, normative content into an intervention which uses artefacts that aim at generating excitement and allow for skill retention under fun conditions.

History as an applied science

An applied science is the application of existing scientific knowledge to practical applications, like technology or inventions (Bertram, 2008).

Within natural science, disciplines that are basic science—also called pure science—develop basic information to predict and perhaps explain and understand phenomena in the natural world (Dean, 2004). Applied science is the use of scientific processes and knowledge as the means to achieve a particular practical or useful result. This includes a broad range of applied science related fields from engineering, business, and medicine to early childhood education (Bertram, 2008). It is the view of the researchers that History as a subject ought to be viewed as an applied science. History as a subject has been most often described as a basic science with facts and dates, where rote learning and memorization are the key elements of learning (Dean, 2004). However, many historians argue that History can be applied using many approaches, which we believe in strongly. Historical thinking and skills can therefore be used when analysing sources, or when engaging in role-play, of which *DoW* can be considered a part.

Recontextualising “serious” subject matter

The syllabus for a third year Bachelor of Education module, HISE 322 – a new module developed in 2019 – focuses on aspects of world History from 1914-1991; encompassing 3 major events, namely: WW I, WW II and the Cold War. The lecturer decided to focus the game on one of these events, while keeping in mind that WWII had the most adaptability towards becoming a game, with various nations involved and several people who could be incorporated into a game setting. The lecturer, as subject leader

for the History for Education subject group, saw the opportunity to develop exciting new teaching and learning strategies for his modules, and sought to carry out a research project with the aid of a designer in the Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences.

DoW allows African students to engage with History in a tactile, collaborative environment that tangentially teaches source-based interpretation. It reflects a moving away from standardised, western classrooms and focuses instead on “us learning” rather than “I’m learning”, and fully encapsulates the notion of Afrocentric learning and Ubuntu. The game nurtures collaborative learning in a new way and introduces historical content in the form of a shared experience.

The next section will discuss in detail the role of source-based assessment in History teaching and its function within the game *DoW*.

Tangential learning

Tangential learning is the method by which persons self-educate; when a theme is presented to them in a setting that they already enjoy (Armstrong, 2004). For instance, once one has played a music-based video game, a few people may be encouraged to study how to play an actual instrument. After watching a television show that references Faust and Lovecraft, some people could be motivated to read the original works of these authors (Portnow & Floyd, 2008). Consistent with specialists in natural learning, self-oriented learning preparation has confirmed to be an effective instrument for supporting independent learning and thinking (Leland, 2016).

DoW can, therefore, be considered a tangential means of teaching History. Players essentially self-educate themselves through play. As *DoW* is at its core a game, the setting itself is already enjoyable and competitive, thanks to the card gameplay. *DoW* therefore meets the criteria for tangential learning.

Implicit learning

Implicit learning is the learning of complex information in an incidental manner, without awareness of what has been learned (Sun, 2008). According to Frensch and Rüniger (2003) the general definition of implicit learning is still subject to some controversy, although the topic has had some significant developments since the 1960s (Frensch & Rüniger, 2003). Implicit learning may require a certain minimal amount of attention and

may depend on attentional and working memory mechanisms. The result of implicit learning is implicit knowledge in the form of abstract (but possibly instantiated) representations rather than verbatim or aggregate representations (Seger, 1994), and scholars have drawn similarities between implicit learning and implicit memory.

Examples from daily life, like learning how to ride a bicycle or how to swim, are cited as demonstrations of the nature of implicit learning and its mechanism. It has been claimed that implicit learning differs from explicit learning by the absence of consciously accessible knowledge (Frensch & R nger, 2003). Evidence supports a clear distinction between implicit and explicit learning; for instance, research on amnesia often shows intact implicit learning but impaired explicit learning. Another difference is that brain areas involved in working memory and attention are often more active during explicit than implicit learning (Seger, 1994). DoW can similarly teach WW II content implicitly, as the cards form the abstract representations of knowledge that Seger (1994) suggested. Due to the fun nature of the DoW card game, the learning of WW II content will be done incidentally, as the learning occurs while the game is being played, i.e. the main aim of the game is to have fun, not to learn.

History content and source-based assessment

The focus of History teaching in the South African curriculum has shifted to working with historical sources (Bertram, 2006). The aim is to enable students to extract, analyse and interpret evidence from sources, just like historians do, and write their own piece of History. Emphasis is on History as a “process” rather than a “product”. It is therefore imperative for students to note that nearly all the assessment in History is based on source identification, integration and analyses (Dean, 2004).

Sources are the raw material of History (McAleavy, 1998). These include letters, documents, books, photographs, drawings and paintings, speeches, monuments, statues and buildings, tables and graphs, maps, poems, diaries, songs, etc. They can be written, oral, visual and any other material that is useful to the historian to find historical evidence.

Source-based analysis and interpretation forms the cornerstone of assessment within any History classroom in the 21st century. The application of historical skills such as extrapolation, evaluation, synthesis and detection of bias are all essential when approaching any given source, whether it is

primary or secondary in nature (McAleavy, 1998). These skills need to be taught to students through the use of a variety of source material, which could take the form of extracted texts, pictures, photographs, political cartoons, video and audio recordings or physical artefacts (Dean, 2004).

In the scrutiny of these sources, students tend to struggle with identifying significant elements and interpretations, as has been witnessed over several years by the lecturer in question (Dean, 2004). In order to combat this issue, the lecturer proposes to incorporate an entertaining and engaging trading card game based on one particular unit of History, namely WW II, in order to create exciting, engaging and above all, tangential means to develop source-based analytical and interpretation skills using the said cards (Department of Education, 2011; McAleavy, 1998). The cards would serve as the impetus for developing student curiosity and the desire to further their knowledge of that card's historical roots. Any given card is a representation of something historical that took place.

Through the use of technological means such as QR codes, each card could contain a link to a historical source that needs to be interpreted. Each link could pose a number of questions to the students, and probe their skills of analysis and interpretation. The History curriculum suggests that during source-based analysis, a 3-level approach ought to be implemented to cater for a wide range of cognitive levels and abilities of all students in the classroom (Department of Education, 2011). These levels include:

- Level 1: Extracting basic evidence from sources;
- Level 2: Explaining historical concepts; straightforward interpretation of the sources;
- Level 3: Interpreting and evaluating information from sources; engaging with questions of bias, reliability and usefulness of sources

From this taxonomy of cognitive levels used in source-based questioning, the researchers decided to create 3 levels of source-based assessment imbedded within the DoW card game itself. This would be tied in to the rarity scale used in the game. The common cards would all have level 1 source-based questions imbedded within them, while uncommon cards would be linked to level 2, and the rare cards would be linked to level 3. Once a player's card has been destroyed as part of the game dynamic, the player needs to access the source-based question at the back of the card using a QR code. The sources themselves will be connected to the card

in question. This will implicitly and tangentially teach the players about History content as well as how to tackle source-based analysis.

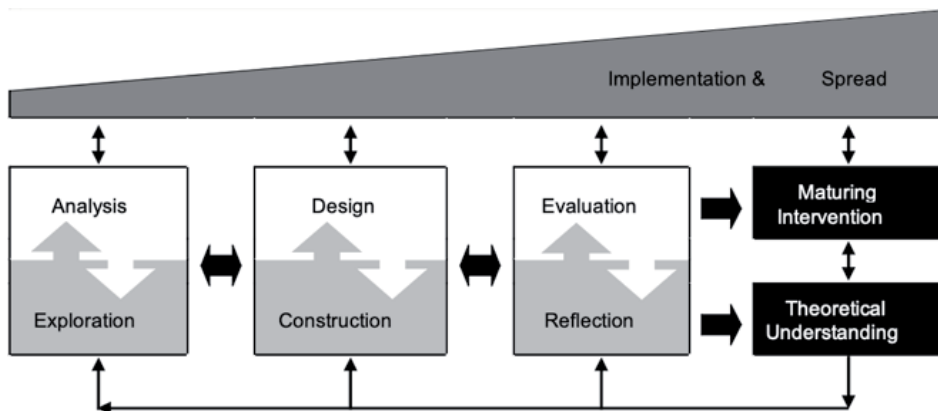
Descriptive science and knowledge by acquaintance

Propositional knowledge (knowledge as justified truth) is translated into knowledge obtained through direct causal (experience-based) interaction between person and object when playing *DoW*. This is achieved through various means in this serious game: (i) opening randomly seeded booster packs of cards; (ii) drafting cards with other students in class; (iii) constructing a forty card deck with drafted cards to play against others; (iv) tournament play; (v) trading cards with peers; and (vi) completing the assessments tied to the cards themselves. These aspects will further be unpacked in a future paper.

Methodology and game design

McKenney and Reeves (2012) developed a model which features three vital steps in design research, i.e. (i) preparing for design; (ii) conducting design; and (iii) retrospectively analysing design. Education Design Research (EDR) was expanded by these researchers to visualise the interaction between these steps in practice to yield twofold outputs of both knowledge and intervention (Image 1.).

Image 1: Model for conducting EDR



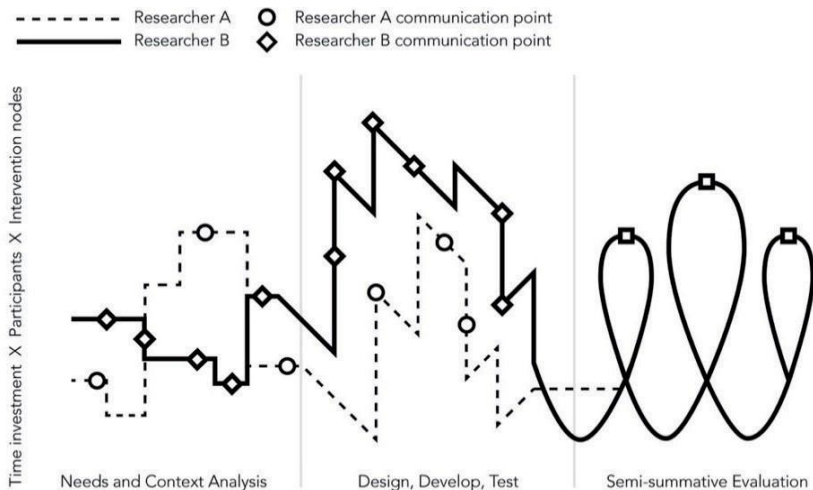
Source: SE McKenney & TC Reeves, *Conducting educational research design: What, why and how* (Taylor & Francis, 2012), p. 65.

A modified form of EDR was chosen as the methodology for *DoW*, as it is a project being developed ‘in practice’; at an educational institution (NWU) where academic practitioners collaborate to solve research problems and implement interventions to improve systems therein. The methodology for *DoW*s development can therefore be described as a variation of both action research (research to improve methods) and EDR (develop knowledge and develop solutions).

Such an adaptation of the EDR model has seen real-world implementation in studies conducted by Greeff, Heymann, Carroll and Nel (2017), Greeff, Heymann, Nel and Carroll, (2018), and Bunt and Greeff (2018)—lending credence to this form of serious game development as valid and flexible. Plomp (2013) maintains that EDR affords researchers the opportunity to collect and evaluate both qualitative and quantitative data, and allows them to triangulate the findings after-the-fact. This is especially useful in a case where the researchers regularly iterate on and test game elements such as mechanics, art and pedagogical content.

Typically, in these instances, however, an adapted SCRUM agile software development cycle approach is followed (Van den Akker, Gravemeijer, McKenney and Nieveen, 2006). A new visualization of this process followed by researchers for *DoW* can be seen in Image 2 below.

Image 2: The EDR, SCRUM, agile development cycle for prototype 1 of *DoW*



Source: J van den Akker, K Gravemeijer, S McKenney & N Nieveen (eds.) 2006, *Educational design research* (Routledge). (Author’s interpretation)

As can be seen in Image 2, both researchers were exposed to various development procedures and communicated with one another at differing times. This is of great importance to such a small development team approaching a substantial serious game design undertaking; as it may hold consequence for future development teams. The adapted SCRUM agile approach has been visualised accordingly, as iteration and tuned integration of user experiences will only take place during the “Semi-summative evaluation” of the *DoW* product. User feedback will only be integrated then for this prototype procedure.

A bottom-up design approach was taken by the game designers during idea validation and conceptualisation for *DoW*. This technique was used to firstly build the game from a purely mechanical standpoint. Art assets, game components and various other facets of the game will be crafted after the gameplay (rules, turn order, card anatomy, card interaction, etc.) and trading aspects (drafting, pack seeding, rarity etc.) have been developed thoroughly. Such a method contrasts with a top-down approach, where visual portions and “flavour” (themes, characters, places, etc.) of the game inspire the mechanics and gameplay thereof. Despite a wealth of visual inspiration (WW II uniforms, weapons, artillery, planes, tanks, etc.) available to them, the designers decided instead to take inspiration and validate their ideas using historical texts; allowing them to infuse the various nation’s languages and designations into the card text itself.

The serious game was therefore designed to firstly educate and secondly entertain. Pedagogical content is therefore evident in almost all areas of *DoW*. This is largely resultant from the incorporation of assessment into the multidimensional gameplay experience. The team goal, moreover, intended to present educational content to players before gaining buy-in or to expand the player base.¹

Inspiration

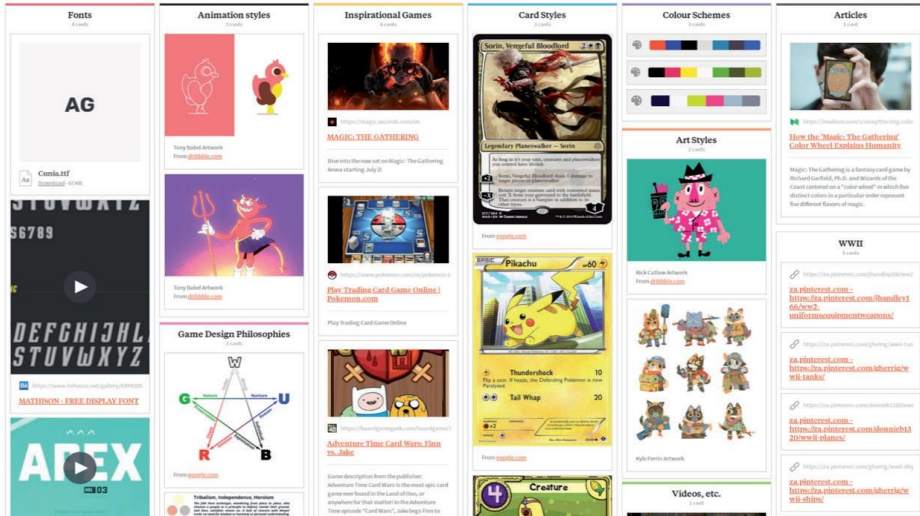
Themes of “conflict”, “chronology”, “tactics” and “collection” are explored in *DoW*. Battles are fought between factions of troops comprised of historically accurate – albeit quirkily interpreted – ground, air and seafaring units. The timeline explored in the base set of *DoW* is WW II: A colossal war effort spanning six years (1939-1945). Deck building

¹ As a note to the reader, various other trading card serious games have been created and tested by these authors: Steinman & Blastos (2002); Sakamoto, Alexandrova and Nakajima (2013a); and Sakamoto, Alexandrova and Nakajima (2013b).

(strategy) and card trading/circulation round off the thematic considerations in the game. The three chief inspirations for *DoW* are: (i) Wizards of the Coast's massively popular trading card game *Magic: The Gathering* (known to many players as "Magic" or "MTG"); the (ii) *Pokémon Trading Card Game* (abbreviated as "PTCG" or "Pokémon TCG"), published by *The Pokémon Company*; and (iii) *Adventure Time Card Wars*, made by Cryptozoic Entertainment™.

Magic allows players to cast powerful spells, sorceries, instants and enchantments in the form of highly valuable and equally sought-after cardboard trading cards. *DoW* was inspired mainly by the strategic nature of *MTG*, where players are thrust into a competitive space to overcome and outplay fellow gamers. Players use an array of fictional creatures and spells in this game, correlating with the historical agents in *DoW*. Potent and complex deck combinations are nurtured in such an environment; and *DoW* seeks to do just that—foster strategic thinking to create and hone unique, homebrew decks which can operate in a multitude of situations. The *Pokémon TCG* utilises a distinctive rarity system for a trading card game, allowing for what are colloquially called "secret rares" by fans. These cards are specially foiled and do not add to the numbers in a given set release. Instead, they fall outside of the base number of cards—heightening their clandestine nature. *DoW*, similarly, has a four-tier rarity scale (common, uncommon, rare and hyper rare), but does not follow this secret-card method in the base game. Nevertheless, the trading aspect tied to the rarity index holds value for a game such as *DoW*. *Adventure Time Card Wars* does not necessarily rely heavily on the trading aspects of a traditional collectable card game, but does focus on faction-based denominations—similar to a colour-based faction wheel used in *Magic*. Each of these groupings have mechanical ties to delineate their specific "type" of gameplay. For instance, the "Nice Lands" faction in *Card Wars* tends to have lower attack stats but can heal themselves and other creatures more often than not. Such mechanical depth is what inspired the 'Power Wheel' in *DoW*. A mood board was created to visually depict the direction the researchers wanted to go (Image 3.). Core aspects to the bottom-up design approach can be seen here, including: potential fonts for consideration, animation and motion (should the researchers create/implement electronic aspects into the game), inspirational games, card frames and styles, colour schemes, inspiring art styles and visual approaches to character design, and a number of articles relating to the games in question. This mood board was created with free-to-use software called "Milanote".

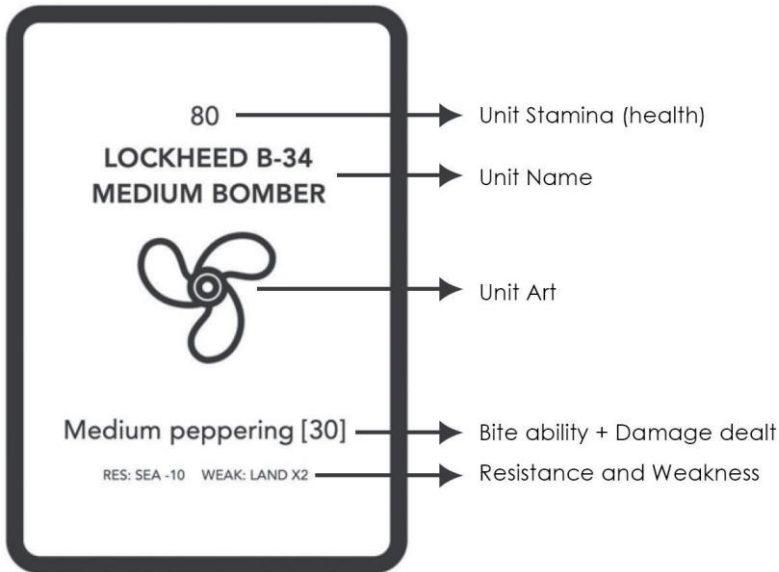
Image 3: The mood board created for DoW using Milanote



Source: Designed by author.

Iconography

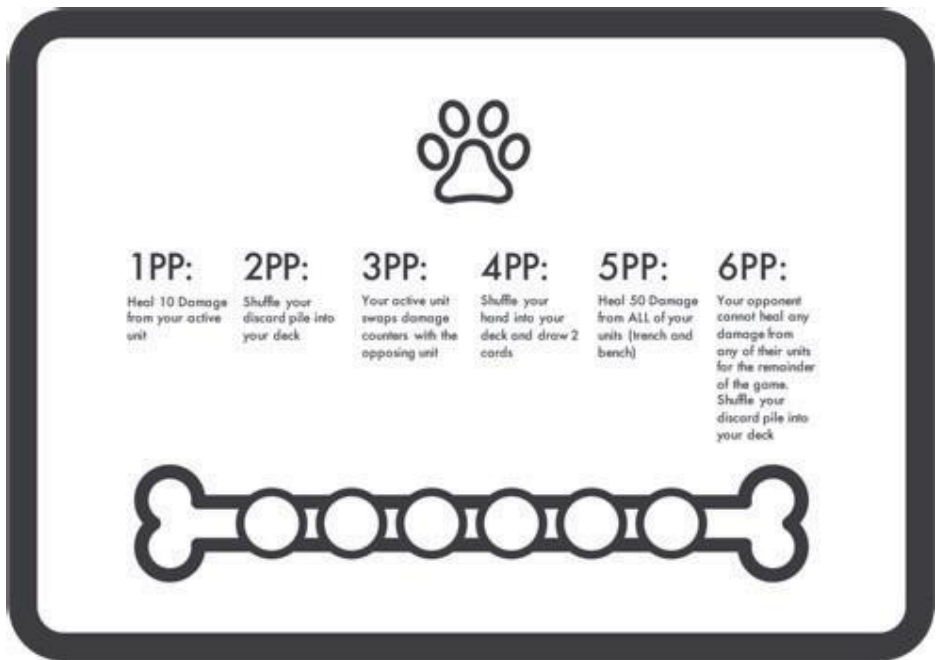
Image 4: An aircraft unit card in DoW



Source: Designed by author.

The uppermost piece of information on a *DoW* card is the amount of damage a unit can sustain before it is considered KO'd and is removed from active gameplay. Below that is the official designation of the aircraft, naval unit or ground artillery. A visual representation of the unit appears in the middle/center of the card and the ability of the unit is listed beneath that. Both the unit resistances and weaknesses appear at the bottom of a given unit card, and relate specifically to the "Power Wheel" created for the game. Moreover, additional emblems will be designed to delineate the faction and unit type (air, ground or sea) attributed to each card.

Image 5: An early general card in DoW



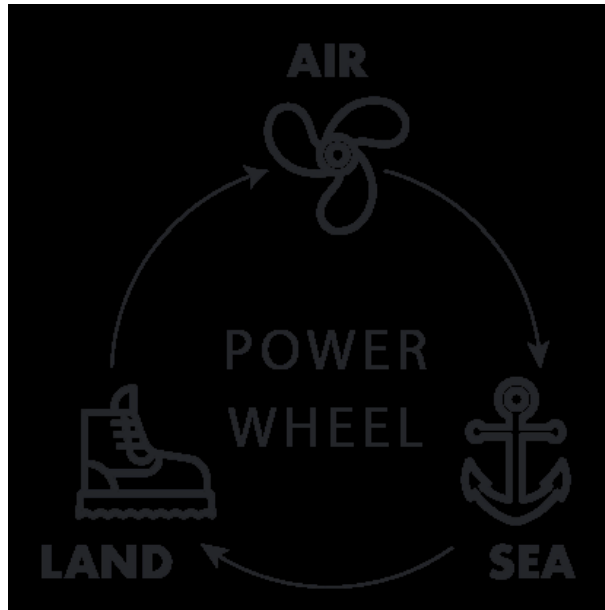
Source: Designed by author.

A general card in *DoW* (Image 5.) is more complex than a unit card at first glance, but is wholly made up of bark abilities, a track and some art (name and visual depiction). These cards allow for powerful card combinations and expending "PP" each turn lets a player make use of a single general ability.

Mechanics

The chief aim in *DoW* is to destroy the opposing general card or to eliminate six rival unit cards—whichever comes first. The game revolves around a “Power Wheel” system to achieve balance in terms of power creep and unit abilities:

Image 6: The Power Wheel in *DoW*



Source: Designed by author.

The game generally utilises a rock, paper, scissors system to allocate resistances and weaknesses to the various units in the game. The basic premise is that air units are strong against sea units, and sea units beat land units. Land units, in turn, are strong against air units. Additional to this system, various other mechanics and premises are spotlighted in *DoW*. Below is a breakdown of each of these:

Subversion of conflict as exclusively violent/gory

Dogs of War goes out of its way to modify depictions of a brutal and bloody war as silly and near-comical. These are difficult parameters to work inside, as the subject matter of WW II remains serious and upsetting to this day. Such a premise is explored to learn whether or not such an approach makes it easier for sensitive students to interact with the historical content if it is presented in such a way. Obviously, conflict will never be an

upbeat theme to explore; but there may be ways to adapt it or package it as something more palatable.

Using dark design patterns to nurture pedagogy

Gambling mechanics in games where luck and risk-reward play a role are typically viewed in a negative light by government officials and educationalists alike (Zagal, Björk, and Lewis, 2013). However, these instruments can be subverted to benefit students and teaching/learning practice as a whole through clever means. Why does one not tap into the brain chemistry that wants “that one rare card” to get them invested in a game that aims to teach? Tapping into these addictive tendencies can afford this game a level of nuance not yet explored in serious games at tertiary education institutions.

Altering History- one deck at a time

DoW allows players to alter timelines and see them have battles which did not historically take place (i.e. Italy V USA). This is a crucial aspect to the game, as it allows for user-created experiences. Despite this, the researchers will indicate when a real battle scenario is placed before a student. The game therefore seeks historical accuracy and freedom of expression (i.e. USA/Russia deck).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the authors wish to acknowledge that the *DoW* trading card game will be part of a Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) project funded through the NWU. The authors have already proceeded with registering a research project intended for using the game in 2020; after playtesting and balancing have been completed. Further papers related to this approach will be published, including any research findings. It is our sincere belief that if students are having fun while learning their learning will be enhanced—which benefits education in the long run. Other particulars about *DoW* (gameplay sequencing, seeding booster packs, drafting, deck building, etc.) will feature in later papers by the researchers and additional role-players such as programmers and app developers for the game.²

² The researchers would like to acknowledge the School of Commerce and Social Studies in Education and the School of Computer Science and Information Systems at the North-West University for their support in developing *DoW* as an approach and intervention, and for their willingness to try something original to address the needs of their students.

References

- Armstrong, J 2004. The natural learning project. Econ WPA. In: DC Brenenstuhl & SC Certo (eds.). *Exploring experiential learning: Simulations and experiential exercises*. Tempe: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, College of Business Administration, Arizona State University:69-77.
- Bertram, C 2006. Knowledge, pedagogy and assessment in the old and new Further Education and Training History curriculum documents. *Education as Change*, 10(2):33-51.
- Bertram, C 2008. Doing History??: Assessment in History classrooms at a time of curriculum reform. *Journal of Education*, 45:155-177.
- Breuer, J, & Bente, G 2010. Why so serious? On the relation of serious games and learning. *Journal for Computer Game Culture*, 4:7-24.
- Brown, T, Li, H, Nguyen, A, Rivera, C, and Wu, A 2014. Development of tangential learning in video games. Department of CIS, University of Pennsylvania, PA.
- Bunt, L, Leendertz, V and Blignaut, AS 2017. A heuristic evaluation of the design and development of a statistics serious game. In Proceedings of the 16th World Conference on Mobile and Contextual Learning:16. ACM.
- Bunt, LR and Greeff, JJ 2018. Design and development of a narrative-based tabletop game for promoting soft skills acquisition in technical students in the South African context. 2nd International Conference on Game, Game Art and Gamification (ICGGAG 2018) Proceedings.
- Dean, J 2004. *Doing History: Theory, practice and pedagogy. Toward new histories for South Africa: On the place of the past in our present*. Cape Town: Juta Gariep.
- Frensch, PA, and Runger, D 2003. Implicit learning. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 12(1):13-18.
- Greeff, JJ, Heymann, R, Carroll, J and Nel, A 2017, June. Enriching engineering student experiences of final year projects through gamification and authentic learning. In Conference Review Procedure:381.
- Greeff, JJ, Heymann, R, Nel, A and Carroll, J 2018a, April. Aligning student and educator capstone project preferences algorithmically. In 2018 IEEE Global Engineering Education Conference (EDUCON):521-529. IEEE.

- Greeff, JJ, Heymann, R, Nel, A and Carroll, J 2018. Location based games as the bridge between capstone students, junior students and the public. In 2018 IEEE Global Engineering Education Conference (EDUCON):538-546. IEEE.
- Leland, J 2016. Edutainment in video games. *Computers for Everyone*, 1:96.
- Malkin-Page, K 2016. Textbook vs assassin's creed unity: Comparing their engagement with second-order historical thinking concepts with reference to the French revolution (Doctoral dissertation).
- McAleavy, T 1998. The use of sources in school History 1910-1998: A critical perspective. *Teaching History*, 91:10-16.
- McKenney, SE and Reeves, TC 2012. *Conducting educational research design: What, why and how*. Taylor & Francis.
- Portnow, J, and Floyd, D 2008. *The power of tangential learning*. Edge Online, 10.
- Rowe, JP, Shores, LR, Mott, BW, and Lester, JC 2010. *Integrating learning and engagement in narrative-centered learning environments*. In *International Conference on Intelligent Tutoring Systems*:166-177. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.
- Sakamoto, M, Alexandrova, T and Nakajima, T 2013. *Analyzing the effects of virtualizing and Augmenting Trading Card Game based on the player's personality*. In: *Proceedings of The Sixth International Conference on Advances in Computer-Human Interactions*:348-357.
- Sakamoto, M, Alexandrova, T and Nakajima, T 2013. Augmenting remote trading card play with virtual characters used in animation and game stories. In *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on ACHI*.
- Seger, CA 1994. Implicit learning. *Psychological bulletin*, 115(2):163.
- Seixas, P 2017. A model of historical thinking. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 49(6):593-605.
- South Africa. Department of Basic Education. 2011. Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Sun, R (ed.) 2008. *The Cambridge handbook of computational psychology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Steinman, RA and Blastos, MT, 2002. A trading-card game teaching about host defence. *Medical education*, 36(12):1201-1208.

Van den Akker, J, Gravemeijer, K, McKenney, S and Nieveen, N (eds.) 2006. *Educational design research*. Routledge.

Zagal, JP, Björk, S and Lewis, C 2013. Dark patterns in the design of games. In *Foundations of Digital Games*.

Indigenous South African poetry as conduits of History: Epi-poetics – a pedagogy of memory

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2019/n22a4>

Gerhard Genis
University of Pretoria
gerhard.genis@up.ac.za
ORCID No: 0000-0002-6097-5681

Abstract

This conceptual article argues that a pedagogy of poetic memory, or epi-poetics, can be used to remember and 're-member' the past in the present in the history classroom. Epi-poetics as a theory encapsulates the dynamic interplay of language (including indigenous poetry), the body (both physical and psychological remembering of the past) and the socio-cultural and physical environments in memory construction. As a pedagogy, epi-poetics allows for the indigenisation of the curriculum by tapping into Indigenous Knowledge constructs, specifically indigenous poetry and how it relates to memory, trauma and history. The indigenous poetry is both a source of memory, and, therefore history, and a fount and font of inter-generational experience and trauma.

Keywords: Epi-poetics; Inter-generational memory; Pedagogy; History; Indigenous poetry; Embodiment; Remembrance.

Introduction: Indigenous poetry, history and epi-poetics

Indigenous South African poetry can be incorporated in the history classroom as memory traces and sources or conduits of indigenous history. These poems serve as epi-poetic texts wherein language, the body and the environment interact to create inter-generational meaning that is embodied in poetic language. Epi-poetics marries the fields of epigenetics, which studies the bio-psychological manifestation of inheritance, and the literary criticism of texts with a marked contextualisation of inter-generational memory and trauma. Furthermore, as a pedagogy, epi-poetics emphasises learning as sensory experiencing: the multimodal quintessence of these poems enriches the learning experience in the classroom.

Poetic storytelling is part of South Africa's indigenous poetic fibre. The San were the first exponents of indigenous poetic narratives. Their rock art and folklore were expressed through verbal, gestural, sensual, spatial,

visual and aural modes in altered (or higher) states of consciousness (Lewis-Williams, 2004). They made sense of their world as individuals and as members of small hunting bands through poetic storytelling (Krog, 2004; Lewis-Williams, 2002), which was accompanied by trance dance and rock painting (Lewis-Williams, 2004). Their poetic stories named the rocks, insects, animals and the gods of sky and earth. The poetic narratives were vessels to teach the young how to hunt and transferred medicinal practices inter-generationally. These stories connected the San to their innerworld, to nature, to their community, and to their ancestors and related how the cosmos was created (Van der Post, 1961). Crucially, these narratives also made sense of colonial contact with the African and white settlers by depicting strange other-worldly figures and battle scenes.

The rich oral poetry practice of the African communities of South Africa is closely connected to the San oral literary tradition. These poems were first published in the late 19th century in independent Xhosa and mission publications (Opland, 2004). This genre has both an entertainment and social-political value, and still plays an important role in meaning-making in modern-day South Africa (Opland, 2017; 1998; 1992). Similar to the San storytelling, it speaks of domestic life, politics and colonial oppression. The Afrikaner also share in this oral tradition. Afrikaner poetry gave voice to, for example, the suffering of the concentration camps of the South African War (1899-1902). Herman Charles Bosman's English short stories written in an Afrikaans register encapsulate the sad pathos of Afrikaner culture in the depression years of the 1930s and 1940s (MacKenzie, 2004). It is part of the veranda storytelling tradition of small-town gossip and humour.

The San, African, coloured and Afrikaner communities performed and wrote stories and poetry that are embedded in the history and soil of South Africa. Subsequently, for the purpose of this article, these poetic narratives are considered as indigenous literature. Furthermore, this article conceptualises the ways in which the poetic voices from the past may be used in the South African classroom to engender a more inclusive learning space, by focusing on indigenous poetry of a specific historical event: the sinking of the *SS Mendi* in 1917. This study is not an empirical study but provides a theoretical and conceptual framework for the learning and teaching of indigenous poetry in the History and language classrooms.

The writer identified the educational benefit of indigenous poetry in the History and language classroom through an auto-ethnographic journey of

teaching and learning. He is a researcher in the *South African Poetry Project* (ZAPP)¹ that promotes the inculcation of indigenous poetry in the English school classroom. ZAPP initiatives include the #Jozi4Poetry competition for learners and poetry workshops for teachers and learners at secondary schools in Gauteng. The *Colloquium on Decoloniality and Indigeneity in Poetry and Education* organized by ZAPP was held at the University of the Witwatersrand from 20-21 July 2019. The papers delivered at this colloquium, and the live performances by indigenous poets, including Malika Ndlovu, Phillipa Yaa de Villiers, Sisonke Papu and Katleho Shoro, as well as the poetry readings by school learners during the #Jozi4Poetry happenings attest to the vibrancy and educational value of indigenous poetry in learning spaces. The many young participants at #Jozi4Poetry readings testify that indigenous poetry is a vibrant genre among many of South Africa's youth. The multimodal experiences of the attendees during the poetry readings mirror what Nelson Mandela, the first democratically elected president of South Africa, observed some eight decades ago:

When he [the Xhosa imbongi or indigenous poet, SEK Mqhayi] spoke this last word [of poetry], he dropped his head to his chest. We rose to our feet, clapping and cheering. I did not want ever to stop applauding. I felt such intense pride at that point, not as an African, but as a Xhosa; I felt like one of the chosen people (Opland, 2009:9).

The correlation between enhanced self-image among indigenous peoples and the inclusion of Indigenous Knowledge constructs in Western education curricula has been made in the literature (Ned, 2019). Ned's (2019) study reveals that indigenous black South African learners who are taught only according to a Western curriculum may suffer from cultural dissonance that may translate into psychological, physical and spiritual ill health. Ned (2019:229) concludes:

This body, mind and spirit [of the learner] cannot be engaged without the ancestral life which is a representation of a conscious engagement with one's history and identity as anchored in the Indigenous education philosophy. This is important for the success of indigenous learners and for strengthening an understanding of their whole selves and identity.

¹ The conceptualisation of epi-poetics would not have been possible if it had not been for the ideas raised during the discussions of the South African Poetry Project (ZAPP) research team (Reconceptualising Poetry Education for South African Classrooms through infusing Indigenous Poetry Texts and Practices), of which I am a member and researcher. This Project is funded by the National Research Foundation (NRF 105159) of South Africa. I am especially indebted to Prof. Denise Newfield (Director ZAPP) and Prof. Deirdre Byrne (Senior Investigator ZAPP) for their contributions to the conceptualisation of this article.

In this article, epi-poetics is conceptualised as a theory and pedagogy that engages the whole self in the process of learning, which allows for the introduction of Indigenous Knowledge in the South African history classroom. Epi-poetics embed the body and language in a holistic and multimodal pedagogical learning space. By tapping into an epi-poetic approach to learning and teaching, learners are exposed to not only a Rankean “what actually happened”, but also an Owenesque “what was actually experienced” in the past.

Epi-poetic research design

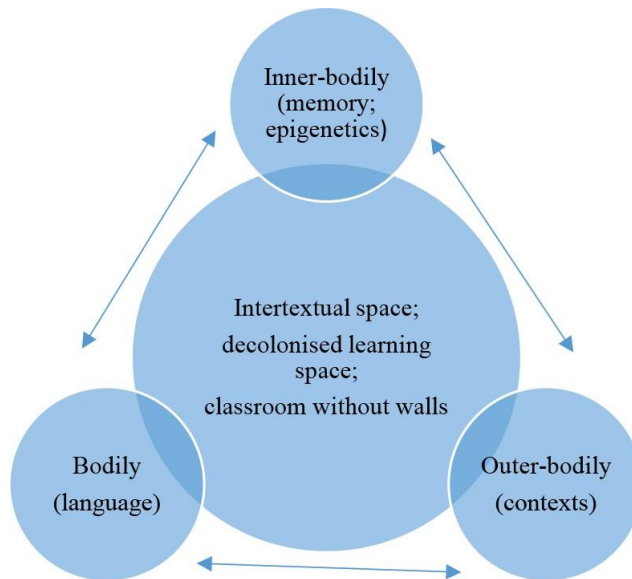
Conceptualisation and methodology

The term epi-poetics in this article is used to theorise and conceptualise the close connection among indigenous poetry, bodily experience and historical space. The term epi-poetics is based on research in the field of war poetry with a strong historical contextualisation (Genis, 2018), see Image 1 below. The prefix “epi” refers to the subtext of experience: the meaning that lies “above” or “in addition to” the explicitly stated text. Epi-poetics consists of three underlying principles: the *Bodily* refers to being present in the world through language; the *Inner-bodily* encapsulates inter-generational memory and epigenetics; and the *Outer-bodily* embodies the cultural, social and historical contexts in which the “body” finds itself or which the “body” (learner or scholar) studies as part of the history curriculum. These three levels of “being” in the world create an intertextual space of culturally embedded memory that influences individual experience. The intertextual space, which is the weaving together of texts, bodies and contexts, also refers to the “decolonised learning space” (Shava & Manyike, 2018:38) or “classroom without walls” metaphor that is discussed in the article. History and language classrooms become more egalitarian spaces of learning where diverse experiences are shared across cultures.

To indicate how the classroom may become more egalitarian spaces, indigenous poetry in English translation from different historical eras on the sinking of the troop-transport *SS Mendi* (1917) is discussed in this article. This case study indicates the dynamic interplay of word, body and context in remembering and “re-remembering” History as a multimodal experiencing and reliving of the past. Epi-poetic coding, or open-coding with a “consciousness”, is used to identify the cultural-historical word-traces or markers in the sample of indigenous poems. These epi-poetic marks are represented by metaphors, metonyms, symbols, communal

archetypes or primordial images, silences and performances, and reflect an indigenised experience of history: The First World War poetry, of which the Mendi poetry forms part, reveals a collective South African experience of war in Africa and Europe (Genis, 2018). Epi-poetic coding and text analysis draw on close reading, reader-response and multimodal analyses. All these approaches to textual analyses are based on the embodiment, remembering and re-remembering of experience as will be discussed in the following sections.

Image 1: Epi-poetic research design



Source: Designed by author.

Theoretical framework: Re-remembering

The theories that underpin the epi-poetic learning and teaching methodologies are an eclectic amalgam of indigeneity theory (or de-colonial theory), epigenetics, neuroscience, psychoanalysis, posthumanism and bio-cultural studies. Indigenous poetry and songs are conceptualised as epi-poetic narratives: language, body and environment are woven together to create a “hauntology” of remembrance and re-rememberance: traces of the past are found in the present. According to Christie (2007:237), conflict poetry with a strong historical context is a remembering and “re-remembering of body parts” as the poet embodies the physical and psychological body that is missing due to conflict. Similarly, according to Gunner (1995:51),

indigenous poetry, of which many represent the experiencing of war and trauma, is a “poetry of remembering” of the past in the present. Newfield and Bozalek (2018:52) concur that indigenous poetic expression concerns itself with “remembering and re-membering” of the past in the present. They state that “Writing is ... a bodily and a spiritual action” (50), a post-humanistic process, which represents a cyclical experience of “returning and re-turning” to memory across “human and non-human [e.g. language]” borders (52). Liyong (2018) reflects on this spirituality of indigenous texts by indicating that indigenous literature, including poetry, has animistic traces: it has a soul and memory within a textual body. Hodge (1998:36,38) also conceptualises memory as “remembering” and the repetition of memory in her *A small history of the body*. These scholars concur that memory and history are inscribed on and in the body: it is a function of and for the body. In the above quote, Mandela remembered that he was a proud Xhosa while listening to Mqhayi’s performance poetry, and he also re-membered his identity as “one of the chosen people”.

Jeff Opland (2017; 2009; 2008; 2007; 2004; 1998; 1992), Abner Nyamende (2011; 2008) and Liz Gunner’s (2004; 2002; 1979) research on indigenous poetry and songs reveals that indigenous poetry, including the oral praise poetry,² is an inter-generational literary embodiment within the African context. Epi-poetics provides for a conceptual lens through which to uncover this dynamic interplay among language, the body (physical and psychological) and the environment in shaping inter-generational memory traces within the indigenous poetry.

The writer postulates that, metaphorically, the indigenous poetry represents an epigenome. Similar to the epigenome that regulates gene expression, the indigenous poem orders memory within a cultural context. This entails the mutability of experience and plasticity of memory: word particles or word-traces and non-verbal cues are psychological triggers that switch memory of experience on and off (as in the case of Mandela’s experience). The “epi-poem” carries consciousness that reflects communal practices or archetypes and images of loss or gain: inter-generational experiences that are mirrored in the culturally transmitted stock-phrases of the poet. These archetypical practices are expressed in an individualised manner by the *imbongi* through epi-poetic marks or signs, and bodily performances. Indigenous poetry does not only have fixed lines, idioms and stock phrases that are culturally transmitted (similar to the genetic DNA structure) but

² The Zulu and Xhosa refer to praise poetry as *izibongo*, and the Basotho use the terms *lithoko* and *lifela*.

also creatively conceived new lines (changes in gene expression as part of the epigenome) that are added, changed or removed through time and which are dependent on historical context and the personality of the performing poet.

The epi-poetic praise-units or nouns with adjectival attachments in the indigenous poetry serve a similar purpose as the geometric patterns and figures of the rock paintings of the San “boilers” or healers. Both depict a deep spiritual and emotional connection to the ancestors and visions that lie beyond the page and behind the rock. South Africa’s most ancient inhabitants, the San, lived this close communion that exists among language (rock painting and folklore), the body (trance dancing), and the environment (daily survival) in creating memory and history (Lewis Williams, 2004; 2002). The physical struggles for survival of the San – hunting, drought, healing illnesses, and wars – were depicted through their language and in their art to come to terms with the various threatening contexts in which they lived. The *imbongi* and storytellers of southern Africa built on this tradition (Opland, 2017).

Creating and transmitting folklore, the rock-art practice and the oral tradition are subsequently part of South Africa’s “DNA” of memory. Lewis-Williams (2004) postulates that there is a universally held neuropsychological hallucinatory experience: “boiling” or trancing, and painting on rock or “making” poetry rewire the nervous system in altered states of consciousness (Lewis-Williams, 2004). Historically, poems with a strong hallucinatory content, similar to the rock art of the trancing shaman, were created in states of deep meditation or were conceived during drug-induced episodes (Lewis-Williams, 2004). An “epi-poem”, therefore, reveals an altered state of consciousness or “deep” thinking that mirrors psychological processes in the creator, which are intertwined with a communal consciousness.

Consequently, epi-poetics is part of “biosocial and biocultural studies”, in which the physical and psychological body and cultural experiences are inextricably connected (Bloomfield & Hanson, 2015:407). Crucially, the indigenous poetry embodies historical experience in both a social and cultural milieu and in a psycho-biological context. The indigenous poetry as body of metaphor mirrors social, cultural and psychological experience within a specific historical context. These “poetic bodies”, therefore, echo the epigenetic genome that is present in the chromosomes

and consciousness of indigenous peoples and which are re-membered in the poetry.

Pedagogical framework

Epi-poetics also provides for a pedagogical approach to teaching and learning poetry with a marked historical context. It is a multimodal approach to studying the indigenous history of memory: the indigenous poems were performed through verbal and non-verbal language. This multimodal experience of the poet as it relates to the collective unconscious of her/his culture is identified and made explicit in word-traces and marks of performance or silences in the poetry. Furthermore, epi-poetics speaks to trauma and epigenetics as the word-traces represent stress marks within the poet's writing consciousness. This approach may also be used to teach poetry that is characterised by a marked contextualisation of loss: word, body and environment all interact and "weave" together to create meanings of loss and healing. Subsequently, an epi-poetic pedagogy has affinities with multiliteracies, and specifically with its focus on social justice, multiculturalism and multilingualism (Cope & Kalantzis, 2009).

Importantly for the South African Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), which insists on an inclusive learning community, the indigenous poems name not only great people and historical events, but also family characteristics and everyday events and experiences (Newfield & Maungedzo, 2006; Gunner, 2004). These indigenous poems and songs are cultural identity markers that reveal much of everyday life and experience within specific historical contexts. The words and phrases in the indigenous poetry represent the "word" chromosomes in the cells of the living and the dead, who are marked by the metaphors and metonyms of loss and gain. The images in the poetry portray these traces of manifest loss and gain within various historical contexts.

Situating epi-poetics within the literature

Epi-poetics as a theory of memory

Epi-poetics is conceptualised as the implicit collective literary consciousness of a people that is manifested through poetic language traces that represent culturally embodied marks. These marks are metaphorical and metonymic word-traces that find expression in the indigenous poetry. Epi-poetics draws on research in the field of epigenetics. Epigenetics is

closely aligned to genetics and studies inter-generational changes in gene expression and the transfer of epigenetic marks in the progeny. Changes in gene activity and gene activation lead to the dynamic interaction among language, the body and the physical, social and cultural environments (Middleton, 2015; Bloomfield, Garratt, Mackay, Richardson, Spector and Temple, 2015; Bloomfield & Hanson, 2015; Gill, 2015; Osborne, 2015; Hanson, 2015). These authors highlight the relevance of epigenetics in the study of race, gender and identity within social, cultural, literary and historical texts and contexts.

The physical word-traces in epi-poetic texts represent the psychological marks that are embedded in the collective historical and literary unconscious of the poet's cultural context. Epi-poetics, therefore, studies the embodiment of inter-generational experience through language. Hodge (1998:31) indicates that the bio-psychological body is "a system of inscription". This builds on the Freudian and Nietzschean concepts of repetition and the cyclic embodiment of memory (Hodge 1998:36). It also links to the "Writing the body" project of the feminist theorists Irigaray and Cixous (Hodge 1998:32). Indigenous Knowledge systems have been writing the body since the dawn of the age of storytelling, rock art and spoken-word poetry. There was never a Cartesian split between body and reason/spirit/soul in the indigenous cosmology (Ned, 2019). Hodge (1998:38) asserts that memory is "the retrieval of a past into the present, suggesting a cyclical motion to time, from event, to forgetting, to retrieval", i.e. 'remembering'. This is especially true of indigenous South African concepts of time: present space and context is a mirror of the ancestral world; the past lives in the present.

Importantly, epi-poetics resonates with the "history of bodies" or the historiography of bodies, which focuses on the embodiment of experience through, for instance, the study of gendered biological *Bodily* functions within historical contexts (Owusu, 2019). These "bodies" are also psychologically wired (*Inner-bodily*). Tosh (1993:103) refers to the "history of mentalities" which is a history of "the emotional, the instinctive and the implicit". It reveals "the play of the unconscious in collective mentality" (103). Additionally, Firth (2017:156) refers to "reflective nostalgia" (*Inner-bodily*) or individual and personal source generation in history that links the present consciousness (through the researcher – the *Bodily*) to the past (the sources – *Outer-bodily*) in historical narrative construction. The connection between language (the *Bodily*), memory (*Inner-bodily*) and

historical context (*Outer-bodily*) is reminiscent of Jung's (2003) collective unconscious with its shared or communal archetypes: primordial images of monsters, people or processes that mutate in the history, memory, minds and bodies of communities, which also find expression in the literature. These archetypes are represented in the poetry through explicit epi-poetic marks or traces that resonate from the collective historical and literary unconscious of a people. Epi-poetic traces are revealed as cultural metaphors and metonyms in the poetry that has historical relevance.

Crucially, for the South African context, epi-poetics is ensconced within the epistemology of Indigenous Knowledge. Indigenous Knowledge may be conceptualised as the philosophical, religious, traditional, cultural, technological and language "knowledges" that exist within a specific indigenous context or life-world. These knowledge constructs are frequently transmitted orally (including oral poetry, performance and songs) or through dreams and visions (Kgari-Masondo, 2018; Shava & Manyike, 2018; Mvenene, 2017). The United Nations adopted a resolution that declared 2019 the International Year of Indigenous Languages. This resolution promotes indigenous languages and encourages their use to guard against their disappearance (United Nations, 2016:5). Within the context of retreating indigenous cosmologies in the face of the dominant Western knowledge constructs, epi-poetics re-emphasises the interconnectedness of language, the body (physical and psychological) and the environment in forming literary and historical meaning. Language, body and environment dynamically interact in reconstructing, remembering and re-remembering the collective inter-generational experiences or memories of the past, especially as they are reflected in and through indigenous poetic language that carries memory traces of the past.

Epi-poetics opens a multicultural learning space of being or becoming. Kgari-Masondo (2018:15) argues for the study of indigenous history or memory, which is embedded in Indigenous Knowledge "from within its own [indigenous] context". She indicates the symbiotic relationship that exists between indigenous communities and the natural environment in which the ancestors still play an active role (Kgari-Masondo, 2018:18-21): "Nature is memory of the imagination of being – being that is deeply embedded in the collective unconscious" (21). Importantly, the indigenous language contains the seed of the community's collective memory – or "being" – and history (21). Lewis-Williams (2004) conceptualises this "imagination of being" in terms of neuroscience. He postulates that

“boiling” or “making” poetry or art has rewired the nervous system in altered states of consciousness in southern Africa since the beginnings of rock art some 5000 years ago. Boiling allows for the creation of visionary and dream-like artistic expression. The importance of dreams and visions as mirrors of symbolic meaning, and language as a conduit to transmit these, links to epi-poetics.

This view is supported by Shava and Manyike (2018:36-37,44) who state that Indigenous Knowledge is transmitted inter-generationally (*Inner-bodily*) and that indigenous languages (*Bodily*) act as conduits of these indigenised knowledges within a specific cultural and physical environment (*Outer-bodily*). Shava and Manyike (2018) associate Indigenous Knowledge with place, history and memory and state that Indigenous Knowledge is dynamic and can change over time to respond to environments in flux. Epi-poetics also postulates that memory is in a state of flux as it is dependent on the specific historical context. Crucially, the indigenous praise poem is constantly changing its shape and message depending on the specific historical context, the thematic emphasis of the oral performance and the poet’s persona (Opland, 2009; 1992). Shava and Manyike (2018:38) further argue that “By including indigenous languages and knowledges ... a pluri-epistemological, contextualised and decolonial learning space” is created.

In South Africa, the work of Nyamende (2011; 2008), Gunner (2004; 2002; 1979), and Opland (2007; 2004; 1998) has claimed for indigenous poetry such a decolonised space of remembering and re-membering: the indigenous praise poem is a uniquely inter-generational literary embodiment of experience within the African context. Poetry, including praise poetry, in South African historiography has also been engaged to remember and re-member specific forgotten South African historical topics, themes and phenomena (Genis, 2018). Importantly, epi-poetics as a conceptual framework draws together language, the physical and psychological body and the environment within an indigenous context to serve as a schema that reveals traces of inter-generational memory and trauma as re-membered in the indigenous poetry. The three concepts, poetic language, the body and the context, also represent a pedagogy of memory.

Epi-poetics as a pedagogy of memory

Epi-poetics allows for a multimodal remembering and re-membering of the past in the present by focusing on the interaction of language, the body

and the environment. The indigenous poetry serves as artifacts³ or conduits of such a multimodal learning experience - and *experiencing* - within the history classroom. Newfield and Maungedzo's (2006) research findings reveal the potential for linking languages, bodies and environments in reviving an ailing educational space. During their research project, grade ten learners in a Soweto classroom created a multi-semiotic cloth that represents their learning in the English classroom:

The Thebuwa [to speak] cloth is a collective, multi-semiotic assemblage which was produced by the whole class as an act of self-constitution and communication to an unknown international audience. Measuring 3.0 metres by 2.8 metres, Thebuwa is constructed from 22 smaller cloths made by individuals and groups and then stitched together. On each small cloth, made from a square of scrap fabric found in the family home or from a recycled maize bag, students have inked family or clan praise poems in their indigenous languages, and have embroidered a map of the 'new South Africa', itself a form of post-apartheid recycling and reconfiguration. Poems in English, which have been placed inside used envelopes, traditional doll-like figures and colour photographs of the makers are attached to the cloth. Lines of small brass safety pins crawl decoratively across it (Newfield & Maungedzo, 2006:77).

Various indigenous and colonial languages, physical and psychological bodies and different cultural and historical contexts are woven together in a multimodal matrix of identity. The poems in the "speaking"-cloth design have a crucial function: "Each poem is thus both an individual item and a thread in the collective tapestry of identity" (Newfield & Maungedzo, 2006:77). This physical design is reminiscent of the double-helix structure of DNA in which biological identity is twisted together and in which inter-generational memory is written in code. In the Thebuwa cloth, the poems serve as epi-poetic or epigenetic markers that reveal individual responses to the cultural and historical context of the learners. The Thebuwa cloth as bio-cultural artifact serves as an example of how poetry can be used in the classroom to enrich the learning experience.

Epi-poetics as a conceptual framework encourages this weaving of identities. The Thebuwa approach could conceivably have been used in the history classroom as well, where learners could have written themselves into a history project through a multimodal design. Newfield and D'Abdon (2015) illustrate that poetry allows for a multimodal experience in the classroom, as it represents not only the poem on the page, but also the live

³ The concept 'artifact' as coined by the New Literacy Studies approach is preferred to 'artefact' in this article as it conceptualises the artifact as a pedagogical object of learning in the classroom.

performances and audience participation. Therefore, it facilitates a reader and viewer-response to learning. Indigenous poetry and storytelling also allow learners to share their own stories and those of their communities in the classroom which may lead to an inclusive, multicultural and multi-linguistic classroom space. Traditionally, in indigenous African communities, the characteristics of clans, families and individuals are represented in and shaped by their oral poems and songs that serve as the communities' identity markers (Gunner, 2004).

Epi-poetics is multimodal experiencing with an "attitude" or deep consciousness that allows for a conceptual connection between the theory and practice of history. Since 2016, South African academics and university students have voiced their opposition to a Western-centric South African education system and for the epistemological decolonisation of the curriculum (Naicker, 2016). Within this context, Mvenene (2017) looks specifically at the *izibongo* (praise poetry) as conduits of memory within the ambit of Indigenous Knowledge and history. Mvenene (2017:100) has revealingly emphasised the importance of using "IKS [specifically *izibongo* and songs] as historical sources" which may contribute to the decolonising project.

Importantly, CAPS makes provision for Indigenous Knowledge as content knowledge in history teaching and learning in schools as part of social transformation (Mvenene, 2017:108-109). For instance, the CAPS (2011) for Social Sciences for the Intermediate and Senior Phases (grades 4-9) and for the Further Education and Training (FET) Phase (grades 10-12) provide specific aims that include Indigenous Knowledge phenomena and themes and the use of various indigenous source material that comprises songs, poems, stories, traditions and rituals, community-based interviews and oral history. Additionally, heritage, conservation and the importance of remembrance in history teaching and learning are emphasised in CAPS.

Instilling Indigenous Knowledge systems, including indigenous poetry, into the curriculum will go a long way to address the decolonisation of learning. Indigenous South African learners will be able to bring their own stories and those of their communities, as represented in the indigenous poetry and songs, into the classroom. This socio-cultural embedding of learning resonates with New Literacy Studies (NLS) that view literacy and learning as a social practice that is embedded in culture and identity (Pahl & Rowsell, 2013; Rowsell, Kosnik & Beck, 2008). NLS argue that viewing

learning as a social project gives the marginalised in society a voice (Pahl & Rowsell, 2013; Rowsell, Kosnik & Beck, 2008). Furthermore, Indigenous Knowledge introduces learners to an indigenised way of viewing history: the cyclic nature of memory and remembrance, and the inclusiveness and importance of nature for instance. Therefore, the oral poetry tradition in South Africa provides for a decolonised way in which to study, appreciate and experience history.

The experiencing of history links to a constructivist learning space. Mvenene (2017) views Indigenous Knowledge as a constructivist process of knowledge construction, which aligns to historical enquiry as a process (Godsell, 2017). Learners are actively engaged in making meaning of historical events through the indigenous poetry. Mvenene posits that Indigenous Knowledge and *izibongo* allow for methodological renewal in the history classroom. For instance, *izibongo* and songs provide for a rich source of genealogical history and for the introduction of interactive historical source materials (Mvenene, 2017). Because of the indigenous poetry's performance quality (Opland, 2009; 1992; Gunner, 2004; 1979) it has the potential to enhance multimodal literacies and learning in the classroom through speaking, acting, singing, viewing and experiencing as acts of learning (Pahl & Rowsell, 2013; Cope & Kalantzis, 2009).

Mvenene (2017) hints at the empathic quality in teaching *izibongo*. Incorporating indigenous poetry into the history curriculum could lead to a psychological shift in how history is conceived. It builds on "perspective taking ... which requires empathy and empathic understanding in history, which are part of second-order historical concepts" (Godsell, 2017:69). It also links to one of the aims in the History FET CAPS (2011:9): that there are different perspectives and interpretations of historical events. Mvenene (2017) postulates that *izibongo* would allow the learner to place herself in someone else's shoes. This also speaks to reflective nostalgia, which generates "a plethora of alternatives in terms of thinking about the past" (Firth, 2017:156-159). Crucially, the psychological subtext provided by the indigenous poetry provides for "authentic" historical information. It creates a portal for learners to be immersed in the historical reality of the period which is studied. Godsell (2017:78) perceptively states:

... how close we can get to 'sources' – the closest being an oral source, hearing from a person involved, alive, present, at the time we are examining.

The indigenous poetry is precisely this “oral source” which allows for the past to be performed in the present. Malkin-Page and Wassermann (2019) refer to this linking of the learners’ past with their present practices and the future as historical literacy or historical consciousness. Using indigenous poetry as artifacts through an epi-poetic approach could lead to the enhancement of the above-mentioned historical literacies. The emphasis on inter-generational memory construction in epi-poetics consciously explores this relationship between the past and the present within the ambit of historical literacy.

Epi-poetics encapsulates the interrelated bond among the past or memory, the present body or learner, the past body (either a person, event or source), and the environment, through historical consciousness. The indigenous poetry illustrates the close link between the language of loss and psychological and physical trauma that is so deeply embedded in the South African collective consciousness (Genis, 2018; 2015). Therefore, indigenous poetry can be introduced as primary sources that reveal inter-generational memory and consciousness – the bond between the past and the present. Introducing multiple sources, including indigenous poetry, allows for the creation of multiple narratives or voices from the past (Malkin-Page & Wassermann, 2019). Importantly, the indigenous poetry enhances critical learner engagement with the past which connects to “thinking historically”, to an “enquiry-based model” and to evoking a “sense of empathy” (Malkin-Page and Wassermann, 2019:112-114).

Epi-poetics allows for a pedagogical linkage between Indigenous Knowledge, the CAPS, historical literacy, thinking historically, historical thinking and language. It does this by focusing on historical consciousness and how this is revealed in an Indigenous Knowledge construct, the indigenous poetry. Using the indigenous poetry as a historical source links the home literacies of the indigenous learner (oral poetry, songs and stories) with school literacies as encouraged by CAPS. Some learners could conceivably more readily identify with past role-players and events that are described in the indigenous poetry by linking diverse contexts through their home literacies.

Indigenous poetry: Epi-poetic artifacts of learning

The indigenous poem is an epi-poetic artifact or source. This artifact symbolises the embodiment of experience within a specific historical and cultural context. It links the *Bodily* (the learner through language) with the

Inner-bodily (inter-generational memory as represented in the poetry) and the *Outer-bodily* (the specific historical context).

Additionally, the indigenous poem is an artifact of evidence that enhances research skills (Malkin-Page & Wassermann, 2019:111). Erdmann (2017:140) concludes that historical objects and places make history part of and relevant to the history student's life. Pahl and Rowsell (2013:49-51,74-75,153,165-166) argue that artifacts are used in the classroom to link home or out-of-school literacies with school literacies that create a "third space" or a "new" environment of learning in which learners and teachers construct and share their stories that are represented through these artifacts. The third space is akin to Shava and Manyike's (2018:38) "decolonised learning space". Learners and teachers tell their stories through indigenous poetry and songs in an empathic environment where everyone meets as equals. It also aligns to the CAPS's insistence on the creation of spaces of historical becoming where Africans re-affirm their dignity through, amongst others, poetry performances and readings (Mvenene, 2017).

Introducing epi-poetic artifacts in the classroom encourages "classrooms without walls". The classroom becomes an egalitarian space where cultural and linguistic differences are celebrated through home and traditional literacies. Liyong (2018:27) gives practical advice of how these "democratic pedagogical spaces" (Mvenene, 2017:109) should be populated by artifacts of learning. Although he refers to literature education, the same could apply to the history classroom. Liyong (2018:27) indicates that literary experts in villages should teach traditional literary forms at universities, new poems and stories should be written in the vernacular and a third language taken at university. He concludes:

We need to give the 'unmortared' experts in the villages two months' fellowships in departments of literature to teach the oral genres and forms to students of [...indigenous languages] and tapes should be made of their renditions. And the students should, of necessity, compose new poems, new stories in their native languages (Liyong, 2018:27).

Similarly, Ned (2019:229) emphasises the importance of village elders as founts of indigenous knowledge who should be working with teachers and learners within the education system:

Teachers should consult elders for guidance in providing culturally meaningful learning environments and activities (Ned, 2019:238).

Indigenous poetry in the classroom would give indigenous learners the opportunity to reflect on their past by writing and performing their traditional oral poems and stories. This may allow them to connect or reconnect with specific historical persons and events and their collective pasts. They could weave themselves into the past, similar to what grade ten Soweto learners did in their *Thebuwa* cloth, which will give them a voice in the classroom.

Epi-poetic case study

Indigenous poems on the sinking of the *SS Mendi* in 1917 form the data set for this study and illustrate the close interplay among experience, language and context in the shaping of historical meaning. The *Mendi* transported members of the South African Native Labour Contingent to Europe when it collided with another ship and sank in the English Channel on 21 February 1917. Hundreds of Africans drowned (Grundlingh, 2011). This event has been in the news since the centenary celebrations that started in 2017. The ship has become a symbol of African pride and the subject matter for conferences (e.g. the *Mendi Centenary Conference* at UCT) and various publications, including Fred Khumalo's novel, *Dancing the death drill* (2017). Historically, *Mendi* celebrations were stifled by the apartheid government during the second half of the 20th century (Grundlingh, 2011). However, in 1994 South Africa's first democratically elected government was established. Subsequently, the *Mendi* dead have been increasingly remembered and re-membered by the new ANC government: various memorial services nationwide and in England bear testimony to this.

In this article, the praise poetry on the sinking of the *SS Mendi* is analysed through epi-poetic coding to reveal the interplay among language, body and historical context in remembering and re-membering the past. Epi-poetic coding is the decoding of figures of speech, symbols, archetypes, silences and performances to reveal the thematic representation of a poet's experiences as embedded in a collective unconscious.

The following *izibongo*, *Bull*, serves as an archetypal poem or primordial image for the later poems on the *Mendi* that deal with African experiences relating to the war and colonial conflict. It is a poem that praises the fighting exploits of the bull.

Gouger!
Stab-on-sight!
Horn quick to gore.
Crusher with the haft of an axe:

*It's a sad day for those you stab,
Like one who gives then takes.
Bull with many scars.
One who bellows and the cowards scatter.*
(‘Bull’, Zulu poem, late 18th, early 19th century; Opland 1992:160)

Cattle have played a crucial role in the economic, political, social and religious lives of Africans in South Africa from the pre-colonial period to the present. The bull more so as it is a symbol and archetype of wealth, and martial prowess, and benevolent sacrifices to the ancestors, as well as a sign of battlefield heroism in the *izibongo* (Chapman, 2002; Opland, 1992): Shaka Zulu’s rise to power in early 19th-century South Africa was facilitated by his devastatingly successful bull-head battlefield encircling technique. The poems on the Mendi build on this bull-ethos of heroism, as the following examples illustrate. In the following data set, the symbols, metaphors and metonyms that form the themes of the bull-calf archetype are underlined and in *italics*. These marked words and phrases are epi-poetic traces. The traces that mirror bodily and psychological loss are underlined and those that refer to self-affirmation are in *italics*. In Table 1, the poems are paired horizontally according to historical context: The First World War; the 1930’s; the middle of the 20th century; and the first decade of the 21st century. These poems were chosen based on their historical relevance as discussed in published sources (Genis, 2018).

Table 1: Mendi poems in different historical contexts:

<p>First World War</p> <p>Off with you then, my fellows, off to France! Remember the <u>hunger</u> you have left at home. Sent out to face the <u>slaughter</u> there today, You're <i>sacrifices</i> for the <i>Black-skinned race</i>. Go, you <i>bull-calves</i> of the cows with milk-filled udders, Away, sons of the lean and the long-starved, And you too, <i>offspring</i> of the <i>death-defiers</i>. Go, for we have long foreseen all that would come. Our people's God decided in advance. Away, your legs <i>uncramped</i> with stiffness, No quake or tremor in your hearts. Go with light bodies, limbs <i>unfrightened</i>,</p>	<p><i>And as our bride down her last flood The Mendi takes the service of our blood.</i></p> <p>With what <u>victim</u> do we make atonement? For home and family what <i>offering</i> is sent? Do we not <i>sacrifice</i> the <i>bull-calves</i> of the kraal, Single out those most loved of all? (Mqhayi, ‘Ukutshona kuka Mendi’/’The sinking of the Mendi’, 1917; Cope & Krige 1968:278-279)</p>
--	--

<p>And <i>stride on</i>, stride, stride, stride! Stand, stand firm, stop, sto-o-o-p! (SEK Mqhayi, 'Umkosi wemidaka'/'The black army', 1916; Cope & Krige 1968:278)</p>	
<p>1930s Now then stay calm my <i>countrymen</i>! Calmly face your <i>death</i>! This is what you came to do! This is why you left your homes! Peace, our own <i>brave warriors</i>! Peace, you sons of <i>heroes</i>, This is your final day today, Prepare for the ultimate ford! (Mqhayi, 'The late Rev. Isaac William Wauchope', 1935; Opland, 2007:106)</p>	<p>Be quiet and calm my <i>countrymen</i>, for what is taking place now is exactly what you came to do. You are going to <i>die</i>, but that is what you came to do. <i>Brothers</i> we are drilling the drill of death. I, a <i>Xhosa</i>, say you are all my brothers. <i>Zulus, Swazis, Pondos, Basutos</i>, we die like <i>brothers</i>. We are the <i>sons of Africa</i>. Raise your cries, brothers, for though they made us leave our weapons at our homes, <u>our voices are left with our bodies</u>. (Jacob Bam, 'The Mendi', 1936; Nyamende, 2011:14)</p>
<p>Middle of 20th century: The ship 'Mendi' went down at sea And <u>sank</u> there with the <i>sons of Africa</i>. Can you picture the sea Can you picture the ship with people in it? Down went the 'Mendi' <u>Down into the sea</u>. Many were the <u>orphans</u> that were left, With the sinking of the 'Mendi'. We <u>fear you, waters of the sea</u>. Soften your hearts, you people. What do you say, <i>Africans</i>? <u>Stay not asleep below!</u> (Zulu song, first half of 20th century; Tracey, 1948:9)</p>	<p>We all <u>wept</u> when the news came From beyond the sea Announcing the <u>sinking</u> of <i>young men</i> When the Mendi went down <u>O, the sea, the merciless river,</u> Swallowed them alive Down went the mighty <i>Bantu offspring</i>: Down down they went to the <u>Land of the Dead</u>. (George Tyamshashe, 'Mendi hymn', 1952; The Star, 22 February 1952)</p>

<p>Early 21st century</p> <p>SS Mendi, our <i>fallen heroes</i></p> <p>We come here today</p> <p>To commemorate February 21, 1917</p> <p>Celebrate your <i>bravery</i></p> <p>Hails for your <i>courage</i></p> <p>SS Mendi, our <i>fallen heroes</i></p> <p>We bid you <u>farewell</u></p> <p>In accepting our call</p> <p>To guide the Mendi name</p> <p>Aluta continua [the <u>struggle</u> continues]</p> <p>(Petty Officer Mpho Rakoma, ‘Our fallen heroes’, 2004; <i>Delvile Wood and Mendi poems</i>)</p>	<p>Long</p> <p>Very long decades</p> <p>Our <i>warrior spirits</i></p> <p>Unbound</p> <p>Craved to journey home</p> <p>Yet remained hovering</p> <p>With a massive ache</p> <p>Amongst carefree</p> <p>Seagulls</p> <p>Floating</p> <p>Over this <u>unsteady</u></p> <p><u>Burial site</u></p> <p>Forever fluid</p> <p>In climate most</p> <p><u>Hostile</u></p> <p>In seasons</p> <p>Especially <u>harsh</u></p> <p>To faces of the South</p> <p>To <i>sons of the sun</i></p> <p>[...]</p> <p><u>All aboard</u></p> <p><u>The doomed</u></p> <p><u>SS Mendi</u></p> <p>(Lindiwe Mabuza, ‘SS Mendi’, 2007; <i>Delvile Wood and Mendi poems</i>)</p>
--	--

The poems reveal how the epi-poetic marks (in *italics* and underlined) that are linked to the “bull calves” and associated Mendi archetype have been appropriated to symbolise African experiences of war and trauma within various South African historical contexts. These traces expose an ambivalent response to gain and loss within the African experience of war and colonialism during the 20th and early 21st-century South Africa.

In the poetry, the “sons of Africa” or “sons of the sun”, the “death-defiers”, “Black-skinned race”, and the “warrior spirits” have kept on shining as

African heroes; they have reclaimed black self-affirmation in the face of colonial oppression. In their veins course the “blood” or genes of heroes, including that of Shaka Zulu and the Xhosa Chief Hintsa. The epitome of this noble sacrifice in the poetry on the Mendi is the mythologised death-dance said to have been initiated by the soldier, Isaac Williams Wauchope (1852-1917) on board the sinking ship and to which the two quoted 1930s poems allude (Genis, 2018).

Conversely, these sacrifices (the underlined epi-poetic marks) have also led to loss; the “bull calves” spirits or souls are still roaming the unknown and cold English Channel – their souls have to be returned to familial graves and tended to by their descendants to secure everlasting life as ancestors in the indigenous South African cosmology. However, the soldiers’ souls are scattered in an alien space. Examples that include “our voices [souls or spirits] are left with our bodies [trapped in an alien sea]” (“The Mendi”, 1936); the reference to “the orphans” in the “Zulu Song”; and the lamentations in the “Mendi Hymn” mirror this loss. “Remember the hunger you have left at home” in “A call to arms”, alludes to the devastating 1913 Natives Land Act which led to widespread economic suffering among the African communities in South Africa (Saunders & Southey, 2001). This act started a process of African dispossession and reaction to white rule that characterises 20th-century South African history. In the classroom, this theme can be linked to teaching African cooperation and resistance during the war, the awakening of African nationalism and ideas on race as included in the CAPS, grades 9-12.

The expression of psychological anxiety that is present in these poems also reflects the more recent politics of uncertainty in South Africa. This feeling of uneasiness on the present and future South Africa is succinctly expressed by the poets Cathal Lagan, Basil Somhlahlo, and Brian Walter in the publication *Mendi: Poems on the sinking of the Mendi* which was published at the dawn of South Africa’s democracy. These indigenous poems reveal a plethora of epi-poetic marks that mirror the psychological trauma that South Africa’s troubled past has engendered. In the poems, water becomes an epi-poetic archetype for an uncanny environment of struggle and death. South Africa is metamorphosed as a ship torn on stormy seas.

Consequently, the poems on the Mendi may be used as supplementary historical texts for CAPS (2011) in the classroom. They support the

sources that indicate the reasons why Africans volunteered for service in the South African Native Labour Contingent for non-combatant service in Europe during the First World War (Grundlingh, 1987; Willan, 1978). These poems support the historical sources (Genis, 2018; Grundlingh, 2011) that indicate that the African elite, of which many of the *imbongi* were members, believed that serving Britain loyally in the war would lead to more political rights in the “white” Union of South Africa. Furthermore, instead of only studying the “great” trench poets that include Owen and Sassoon, who are used as examples in CAPS, learners will be exposed to indigenous war poets and songs that specifically refer to South African experiences of the war. Crucially, the indigenous poems provide additional source material for the CAPS’s content “Sinking of the Mendi 1917”. Including a voice from this era – the *imbongi* SEK Mqhayi’s (1875-1945) – provides learners a glimpse into these volunteers’ experiences, and this links with empathy as a second-order historical concept.

Mqhayi’s poems, which reflect on African oppression and which include examples of African resistance and proto-nationalism, cover the first half of the 20th century (Genis, 2018), which is one of the foci of the Senior Phase CAPS. Notably, poetry on the sinking of the Mendi speaks to the importance of historical memory or consciousness and the relevance of historical interpretation of evidence. Additionally, it illustrates the concepts of continuity and change as poems on the Mendi span the period 1917 to the present (Genis, 2018).

Importantly, African learners may be able to recognise the role that their ancestors played in the war as the emotive poetic traces of the past are evidence that it was not a white man’s war, but that many indigenous communities supported the British war effort. This may contribute to the re-membling and affirmation of African experiences within different historical contexts.

The indigenous poetry exposes the South African learners to a richer depiction of the past as black voices are heard through the poetry. They are introduced to not only the British trench poets Owen and Sassoon but also the young black volunteer who is transformed into a sacrificial bull calf to attain ancestral (the “death-defiers”) sanction. Mqhayi re-affirms that the African volunteer dies for “Our people’s God”, and not for the God of the whites. Mqhayi’s was no lackey of the white authorities. His poems incorporate seditious undertones. In *The Black Army*, Mqhayi mentions

sarcastically that the heroes of the black nation managed to defeat the British and Boers on the battlefield during the 19th century (Cope & Krige, 1968) even though they were not allowed to carry arms during the present conflict. The war *izibongo* depicts the African volunteer as a soldier in his own right who becomes an exalted ancestor.

The language used in the indigenous praise poetry from the 19th century to the present is laced with metonyms and metaphors that refer to African trauma and self-affirmation within the face of colonisation (Genis, 2018). These culturally-specific images, therefore, contain inter-generational or epi-poetic traces of memory and history. Terms that include “bull-calves”, “sacrifices” and “death-defiers” situate the war experiences within a specific indigenous context: particular cultural terms are used to describe traumatic events. Introducing the learners to these emotive artifacts may contribute to a more personal experience of the past. Similar to the Thebuwa cloth, learners may be enabled to weave their ancestors’ stories, and subsequently their own stories, into the tapestry of South African history.

The sensory (verbal, aural, visual and representational) experiences that these poems engender in their oral enactments form part of the data. These oral representations elicited emotional responses in the audience, as Mandela’s and the following quote attest: “With these words the Nation’s Poet boils our blood and enflames our ears so we cannot hear” (Opland, 2009:9,526). This is how *The Bantu World* of 9 March 1940 (Opland, 2009:9,526) reported on Mqhayi’s oral renditions of his poetry. Archival and *YouTube* recordings of these performances provide for the incorporation of multimodal source material in the history classroom. The indigenous praise poem in its written and performed embodiment provides for a multimodal historical data set. These historical artifacts may be included in the history classroom to reveal the multi-sensory remembering and re-membering of the indigenous past.

Conclusion

This conceptual article focuses on the close conceptual bond among poetic language, the physical and psychological body and historical context within a South African indigenous milieu. The indigenous epi-poetic traces represent “artifacts” of historical significance that reveal inter-generational African experiences of sacrifice, self-affirmation and colonial-induced trauma within southern Africa. The multimodal qualities of these “epi-poems” lend themselves to a multi-sensory experience of

history within the learning space.

Crucially, incorporating indigenous poetry in the history classroom connects home or traditional literacies with school literacies. Classrooms become decolonised spaces where the indigenous ontology of cyclic experience and becoming is woven with the Westernised curriculum that focuses on linear history, “progress” and quantitative outcomes. The indigenous poems as sites of remembering and “re-membering” contribute to the creation of a multicultural and constructivist intertextual space of learning, where the teachers and learners share their stories and historical narratives as equals.

Within epi-poetics, the *Bodily*, the *Inner-bodily* and the *Outer-bodily* interact to create a level of ‘being-in-the-world’ or an intertextual space of culturally embedded memory that shapes collective and individual experience within the history classroom. Introducing epi-poetics in teaching and learning history may allow for the physical and psychological body (the African learner) to be reconnected to the memory of the past through indigenous languages. Specific thematic concepts that include colonialism, oppression, resistance, sacrifice and black self-affirmation may be explored within a specific indigenous context. The indigenous poem becomes an artifact with which the learner may interact. It is not only a primary source that was performed or written at the time of important historical events, but also a psychological document that contains evidence of inter-generational memory and trauma. Studying these sources may lead to the enhancement of empathy as home literacies and traditions are linked with the school CAPs literacies.

References

- Bloomfield, M, Garratt, P, Mackay, DJG, Richardson, A, Spector, T and Temple, K 2015. Beyond the gene roundtable discussion. *Textual Practice*, 29(3):415-432.
- Bloomfield, M and Hanson, C 2015. Beyond the gene: Epigenetic science in twenty-first century Culture. *Textual Practice*, 29(3):405-413.
- Chapman, M (ed.) 2002. *The new century of South African poetry*. Jeppestown: AD Donker Publishers.
- Christie, T 2007. *Modernism, the Metaphysical poets, and the First World War*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, Georgia.

- Cope, B & Kalantzis, M 2009. Multiliteracies: New literacies new learning. *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, 4(3):164-195.
- Cope, J and Krige, U (eds) 1968. *The Penguin Book of South African verse*. Marmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Delville Wood and Mendi poems*. Available at: <http://www.delvillewood.com/poems.htm>. Accessed on 6 November 2012.
- Department of Basic Education. 2011. *Curriculum and assessment policy statement*. Social Sciences Senior Phase Grades 7-9. Pretoria: DBE.
- Department of Basic Education. 2011. *Curriculum and assessment policy statement*. History Further Education and Training Phase Grades 10-12. Pretoria: DBE.
- Erdmann, E 2017. Contemporary relevance – a category of historical science and of the didactics of history and its consequences in teacher training. *Yesterday & Today*, 17:140-153.
- Firth, BW 2017. Nostalgia, memory and history teaching and learning. *Yesterday & Today*, 17:154-160.
- Genis, G 2018. *Poetic bodies and corpses of war: South African Great War poetry*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Genis, G 2015. The 'bit-less' corpse or mannequin *manqué*: South African Great War poetic embodiment 1914-1918. *Scrutiny2: Issues in English studies in southern Africa*, 20(2):3-33.
- Gill, J 2015. 'Under extreme environmental pressure, characteristics were acquired': Epigenetics, race and Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*. *Textual Practice*, 29(3):479-498.
- Godsell, S 2017. 'Word generation' and skills around learning and teaching history. *Yesterday & Today*, 17:64-91.
- Grundlingh, AM 1987. *Fighting their own war: South African blacks and the First World War*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Grundlingh, AM 2011. Mutating memories and the making of a myth: Remembering the SS Mendi disaster, 1917. *South African Historical Journal*, 63:20-37.
- Gunner, L 2004. Africa and orality. In: FA Irele and S Gikandi. *The Cambridge History of African and Caribbean Literature*, 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:2-11.

- Gunner, L 2002. Royal woman, an artist, and the ambiguities of national belonging: The case of Princess Constance Magogo. *Kunapipi*, XXIV(1-2):205-223.
- Gunner, L 1979. Songs of innocence and experience: Women as composers and performers of 'izibongo', Zulu praise poetry. *Research in African Literatures*, 10(2):239-267.
- Hanson, C 2015. Epigenetics, plasticity and identity in Jackie Kay's Red Dust Road. *Textual Practice*, 29(3):433-452.
- Hodge, J 1998. A small history of the body (contribution to a research project: Time and the body). *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities*, 3(3):31-43.
- Jung, CG 2003. *The spirit in man, art and literature*, trans. RFC Hull. London: Routledge (first published in 1967).
- Kgari-Masondo, MC 2018. A kaleidoscope model as an eminent stride towards decolonising indigenous historical themes. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 17:14-24.
- Krog, A 2004. *The stars say 'tsau'*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.
- Lewis-Williams, JD 2002. *Stories that float from afar: Ancestral folklore of the San of southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Lewis-Williams, D 2004. *The mind in the cave: Consciousness and the origins of art*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Liyong, TL 2018. Indigenous African literary forms may determine the future course of world literature. *English in Africa*, 45:17-28.
- MacKenzie, C (ed.). 2004. *Herman Charles Bosman: Mafeking road and other stories: The anniversary edition*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.
- Malkin-Page, K & Wassermann, J 2019. Historical literacy as a component of multiliteracies with reference to electronic gaming. In: A Engelbrecht & G Genis (eds). *Multiliteracies in education: South African perspectives*. Pretoria: Van Schaik:109-129.
- Mendi, SS 1994. *Poems on the sinking of the Mendi by Cathal Lagan, Basil Somhlahlo and Brian Walter*. Alice: Echo Poets.
- Middleton, P 2015. Epigenetics and poetry: Challenges to genetic determinism in Michael Byers' 'Long for this world', and Mei-mei Berssenbrugge's 'The four year old girl', *Textual Practice*, 29(3):517-545.

- Mvenene, J 2017. The infusion of indigenous knowledge systems in the teaching and learning of South African history in the further education and training phase. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 16:100-117.
- Naicker, C 2016. From Marikana to #feesmustfall: The praxis of popular politics in South Africa. On pedagogy and method. *Urbanisation*, I(I):53-61. Available at: <http://urb.sagepub.com>. Accessed on 26 April 2018.
- Ned, LY 2019. *Reconnecting with indigenous knowledge in education: Exploring possibilities for health and well-being in Xhosa, South Africa*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.
- Newfield, D and Bozalek, V 2018. A Thebuwa hauntology, from silence to speech. In: CR Kuby, K Spector and JJ Thiel, *Posthumanism and literacy education: Knowing / becoming / doing literacies*. New York: Routledge:37-54.
- Newfield, D and D'Abdon, R 2015. Reconceptualising poetry as a multimodal genre. *TESOL Quarterly*, 49(3):510-532.
- Newfield, D and Maungedzo, R 2006. Mobilising and modalising poetry in a Soweto classroom. *English Studies in Africa*, 49(1):71-93.
- Nyamende, A 2011. The life and times of Isaac William Wauchope (1852-1917). *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, 65(1/2):4-15.
- Opland, J and Nyamende, A (eds. & trans.) 2008. *Isaac Williams Wauchope: Selected writings 1874-1916*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2(39).
- Opland, J (ed. & trans.) 2009. *Abantu Besizwe: Historical and biographical writings 1902-1944 S.E.K. Mqhayi*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Opland, J 2004. Nineteenth-century Xhosa literature. *Kronos Southern African Histories* 30 Eastern Cape:22-46.
- Opland, J 2007. The first novel in Xhosa, *Research in African Literatures*, 38(4):87-110.
- Opland, J (ed.) 1992. *Words that circle words: A choice of South African oral poetry*. Parklands: AD Donker.
- Opland, J 1998. *Xhosa poets and poetry*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Opland, J 2017. *Xhosa poets and poetry*. 2nd edition, updated and revised. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press (Publications of the Opland collection of Xhosa literature, volume 5).

- Osborne, J 2015. Getting under performance's skin: epigenetics and gender performativity. *Textual Practice*, 29(3):499-516.
- Owusu, J 2019. Menstruation and the holocaust. *History Today*, 69. Available at: <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/feature/menstruation-and-holocaust>. Accessed on 19 August 2019.
- Pahl, K and Rowsell, J 2013. *Literacy and education: Understanding the new literacy studies in the classroom*, 2. London: SAGE.
- Rowsell, J Kosnik, C and Beck, C 2008. Fostering multiliteracies pedagogy through preservice teacher education. *Teaching Education*, 19(2):109-122.
- Saunders, C and Southey, N 2001. *A dictionary of South African history*, 2. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Shava, S and Manyike, TV 2018. The decolonial role of African indigenous languages and indigenous knowledges in formal education processes. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 17:36-52.
- The Star*, 22 February 1952. Unisa Audiovisual Collection, Microfile 0555, *The Star* 15.02.1952-29.02.1952.
- Tosh, J 1993. *The pursuit of history: aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*. London: Longman.
- Tracey, H 1948. *Lalela Zulu: 100 Zulu lyrics*. Johannesburg: African Music Society. (University of South Africa Library Archives: DT Cole Collection COLE0668 & Van Schaik Collection ASC156675).
- United Nations 2016. *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 19 December 2016: 71/178 Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Seventy-first Session Agenda Item 65(a). No.13:5.
- Van der Post, L 1961. *The heart of the hunter*. London: The Hogarth Press.
- Willan, BP 1978. The South African Native Labour Contingent 1916-1918. *Journal of African History*, XIX(1):61-86.

Taking the sting out of assessment: The experiences of trainee teachers experimenting with innovative alternative performance assessment in the History classroom

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2019/n22a5>

Pieter Warnich
North-West University (Potchefstroom)
pieter.warnich@nwu.ac.za
Orcid no. 0000-0003-3967-7767

Henriëtte Lubbe
University of South Africa
lubbehj@unisa.ac.za
Orcid no. 0000-0002-4458-8016

Abstract

This article explores the experiences of History and Social Sciences (History) trainee teachers (n=33) and their learners during the implementation of five versatile and innovative alternative performance assessment strategies in their diverse classroom settings during their practicum at schools. Originally designed for the corporate staff training environment, and subsequently utilised as community building and data collection techniques in a participative community-engaged research project, these five interactive activities were adapted to act as innovative teaching and alternative formative performance assessment strategies in the History classroom, the latter of which is the main focus of this article. The article is anchored in a social constructivist and dialogic theoretical framework and argues that alternative performance assessment techniques that are non-graded, interactive, formative and dialogic in nature, take place within an atmosphere of emotional safety, and integrate a strong element of enjoyment, are able to remove the anxiety that often characterises both summative and graded formative assessment. This, in turn, makes learners more receptive to learning and brings History to life in the classroom. In an attempt to answer two interrelated research questions: “how did trainee History teachers experience the implementation of innovative alternative performance assessment strategies”, and “how did they perceive the response of the learners to a fresh approach to formative assessment”, the article employs a qualitative research methodology which rests on research findings generated through the use of data gathered from written, visual and oral feedback from the participants during and after a practical workshop which prepared them for the implementation phase of the study. The research findings suggest, inter alia, that both the trainee teachers and their learners enjoyed a fresh, non-threatening approach to formative assessment and that the learners participated freely and enthusiastically in groups when implementing these formative assessment strategies.

The findings also indicate some challenges including time management, classroom management, and appropriate facilitation skills in managing more advanced learners who, it was found, tended to overpower less confident learners in their groups. It finally offers recommendations for improvement should History teachers prefer to implement these alternative performance assessment strategies in their classrooms.

Keywords: Alternative formative assessment; Assessment strategies; History education; Trainee teachers; History learners.

Introduction

Assessment is an essential teaching and learning activity that forms an integral part of all History teachers' lives. Assessment involves a continuous and planned process of collecting, analysing, interpreting and recording information about learner performance in order to make quantitative and qualitative judgements about what the learners have learned (Hamidi, 2010). It could either be summative (assessment of learning) or formative (assessment for learning) in nature and should ideally include both forms of assessment working in close harmony with each other (Lau, 2016).

Learners construct knowledge in various ways. It is therefore necessary for the History teacher to apply different approaches to assessment (Stears & Gopal, 2010) and be sensitive to learners' cultural contexts (Lee Hang & Bell, 2015). However, the manner in which History teachers conceive of assessment strategies is subjective and unique. Within a South African context, the choice of assessment strategy is further largely controlled by the directives stated in the CAPS¹ document (Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2011). In the end the History teachers' approach to assessment in general depends on the teachers' working-knowledge, choice and application of the various kinds of assessment strategies that will be implemented in their classes (Furtak, Kiemer, Circi, Swanson, De León, Morrison & Heredia, 2016; Carless, 2015). Despite the global call for a more holistic assessment approach and for traditional assessments to be complemented by collaborative and participatory learner-centred alternative performance assessment activities' (e.g. McCurdy, Reagan, Rogers, & Schram, 2018; Stosich, Snyder & Wilczak, 2018; Haun, 2018; Frunza, 2014; Duncan & Buskirk-Cohen, 2011; McMillan & Hearn, 2008) research within the South African and African (Perry, 2013) context still shows a strong tendency

¹ CAPS (Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement) refers to the South African National Department of Basic Education's policy document for each school subject. This document sets out guidelines regarding learning material, assessment and the expected outcomes in a particular subject.

among History teachers to give preference to traditional teacher-centred instruction and summative assessment methods and practices (Bunt, 2013; Moreeng & Du Toit, 2013; Warnich & Meyer, 2013). These attitudes exist despite the National Curriculum's call "for an active and critical approach" (DBE, 2011:4) to teaching, learning and assessment practices where not only content knowledge will be assessed, but the focus will also be on the demonstration of critical thinking and creative problem-solving skills – competencies and attitudes which will enable the learners to take their place in society as mature citizens (DBE, 2011).

The History teacher should guard against giving preference to certain assessment strategies based on his/her preconceived opinions and experiences, believing them to be intrinsically better than others. The choice of assessment strategies should always be in accordance with the desired learning objectives to be measured. When the focus is on what learners need to know, teachers can collect assessment data during formal and informal assessment opportunities in numerous ways and from multiple sources in order to gauge progress. By exploiting a repertoire of innovative alternative assessment strategies, the teacher will ensure that provision is made for the diverse learning needs and styles of the individual learners (Janisch, Liu & Akrofi, 2007). According to Offerdahl and Tomanek (2011) it is those teachers who are more sophisticated in the way they think about assessment who will be more willing to experiment with new and more flexible assessment strategies that can be used for different purposes.

By applying innovative and alternative performance assessment practices it further opens the possibility of bringing enjoyment into the classroom that can help to alleviate learner stress and enhance learner engagement. In its nature assessment implies judging and being judged which is the reason why some learners find formal summative (as opposed to non-graded formative) assessment intimidating (Von der Embse & Hasson, 2012). It triggers anxiety as this type of assessment focuses primarily on tests and examinations of which the results are mainly used to measure learner performance against an expected outcome and, in some cases, weigh learners against one another in terms of personal performance (Bartlett, 2015). Test anxiety is a psychological condition where learners experience distress and anxiety during testing or evaluating situations which in the end can impair academic performance. This may be the result of external pressure from parents, schools or peers, or internal pressure as a result of internalised expectations set by the learners themselves to perform well

(Zhao, Selman, & Haste, 2015; McDonald, 2001). In addition, research suggests that the frequency of fear of assessment in school learners has increased in all age groups over time (Hesketh, Zhen, Lu, Dong, Jun & Xing, 2010; McDonald, 2001). According to Von der Embse and Hasson (2012:181) “test anxiety is considered one of the most disruptive factors in test performance”. The research literature is further in agreement that the creation of a positive environment in which the assessment takes place is of utmost importance as it will reduce learner anxiety and will in the end ensure that the potential of all learners will be realised (Von der Embse & Hasson, 2012).

Research aim

The aim of this article is to reflect on the practical implementation of innovative alternative performance assessment strategies, designed to be enjoyable and non-threatening, in the History classroom by trainee teachers, and to explore their perception of how these strategies influenced both their own teaching experience and the attitude and learning behaviour of the learners. Within the context of this study, learning behaviour refers to the behaviour demonstrated by the learners during their interaction with their peers and the trainee teacher when innovative and alternative interactive performance assessment strategies were implemented in class.

Performance assessment conceptualized

Since the late 1980s performance assessment as an alternative type of formative assessment has increasingly been drawing more attention in the literature whenever classroom-assessment was at issue (Killen, 2007; Moskal, 2003; Wilson & Wineburg, 1993). A reason for this growing interest can be ascribed to its potential to improve student learning and achievement in developing critical abilities such as critical thinking, inquiry, communication and collaboration (Cimer, 2018; Stosich *et al.*, 2018; Kubiszyn & Borich, 2010). In most cases the development of these abilities is poorly measured during traditional (summative) assessment practices where the emphasis is on the memorising of content knowledge. The result is an ongoing recognition of a need for a broader array of History formative assessment strategies in the development of historical concepts and skills where test results and grading are not heightened to improve performance (Samuelsson, 2018; Demircioglu, 2010; Edmunds, 2006).

The conceptualisation of performance assessment varies widely and has different meanings, both in focus and in interpretation. Although there is no clear consensus on the exact meaning of “performance” (Palm, 2008), it suggests an assessment strategy and practice that value the application of deeper conceptual understanding and transferable skills over lower level content acquisition by means of rote learning (Stosich *et al.*, 2018; Vander Ark, 2013). McMillan (2004) describes classroom-based performance assessment as a type of assessment where the teacher observes the learners and uses specific criteria to judge their ability to demonstrate a skill or proficiency when creating a product, constructing a response, or making a presentation. The emphasis is not only on the assessment of the performance of a meaningful task (the product), which often involves real-time applications, but also on the particular method (the process) in creating the product (Kubiszyn & Borich, 2010; Janisch *et al.*, 2007; Etsey, 2005).

Another way in which performance assessment can be contextualised is to distinguish between response-centred and simulation-centred responses. In the latter case a practical (which can include a non-written) performance response is required by using special assessment instruments and equipment. This simulation-centred response format is more of a direct hands-on assessment in the sense that a close parallel exists between the actual performance that is observed in the construction of answers and the performance of interest. In the case of response-centred performance assessment the focus is on a learner-constructed response that can range from the simplest answer to comprehensive collections of work that was done over a period of time (Palm, 2008).

In short, performance-based assessment suggests that it requires learners to demonstrate knowledge, skills and competencies in performing or producing something that applies to a particular context. It can take many different forms that require learners to explore a topic orally or in writing, and where opportunities will allow learners to work individually or to become interactively engaged within a group. From the learners’ activities and responses, it will enable the teacher to determine through observation and analysis what they know and what possible misconceptions they might hold regarding the purpose of the assessment (Moskal, 2003; Etsey, 2003).

For this article the word “alternative” must be seen in the context of innovative performance assessment strategies and instruments that are different from the traditional ones when assessing learners in the History

class. With these assessment strategies the learners engage in enjoyable, interactive group activities and use physical activity and energy in finding solutions to historical enquiry questions. These assessment approaches originated as part of a human dynamics training programme, designed by one of the authors of this article to enhance team development and emotional intelligence within the corporate working environment. The activities were subsequently adapted to serve as community engagement and data collection tools for a participative community-engaged research project that focuses on skills training for History educators in various provinces of South Africa. In an attempt to enable the participants (all secondary school History teachers) to teach their discipline more creatively and effectively in the modern classroom, the activities were adapted further to serve as teaching, learning and assessment tools. They were then taken into the History classroom by trainee teachers as part of a mutually enabling service-learning engagement between an institution of higher learning and various schools (Janse van Rensburg, 2014). This provided the trainee teachers with first-hand experience of the potential value of the activities for their classroom teaching and for formative performance assessment in particular.

Theoretical underpinning

Alternative performance assessment strategies are grounded in a social-constructivist research paradigm (Cimer, 2018; Sardareh & Saad, 2012; Janisch *et al.*, 2007) as they provide opportunities for collaborative and engaging learning where learners are given the chance to demonstrate what they know and to use their prior knowledge and skills to do further investigation and problem solving (Haun, 2018). It also fits within the framework of dialogue theory which values ethical communication and respect for individual dignity; involves participants in conversation and problem-solving; and encourages sharing and reaching mutual understanding (Taylor & Kent, 2014; Rule, 2011).

Emerging from the work of psychologists such as Jerome Bruner, Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky the most important implication of the constructivist theory on teaching, learning and assessment is the shift from teacher centred-instruction to learner-centred instruction. For Brooks & Brooks (1993) – and in line with David Kolb’s theory on experiential learning (Kolb, 1984) – the constructivist view helps learners to actively construct, internalise and reshape, or transform new information. In this

manner it breaks with the traditional view of teaching as a “mimetic” activity – a process that involves learners in repeating or miming newly presented information.

Social constructivism acknowledges the fact that learners possess a rich source of prior knowledge that they bring to the learning situation. Through collaboratively interacting with fellow learners (peers) in a dialogic learning environment (Rule, 2011; Taylor & Kent, 2014), and experimenting with a variety of performance assessment strategies learners learn from one another and are helped to actively construct and assimilate new knowledge and skills that are meaningful and useful in their own lives (Stears & Gopal, 2010).

Social constructivism further considers assessment as an on-going and continual process and is therefore formative in nature. It focuses on the role of social interaction and collaboration where learners are receiving feedback from their teachers and peers that facilitates, monitors and powerfully drives the learning process in raising learner achievement. Formative feedback processes that are supportive and motivating will help learners to progress to the next step in their learning (Sardareh & Saad, 2012).

Innovative alternative performance assessments in action

For the purpose of this study five interactive group activities were selected to serve as potential alternative performance assessment strategies for application in the History classroom. They are the “Paper Pool”, “Deciding Line”, “Shells/Stones Activity”, “Paper Jets” and “Bubble Map”, the last of which should be familiar to many teachers as a teaching tool but is utilised here specifically with an assessment objective in mind.

Paper Pool

In the “Paper Pool” activity an A4-size sheet of paper (preferably coloured paper which adds an element of colour and fun) is cut into four pieces and one piece given to each learner. The teacher then formulates a question based on the historical content selected for the lesson, and the learners write down their answers to the question without giving their names. The pieces of paper are subsequently placed upside down in the middle of the circle on the floor (or any other communal space such as a table). After the teacher has shuffled the pieces of paper, each learner collects a piece and voluntarily shares what the anonymous fellow learner has written. This will

enable the teacher to determine the level of existing knowledge (if used as a “pre-test”) or the knowledge gained during the lesson (if used as “post-test”). Giving feedback can continue for as long as the teacher decides. The teacher can either simply observe and form an impression of the knowledge level, understanding and/or perceptions of the learners, or follow a more advanced approach by posing questions of varying complexity, based on the responses that have been read out, thereby stimulating reflection and discussion. If space is limited in the classroom, the activity can be adapted quite easily to allow for pieces of paper to be collected by row, shuffled and then redistributed among learners sitting in another row.

The potential value of this activity is multi-faceted: firstly, it allows for the participation of every learner, including the quieter learner; secondly, learners save face by not reading out their own contributions and learn to communicate freely in an environment of emotional safety; thirdly, participation can build self-esteem and develop presentation and listening skills; in addition, the practical nature and visual impact of the activity will ensure that learners do not easily forget their experience and the learning that flowed from it; moreover, the activity does not require expensive resources, is easy to administer and generates quick results; lastly, the activity is versatile and may be used to assess content-knowledge at any stage of the lesson; explore learner perceptions on any relevant matter; and contribute towards the teacher’s own self-assessment.

Deciding Line

In the “Deciding Line” activity, which can be conducted either inside (depending on space) or outside the classroom, a 3-meter piece of rope is placed on the ground creating a “negotiation zone” on the one side and a “consensus zone” on the other side of the rope. Learners are invited to form pairs and all pairs start out in the “negotiation zone” having to identify three to five main reasons for a certain historical phenomenon or characteristics of a particular leadership style. Once a pair has reached consensus, they cross the line to the “consensus zone”, wait for another pair to join them and then move back to the “negotiation zone” in order to debate the points raised by each pair and come up with three to five points as a group of four. Once the group of four has reached consensus, they move to the “consensus zone”, meet up with another group that has reached consensus and once again move back to the “negotiation zone” as a group of eight to debate their various contributions and reach consensus

as a group. The process continues until the whole class reaches consensus and a representative of the group, or the teacher, finally jots down the three to five consensus findings on the blackboard or a flipchart.

Similar to the previous activity, the “Deciding Line” is conducive to full participation of every learner within a non-threatening dialogic space. They also practise communication, negotiation/debating and facilitation skills while having fun and will not easily forget the experience, and the learning that it generated. Again, the activity may be used to assess either content knowledge or learner perceptions, and can even be used by teachers to gain an impression of how learners experience their teaching by simply adapting the instruction question.

Shells/Stones Activity

The only resources that are needed for this activity are sea shells, small stones or any other item (e.g. sweets) of different sizes and appearance. The learners are invited to select a shell or stone each which they will be able to identify again later should the activity be repeated. In smaller classes with sufficient space, the learners can stand in a circle, while in more cramped settings the teacher can simply use his/her table as the surface where the activity can be executed. After the teacher has placed his/her shell/stone in the middle of the circle/table, and explained what this item signifies, the learners are invited to place their items closer or further away from the centre depending on how strongly they support what the central item represents. For example, if the teacher’s shell/stone in the centre signifies a significant contribution on the part of Nelson Mandela in bringing about reconciliation in South Africa, learners can express their opinions non-verbally by placing their shells/stones either closer to the centre (if they feel Mandela was very successful) or further away towards the periphery if they believe that his attempts at reconciliation were not successful. The activity may be repeated a few times, each time asking a different question in order to assess depth of understanding and stimulate critical and analytical thinking.

Similar to the “Paper Pool” the teacher may simply observe the process and learn about the learners’ perceptions, opinions or content knowledge. However, a more meaningful approach would be to engage the learners in conversation around the implications of the visual picture they have created by asking relevant questions and managing the communication

process in order to ensure that learners sharing ideas and feelings feel respected and heard.

Again, every learner participates in the activity – even less confident learners who may find it easier to make a visual rather than a verbal statement in front of other people. If well facilitated by the teacher to counteract peer pressure, the activity also encourages learners to be honest and assertive whilst communicating their ideas and feelings. In addition, it provides them with opportunities to practice analytical and listening skills, and conveys the importance of respecting different opinions. Moreover, repeating the activity at a later stage will create useful opportunities for comparison, while the element of enjoyment and the visual impact of the activity will be remembered for a long time. This supports the view of another researcher (Riddell, 2016:73) who has found that the use of physical items in a practical formative assessment activity assists learners in connecting the objective of the lesson, and the learning derived from it, with their prior real world experience, which in turn strengthens their memory of the formative assessment experience.

As with the previous activities, the “Shells/Stones” activity may be used to assess both content knowledge and learner perceptions and opinions. More experienced teachers, who are emotionally ready to receive feedback from their learners about the strengths and developmental areas of their teaching, may consider using this activity as a powerful self-assessment tool.

Paper Jets

All that is needed for this activity is one A4 sheet of coloured paper per learner. Learners are invited to write down their views on any relevant question, after which they are shown how to fold their piece of paper into a paper jet, with the writing on the inside. The teacher now gives clear instructions, asking the learners to close their eyes and keep them closed (for safety reasons) until told to open them. The next instruction tells the learners to raise their arm with the jet in hand and prepare for take-off, after which they receive the cue “Take Off”, which allows them to throw their jets in any direction. Upon the instruction to open their eyes and “Scramble!”, each learner has to find a jet, open it, read what the fellow learner has written, and then refold it for another round to commence. Learners may even be requested to tick items they agree with or comment in writing on what their classmates have said.

Apart from the high energy level and strong element of engagement which characterise this strategy, the activity again involves all learners, especially those who find it easier to make visual or written contributions rather than speaking up in a group. Moreover, while writing down their views at the beginning of the exercise, learners receive time to think about their responses. This takes learner feedback to a deeper level. If the teacher decides to stimulate discussion around the findings generated during the activity, which we encourage, learners learn to communicate ideas and feelings, practise analytical and listening skills and respect different opinions. Perhaps even more than any of the other activities discussed here, learners will remember this high energy activity for a long time. Again, by simply adapting the original instruction question, the teacher may use the activity to assess either content knowledge (for example the reasons for a particular historical development), or learner perceptions (for example their view of a historical figure's leadership style), or even as a self-assessment tool (for example requesting the learners to share their thoughts on how the teacher can make History lessons more effective).

Bubble Map

Here one of David Hyerle and Chris Yeager's thinking maps (Hyerle & Yeager, 1996; Hyerle, 2011), the "Bubble Map", was adapted to serve as an alternative formative assessment tool. The only resources needed for the activity are koki pens and one sheet of flipchart paper. The teacher prepares a bubble map on the flipchart paper beforehand but leaves the bubbles blank. The flipchart sheet is then put up on the wall where learners have easy access to the bubble map and some koki pens. Learners are invited to jot down comments in the bubbles (e.g. reasons for a historical event, characteristics of a particular leadership style, successes/failures of a certain historical figure, comments on what they enjoy most about their teacher's teaching, etc.). Learners should be free to add more bubbles if necessary.

Based on extensive experience in the field of human dynamics training,² the potential value of this alternative performance assessment strategy is that learners will feel free to contribute in their own time and do so visually rather than orally which quieter personalities find intimidating. If the teacher decides to engage the learners in dialogue about their written contributions, learners will be able to practise analytical thinking, listening and other communication skills, learn to give and receive feedback from others, build

² One of the authors is both an academic historian and an experienced human dynamics facilitator.

self-confidence and respect opposing views. Should the bubble map remain displayed on the classroom wall for some time, it will assist in sustaining memory of the activity and may even serve as a source of reference and comparison in the future (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 1).

Research methodology

This qualitative study has employed an action research methodology by integrating research and practice in alternative and innovative performance assessment strategies. These strategies were implemented in the classroom by trainee History teachers during their four-week practicum at schools in March 2016 in an attempt to make their History lessons more creative, enjoyable and effective, and to reflect on both the responses of their learners to these new techniques and their own experiences whilst conducting their classes. In this sense the study partly responded to an earlier plea for more training for teachers in formative assessment within an African context and for more research on the extent to which teachers actually benefit from formative assessment training (Perry, 2013).

In preparation for the practical implementation of the alternative performance assessment strategies described earlier, 33 History education students in their final year of study at a South African university were used as participants in this study. One of the authors of this article was lecturing these students, and therefore the population members were available to participate in the research. This sampling method is useful in exploratory research where the study is interested in attaining a low-cost, quick appraisal of “the truth” where only a few participants are necessary to complete the questionnaire (Maree, 2016).

The first phase of this qualitative study is based on research findings generated through observation by the authors, as well as written and informal oral feedback obtained from the participants during a practical workshop. This workshop prepared them for the second phase of the study during which the alternative and innovative performance assessment strategies would be implemented in the classroom. During the first phase of the research the participants attended a 90-minute interactive practical workshop presented by one of the authors during which they were familiarised with the five alternative performance assessment strategies outlined above. In order for the workshop to be fully experiential in nature and generate spontaneous responses from the participants, they were taken through each activity without prior explanation (“front-loading”), the

nature and value of each activity reviewed orally within the group upon completion of the activity; and notes only handed out after the workshop. (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 1).

The very first activity, the “Paper Pool”, bears powerful testimony of the anxiety with which many students and learners associate summative and graded formative assessment. The participants were informed at the outset that they would be “tested” at the end of the workshop and that “the mark awarded would form a significant part of their final result for the academic year”. Not only could the facilitators (authors) immediately sense tension in the room upon hearing this news, but they also observed shock in many facial expressions. This was subsequently confirmed in the participants’ written responses when they were taken through the “Paper Pool” activity. Many mentioned feeling anxious, shocked, confused, insecure, overwhelmed and stressed either because of fear of the unknown, or because they felt unprepared and worried that they would fail the test. Others expressed emotions of anger, because they had not been told beforehand that the workshop would count for marks and wanted to leave (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 2). During the review of the activity, participants were encouraged to talk through their negative feelings; made to appreciate the anxiety that is often associated with assessment; and understand the value of an alternative and innovative approach to formative assessment which removes such anxiety from the assessment process. In this way the study added to the work of other researchers such as Volante & Beckett, (2011), who emphasised the importance of learner involvement, appropriate questioning which alleviates tension, and feedback without grades as part of effective formative performance assessment.

After the workshop the participants received a set of notes (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 1) which provided them with a step-by-step explanation of how each activity should be executed, a summary of the resources that would be required, suggestions for how each activity might be adapted for various purposes and different settings, options for application, and an indication of the potential value of each activity. They were also provided with a DVD (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 1) which consisted of photographs and video footage of the practical execution of the activities during the workshop. The purpose of this visual material was to reinforce the learning in the weeks that followed, refresh participants’ memory prior to implementation in the classroom, and standardise execution of the activities. By then all the students had

already signed a written consent form (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 1; Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5) in which they had given formal permission for their responses to be used for research purposes.

In addition, the students received an instruction sheet to be used in the second phase of this research. This instruction sheet required them to integrate any one of the suggested alternative performance assessment strategies into a CAPS-aligned lesson plan and to provide feedback on how the lesson went by completing a short questionnaire (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 1). This questionnaire, which consisted of a few open-ended questions, required the participants to stipulate the assessment activity of choice; explain why that particular activity had been chosen; show how the chosen activity would be integrated into a CAPS-aligned lesson plan; discuss their experience of the practical implementation of the activity during the presentation of their lessons; provide an overview of their impressions by observing learner behaviour whilst the learners experienced and responded to the activity; and finally, to explain how they would approach and present the activity differently should they be offered another opportunity to do so (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5). By offering the participants both a choice of activity and the flexibility to suggest adaptations for future implementation, the authors strove to cater for different teacher readiness levels and enhance participant creativity and motivation (NWEA, 2016). All of the above components – the set of notes, DVD, their written consent to participate in the research, lesson plan(s) and completed open-ended questionnaire – had to be included in a final portfolio which would contribute towards the students' final mark for the academic year (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5).

Similar to the "Paper Pool" activity, which was linked to a theme that had personal relevance to each student for experiential impact, the remaining activities were also structured around relevant and easily accessible topics. For example, the "Deciding Line" challenged the students to identify five common objectives which they would like to see addressed during the workshop, while the "Stones/Shells" activity required them to assess Nelson Mandela's contribution in bringing about reconciliation in South Africa. In the "Paper Jets" activity, the participants were invited to express their views on whether or not History should become a compulsory school subject in South Africa, while the "Bubble Map" activity requested participants to evaluate the workshop by writing down comments on the workshop in the bubbles.

Based on the views expressed in the “Bubble Map” activity (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 4), the participants described the workshop as “alternative”, “interesting”, “positive”, “creative”, “interactive”, “fully participative”, “innovative” and “effective” in terms of both the practical and visual impact of the assessment strategies and the group’s interaction with one another. Several thought that the innovative and alternative performance assessment strategies would be a valuable and appropriate way of assessing learners at all levels and committed themselves to implementing the techniques in their teaching and learning of History (Lubbe, 2016, Personal Archive, File 4).

Research findings

In this qualitative study with its action research methodology, data was gathered through documenting the personal experience, observations and perceptions of trainee teachers during the practical implementation of innovative performance assessment activities as part of their lessons. The observation criteria used were: the practical feasibility of the performance assessment in a class situation; the learner’s reaction to these “new” assessment activities; the extent of learner involvement during the assessment activities; and possible opportunities that were created for the learners to broaden their historical knowledge and skills.

Observation as a data-gathering technique is considered to be a systematic process used to record participant behaviour without necessarily asking questions or communicating. The aim is to gain a deeper insight into the phenomenon being observed. In view of the highly selective and subjective nature of observation, it is important to know exactly what to observe in an effort to eliminate personal bias (Nieuwenhuis, 2016). In this study the trainee teachers were guided to observe both the verbal and non-verbal expression of feelings on the part of the learners in relation to the mentioned criteria during the implementation of innovative performance assessment activities.

From the data gathered, the findings showed that most of the participants (58%) chose to implement the “Paper Pool” performance assessment strategy in their History classes. This was followed by “Paper Jets” (20%), “Shell/Stones” (12%), “Bubble Map” (8%) and “Deciding Line” (2%) (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5).

The 58% participants who implemented the “Paper Pool” were in agreement that the activity was a good assessment strategy at the beginning of a new lesson. When applied, it is expected from the learners to anonymously write down an answer to a question on a piece of paper and then place it upside down in the middle of the circle on the floor. The participants felt that this action offers the teacher an excellent opportunity to reflect on the learner’s prior knowledge on a specific topic. Other reasons specified by the participants why they favoured the “Paper Pool” as a “new” way of assessment, were that it was easy to understand; that in smaller classes it does not disturb class discipline, and that it encourages learner participation and interaction, which enable learners to learn from one another (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections A1-A8, A11-A16, A20-A21).

In their experience with the “Paper Pool” the participants reported that none of the learners felt that they were put “on the spot”. They were given the opportunity to write down their responses to the questions without stating their names on the piece of paper. When it was time to read the answers aloud, they were not afraid to do so, because even if an answer proved to be wrong, it would not be their own answer. The participants further reported that the learners were actively involved in the assessment process and that it was good to observe the cooperation between the learners (including the shy and quiet ones) whilst giving feedback to the questions. Moreover, the participants did not experience the “Paper Pool” as a time-consuming activity with little or no value. On the contrary, it was experienced as an assessment strategy that allowed the learners to communicate freely in class discussions which in turn created opportunities for peer learning in order to broaden their knowledge. At the same time, active involvement in the assessment process enhanced the learner’s self-confidence (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections A1-A9, A11, A14-A16, A18-A21).

There were, however, also a few challenges. Because the learners were not used to this alternative and innovative assessment strategy, it took some time before they finally grasped this “new” technique. Moreover, not all learners took this new assessment strategy seriously. In some instances, learners would shout out the name of a peer in class before the answer was read out, trying to make a joke of the assessment opportunity. For this reason, the participants indicated that effective classroom management is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of a performance

assessment strategy of this nature (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections A2, A8-A9, A11-A12, A14).

In providing an overview of their impressions of how the learners experienced and responded to the “Paper Pool”, the participants shared some interesting observations. They reported that the learners had requested starting future lessons in the same way as they preferred to be more involved in the teaching, learning and assessment events. The learners also revealed a sense of enjoyment, anticipation, curiosity and excitement in a safe assessment environment which was not so stressful. They were not afraid to share their content knowledge and were willing to give feedback although their answers might be wrong. For many learners it was interesting to hear what their classmates wrote down as the answers to the question posed. On the other hand, despite answers being anonymous, not all learners liked the idea that their answers were read aloud (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections A8-A9, A11, A14-15, A17, A19, A21).

When the participants were asked to explain how they would approach and present the “Paper Pool” differently, should they be offered another opportunity to do so, some indicated that they would spend more time on the activity as they found it difficult to complete it within the space of one period. Furthermore, they would reconsider the practice that allows learners to leave their desks in order to participate. In their opinion the movement of the learners to a communal space in the classroom disturbed the discipline. To avoid this, they would rather ask the learners to stay in their desks and exchange their answers with their peers in front, at the back or alongside them. Where there were too many learners in a classroom, some of the participants remarked that at another opportunity, they would take the learners out of class where there is enough space for them to sit in a circle (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections A2, A8-A9, A11).

A further aspect that will be considered at a next opportunity, is to extend the implementation of the strategy to the teaching and learning and consolidation phases of a lesson instead of merely earmarking it for the introductory phase. When implemented in these phases, the participants were in agreement that a lesson might be over two periods in order for the full potential of the “Paper Pool” as a formative performance assessment strategy to be realised. Finally, it was stated that at a next opportunity more time would be spent on the sharper formulation of the questions posed. Most of the participants believed that, because the question had not

always been formulated clearly, the learners tended to deviate from the lesson topic during the discussions after the question had been answered (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections A9-A10, A15, A21).

As far as the “Paper Jets” activity is concerned, the 20% participants who decided to implement it as an alternative and innovative performance strategy, held the view that it teaches the learners some aspects of the “doing” of History. Only one participant utilised this assessment strategy in the Further Education Training (FET) Phase, whilst the others applied it to the Intermediate and Senior Phases of the History component of Social Sciences (Grades 4-9). During the implementation of the “Paper Jets” the participants found that the learners (the boys more than the girls) thoroughly enjoyed the activity, especially the folding of the jets and to participate in this “new” and active way of assessment. The activity generated a general sense of excitement in class which could be ascribed mainly to the “playful” element of the “Paper Jets”. For this reason, the learners did not experience it as an assessment activity in the true sense of the word. To them it was important not to miss out, and appreciating the writing down of their own answers in anonymity, rather than to say it aloud in class. Every learner therefore participated actively in the assessment process by reading the written answers of the other learners and sharing ideas during the class discussion that flowed from the answers given to the questions. One of the participants also reported that anonymity created an opportunity for the learners to assess and discuss incorrect answers without pointing out certain individuals. In this manner the formative feedback contributed to improved learning in the acquisition of historical knowledge and skills (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections B1-B3, B5-B8).

However, most of the trainee teachers did not enjoy the “Paper Jets” as much as the learners did. One of the challenges they faced during the implementation of the “Paper Jets” was the folding of the jet. Some of the learners mocked and teased those who struggled to fold the jet. One of the participants observed that it was in particular the girls who found folding the jets difficult. Another challenge relates to classroom management. Most of the participants agreed that the “Paper Jets” had a detrimental effect on class discipline. Especially during the “scramble” part of the activity the learners were rowdy and pushed each other in their search to find a jet. Under these circumstances the participants reported that they found it difficult to maintain discipline, and to refocus the learners’ attention on

the rest of the lesson after the assessment activity had ended. Most of the participants felt that, to a certain extent, it distracted the learners' realisation of the real purpose and aim of "Paper Jets" as a performance assessment strategy (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections B4-B6, B8).

In their comments on how they would approach and present the "Paper Jets" differently should they be offered another opportunity to do so, some participants remarked that the assessment activity took too much time and that they would therefore ask the learners to finish folding their jets at home. Others stated that they would handle the "scramble" part differently by allowing the learners to throw their jets in smaller numbers and boys and girls to do it separately outside the classroom. Some of the participants reported that they would only use the "Paper Jets" as an assessment strategy in the concluding phase of their lessons due to the reaction of the learners (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections B2-B7).

In their experience of the "Shell/Stones" activity, the 12% participants who had chosen to implement it in class were unanimous that it was an excellent assessment strategy. They reported that the learners showed keen interest in this alternative and interactive way of assessment, which kept everybody's attention from start to finish. Even the quiet and shy learners were willing to participate, and all learners were immediately part of the assessment process when asked to make a visual judgment by placing their shells/stones closer or further away from the centre of the circle. Depending on the distance from the centre, the placement of the shell/stone indicates the level of agreement with the statement made by the teacher. A further advantage highlighted was the opportunity created for learners to explain the placement of their shells/stones, thereby encouraging them to form own opinions which will contribute to their development of a critical *awareness* and historical understanding of events. Some of the participants argued that the "Shell/Stones" would be particularly effective as an alternative performance assessment strategy in the introductory phase of a lesson. Moreover, they were of the opinion that in contrast to the other mentioned performance assessment strategies, the "Shells/Stones" activity is more effective when testing for a deeper prior knowledge on a specific topic (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections C2-C5).

Despite the general agreement on the merit of the "Shells/Stones", some challenges were encountered. One of the participants pointed out that this strategy was more suited to the Senior and Further Education and Training

(FET) phases, as the intermediate phase learners are still too young to have sufficient knowledge on a specific topic in order to develop an own opinion. Another challenge was that some of the learners' decisions where to place their shells/stones in relation to the centre of the circle were influenced by their peer's placement of their shells/stones. This behaviour may suggest a lack of confidence in taking a decisive stand with regard to the statement made and subsequently motivating why the choice has been made (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections C1, C3-C4).

One participant recommended that, should there be an ensuing opportunity for implementation, the learners could be divided into smaller groups depending on where they have placed their shells/stones. Those learners who put their shells/stones nearest to the centre (thereby implicating that they are more in agreement with the statement made) would be grouped together in order to work together to formulate a view. The same opportunity would be given to those learners who put their shells/stones further away from the centre, demonstrating that they were to a lesser extent in agreement with the statement made (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Section C4).

As far as the "Bubble Map" is concerned, the 8% participants who implemented it agreed that this assessment activity is suitable for implementation in any of the introductory, presentation and consolidating phases of a lesson. They pointed out that the learners clearly found this "new" way of assessment exciting and stimulating and requested more opportunities in the future to partake in an assessment activity of this nature. Some of the learners were even willing to do some research for homework in preparation, should the opportunity rise again (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections D1-D3).

However, some of the participants also raised concerns and made suggestions for adaptation. They argued that the "Bubble Map" activity as an assessment strategy would work better in smaller groups as it encouraged more discussion among the learners. Furthermore, they experienced the activity as time consuming as a result of the lengthy debates that it generated among the learners. For this reason, it was recommended that the activity should rather be utilized during a double period, should they be offered another opportunity to present the "Bubble Map" activity differently. Some of the participants also experienced that they had to intervene at times when the cognitively stronger and/or more vocal learners tended to over-

power the quieter learners during the dialogues that followed after they had jotted down their comments in the bubbles (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections D1-D3).

Due to the fact that only 2% of the participants implemented the “Deciding Line” shows that this assessment strategy was not a popular choice. However, the participant who did use it, reported that it worked extremely well, and that it was especially the “busy” learners who enjoyed the interactivity and physical movement that the activity offered. The learners also spread the message in school that the trainee teacher had “funky ways” of teaching the content. Some of the learners recalled the assessment activity as learning History through a hands-on process of inquiry and debate, rather than through the rote memorisation of facts. In terms of potential challenges in the execution of this performance assessment strategy, it was reported that the strategy was to a certain extent hamstrung by space limitations in class. In addition, some learners moved the rope when not lifting their feet high enough. It was therefore recommended that in future colourful duct tape stuck to the floor should be used instead of a loose rope (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Section E1).

Discussion

From the research findings it is apparent that the trainee teachers’ experience of the implementation of their innovative performance strategies of choice was largely positive in relation to the criteria stipulated earlier.

The trainee teachers found these assessment strategies a welcome deviation from more formal methods of assessment and were inspired by the element of excitement that the activities brought to their History lessons. The “playful” element in particular created an eagerness on the part of the learners to be part of the activities which they did not perceive as “assessment”. More importantly, because the assessment strategies did not betray the identities of the learners, quieter learners felt safe enough to become involved, thereby ensuring maximum learner participation. This lack of fear of assessment, as observed by the trainee teachers, supports the arguments of earlier researchers (Bartlett, 2015; Von der Embse & Hasson, 2012; Hesketh *et al.*, 2010; Jun & Xing, 2010; McDonald, 2001) with regard to the role of anxiety caused by summative and graded forms of formative assessment. It also practically illustrates the value of creative ways of implementing non-graded formative alternative performance assessment strategies, which, as has been argued

by Bayat, Jamshidipour and Hashemi (2017), can reduce anxiety and make learning much more enjoyable.

As confirmed in the research of scholars such as Muttaqin (2016) and Quinn (2006), active participation in teaching, learning and assessment activities strengthened the learners' self-confidence and self-esteem which made them more willing to share ideas and learn from one another during class discussions. Another advantage was that the trainee teachers thought that these assessment strategies could be effectively applied to any phase of the lesson. In general, the research results of this study reinforce wide agreement in the literature that interactive and collaborative assessment activities can be very beneficial, as they create opportunities for the learners to learn from one another, and in doing so, construct and assimilate new knowledge; increase student motivation, participation and retention; develop social skills; enhance a team approach to problem-solving; develop self-management skills; create opportunities for peer learning; and strengthen interpersonal relations (Kennedy-Clark, Kearney & Galstaun, 2017; Hargreaves, 2007; Steadman, 1998).

Interestingly, not many trainee teachers chose to implement the "Deciding Line" and "Bubble Map" as part of their lessons. A possible reason for this could be the simplicity of activities such as the "Paper Pool" which, according to participant feedback, was easier to prepare and present in class than, for example, the "Deciding Line". The latter activity is cognitively more advanced in that it requires and develops negotiation skills with which the trainee teachers may not have been familiar. This correlates with research findings by Gijbels and Dochy (2006) and Nijhuis, Segers & Gijsselaers (2005) that students' (trainee teachers') preferences for assessment activities with higher-order thinking tasks are significantly lower than [for those assessing lower-order thinking]. The "Paper Pool" is also more challenging to master in terms of group control and giving clear instructions. Similarly, the "Paper Jets" was not a popular performance strategy of choice – although it usually adds great excitement and enjoyment to any group where it is implemented – and was only implemented by one participant in the FET phase. This could perhaps be ascribed to the fact that the folding of the jets may be time-consuming and challenging.

However, simplicity could not have been the only reason why certain activities were chosen and others not. The "Bubble Map", for example, is a relatively simple activity which holds great potential as an alternative

performance assessment strategy. Yet, only three trainee teachers chose to implement it. One of the participants reported that although it worked well in smaller groups, the more vocal learners tended to dominate the quieter ones. The participants were further in agreement that the “Bubble Map” was too time consuming for a single period, and that a double period would be necessary to do justice to this activity (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections D1-D3).

Another reason why the “Bubble Map” was not a particularly popular choice could be that participants who had to leave the preparatory workshop early as a result of other lecture commitments, did not personally experience the activity. Lack of prior exposure to the use of thinking maps as teaching and assessment tools, may also assist in explaining the choices that the trainee teachers made.

In terms of challenges faced during implementation, the research findings indicate that time management, lack of classroom space and classroom management were the major concerns of the trainee teachers. They found some activities (for example the “Paper Jets”) as well as the lengthy discussions after an activity had been completed, time-consuming. In some cases, the play element caused the learners not to take the activity seriously thereby compromising class discipline (Warnich, 2016, Personal Archive, File 5, Sections B2, B4, B6).

Some of these concerns resonate with the findings of prior research (Alias, Hussein, Hassan, Adnan, Othman & Hussein, 2018; Le, Janssen & Wubbels, 2018; Izci, 2016; Box, Skoog & Dabbs, 2015; Sach, 2015; Robinson, Myran, Strauss & Reed, 2014; Chiriac & Granström, 2012; Hämäläinen & Vähäsantanen, 2011), which indicated that teachers who shy away from interactive and collaborative assessment design methodologies tend to blame lack of teaching experience, lack of resources, limited knowledge of alternative assessment methods, and lack of self-confidence which, in turn, creates fear of loss of control in the classroom.

Recommendations

Although greatly encouraged by the positive feedback received from the trainee teachers on this research study, which holds great promise for wider application by History teachers, the results of this pilot study with its small sample size cannot be generalised. The authors also believe that some of the concerns of the trainee teachers could be addressed by redesigning the

preparation phase of the study.

From hindsight it is clear that 90 minutes was just enough time to familiarise participants with the basic characteristics of the various assessment strategies and to create opportunities for them to experience first-hand the potential value of each activity. More time allocated to the preparation phase would have been very useful. Firstly, it would have enhanced reflection and discussion around challenges that could be expected during lesson presentation. Secondly, the participants could have been alerted to alternative ways in which each activity could be presented and reviewed (Dixson & Worrell, 2016). Thirdly, more time would have enabled the presenter to equip participants with techniques for the successful facilitation of instructional dialogues (Ruiz-Primo, 2011; Deiglmayr, 2018). Such facilitation skills would emphasise good listening on the part of the teacher – especially listening for learning progression instead of simply classifying answers as right or wrong (Gotwals, 2018) – the creation of a trusting classroom environment and the skilful management of the dialogic space by balancing recall questions with higher-order questioning in the interest of achieving deep learning (Jiang, 2014). Basic facilitation training is also essential in teaching participants how to give feedback which is not emotionally damaging to the learner (Torrance, 2012), maintaining the correct focus during group discussions, managing time effectively, managing high energy levels and the behaviour of talkative learners who tend to dominate communication; and handling quieter learners in the interest of sustained involvement of every individual.

The DVD with footage of the activities in action during the preparation phase was intended to reinforce learning and refresh the memory of the participants just prior to implementation. The purpose of this visual material was also to assist in “standardizing” execution which would be essential from a research perspective. Although the trainee teachers did not express such a need, the authors are of the opinion that a more comprehensive video, depicting a step-by-step approach to each activity, could have been more helpful and should be considered should the study be repeated in the future.

Lastly, the trainee teachers would have benefited from repeating a lesson with different groups of learners and, as expressed elsewhere in the literature (NWEA, 2016), from regular reflection and interaction with one another. Seeing that teachers normally need ample time and strong professional support in order to become competent users of formative

assessment (Bennett 2011), the trainee teachers who participated in this study would also have benefited from intermittent discussions with the researchers who could have offered guidance and provided opportunities to share experiences. Moreover, requesting the trainee teachers to also assess the support they received from mentor class teachers and comment on the classroom context that they encountered at the schools where they taught, would have generated very valuable additional research data which could have assisted in contextualising the core findings of the study.

Conclusion

This article has added five innovative alternative performance assessment strategies to the repertoire of History teachers and reflected on the experiences and perceptions of trainee teachers during implementation of these strategies in the History classroom. In response to the research questions, it has shared the generally positive experience of the trainee teachers and their perceptions of the educational value of their assessment strategy(ies) of choice. It has also documented the challenges that some of the participants experienced during the implementation phase, and shared their creative adaptations with fellow teachers and future researchers. In addition, the article has identified limitations in the study in terms of the initial preparation and ongoing support of the participants, making recommendations in this regard which may assist future researchers embarking on similar research studies. Nevertheless, the research findings of this study provide ample evidence that the trainee teachers coped satisfactorily with the practical implementation of the newly acquired alternative formative assessment strategies. Finally, the findings suggest that a fresh approach to formative assessment, which is non-graded, avoids putting the individual learner on the spot and integrates an element of enjoyment, holds great educational value as it effectively removes anxiety from the assessment process. The article therefore encourages teachers to make time for experimenting with creative, engaging yet effective formative assessment techniques amidst the constraints of a full syllabus and the stringent assessment requirements that CAPS imposes on teachers, in order to bring History to life in the classroom.

Reference list

- Alias, NS, Hussein, H, Hassan, J, Adnan, NSM, Othman, MH and Hussein, K 2018. Perception of teacher on cooperative learning. In Matec Web of Conferences, 150, 05068. Available at https://www.matec-conferences.org/articles/mateconf/pdf/2018/09/mateconf_mucet2018_05068.pdf. Accessed on 28 April 2019.
- Bartlett, J 2015. *Outstanding assessment for learning in the classroom*. New York: Routledge.
- Bayat, A, Jamshidipour, A and Hashemi, M 2017. The beneficial impacts of applying formative assessment on Iranian University students' anxiety reduction and listening efficacy. *International Journal of Languages Education and Teaching* 5(2):1-11.
- Bennett, RE 2011. Formative assessment: A critical review. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice*, 18(1):5-25.
- Box, C, Skoog, G and Dabbs, JM 2015. A case study of teacher practice assessment theories and complexities of implementing formative assessment. *American Education Research Journal*, 52(5):956-983.
- Brooks, JG and Brooks, MG 1993. *In search of understanding: The case for constructivist classrooms*. Alexandria, VA: Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Bunt, BJ 2013. The extent to which teachers nurture creative thinking in the grade 9 Social Sciences classroom through the choice of teaching methods. Unpublished MEd dissertation. Vanderbijlpark: North-West University (Vaal Triangle Campus).
- Careless, D 2015. *Excellence in University Assessment*. New York: Routledge.
- Chiriac, EH and Granström, K 2012. Teachers' leadership and students' experience of group work. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 18(3):345-363.
- Cimer, SO 2018. What makes a change unsuccessful through the eyes of teachers. *International Education Studies*, 11(1):81-88.
- Deiglmayr, A 2018. Instructional scaffolds for learning from formative peer assessment: Effects of core task, peer feedback, and dialogue. *European Journal of Psychology Education*, 33:185-198.
- Demircioglu, IH 2010. Empirical research on History education in Turkey: An overview of key issues, methods and outcomes. *Jahrbuch, Internationale Gesellschaft Für Geschichtsdidaktik*.

- Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2011. *CAPS, History Further and Training Phase Grades 10-12*. Pretoria: Government Printer. Available at: <https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/CD/National%20Curriculum%20Statements%20and%20Vocational/CAPS%20FET%20%20HISTORY%20GR%2010-12%20%20Web.pdf?ver=2015-01-27-154219-397>. Accessed on 31 August 2018.
- Dixson, DD and Worrell, FC 2016. Formative and summative assessment in the classroom. *Theory Into Practice*, 55(2):153-159.
- Duncan, T and Buskirk-Cohen, AA 2011. Exploring learner centered assessment: A cross-disciplinary approach. *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 23(2):246-259.
- Edmunds, J 2006. How to assess student performance in history: Going beyond multiple-choice test. SERVE Center at the University of North Carolina: Greensboro. Available at: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED513873.pdf>. Accessed on 16 September 2019.
- Etsey, KA 2005. Assessing performance in schools: Issues and practice. *Ife Psychologia*, 13(1):123-135.
- Frunza, V 2014. Advantages and barriers of formative assessment in the teaching-learning activity. *Procedia*, 114:452-455.
- Furtak, EM, Kiemer, K, Circi, RK, Swanson, R, De León, V, Morrison, D and Heredia, SC 2016. Teachers' formative assessment abilities and their relationship to student learning: Findings from a four-year intervention study. *Instructional Science*, 44(3):267-291.
- Gijbels, D and Dochy, F 2006. Students' assessment preferences and approaches to learning: Can formative assessment make a difference? *Educational Studies*, 32(4):399-402.
- Gotwals, AW 2018. Where are we now? Learning progressions and formative assessment. *Applied Measurement in Education*, 31(2):157-164.
- Hämäläinen, R and Vähäsantanen, K 2011. Theoretical and pedagogical perspectives on orchestrating creativity and collaborative learning. *Educational Research Review*, 6(3):169-184.
- Hamidi, E 2010. Fundamental issues in L2 Classroom Assessment Practices. *Academic Leadership: The Online Journal*, 8(2). Available at: <https://scholars.fhsu.edu/alj/vol8/iss2/21>. Accessed on 10 July 2019.
- Hargreaves, E 2007. The validity of collaborative assessment for learning. *Assessment in Education*, 14(2):185-199.

- Haun, B 2018. Making performance assessment a part of accountability. *Education Policy Analysis Archives* (Special Issue), 26(15):1-5.
- Hesketh, T, Zhen, Y, Lu, L, Dong, Z, Jun, YX and Xing, ZW 2010. Stress and psychosomatic symptoms in Chinese school children: Cross-sectional survey. *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, 95(2):136-140.
- Hyerle, D 2011. *Student Success with Thinking Maps*. 2nd edition, Thousand Oaks: Corwin Press.
- Hyerle, D and Yeager, C 1996. Thinking Maps: Seeing is understanding, *Educational Leadership*, 53 (4):85-89.
- Izci, K 2016. Internal and external factors affecting teachers' adoption of formative assessment to support learning. *International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering*, 10(8):2541-2548. Available at <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED567798.pdf>. Accessed on 4 February 2019.
- Janisch, C, Liu, X and Akrofi, A 2007. Implementing alternative assessment: Opportunities and obstacles. *The Educational Forum*, 71(Spring):221-230.
- Janse van Rensburg, E 2014. Enablement – A foundation for community engagement through service learning in Higher Education. In: M Erasmus & R Albertyn, (eds.). *Knowledge as enablement: Engagement between higher education and the third sector in South Africa*. Bloemfontein: Sun Media.
- Jiang, Y 2014. Exploring teacher questioning as a formative assessment strategy. *RELC Journal*, 45(3):287-304.
- Kennedy-Clark, S, Kearney, S & Galstaun, V 2017. Using collaborative assessment design to support student learning. *Education Sciences*, 7(4):1-14.
- Killen, R. 2007. *Teaching strategies for outcomes-based education*. 2nd ed. CapeTown: Juta.
- Kolb, DA 1984. *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kubiszyn, T and Borich, G 2010. *Educational testing & measurement: Class application and practice*. 9th edition, United States of America: John Wiley & Sons, INC.
- Lambert, D and Lines, D 2000. *Understanding assessment, purposes, perceptions, practice*. London: RoutledgeFarmer.
- Lau, AMS 2016. 'Formative good, summative bad?' – A review of the dichotomy in assessment literature. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 40(4):509-525.

- Le, H, Janssen, J and Wubbels, T 2018. Collaborative learning practices: Teacher and student perceived obstacles to effective student collaboration. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 48(1):1-20.
- Lee Hang, DM and Bell, B 2015. Written formative assessment and silence in the classroom. *Cultural Studies of Science Education*, 10(3):763-775.
- Lubbe, HJ 2016. Personal Archive, File 1 (Workshop notes, written consent form, DVD, instruction sheet; questionnaire); File 2 (Participant feedback – Paper Pool); File 3 (Participant feedback – Paper Jets); File 4 (Workshop assessment – Bubble Map).
- Maree, K (Ed.) 2016. *First steps in Research*, 2nd edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- McCurdy, K, Reagan, EM, Rogers, A and Schram, T 2018. Integrating performance assessment across a PK-20 continuum: A locally developed collaboration. *Education Policy Analysis Archives* (Special Issue), 26(14):1-11.
- Mcdonald, AS 2001. The prevalence and effects of test anxiety in school children. *Educational Psychology*, 21(1):89-101.
- McMillan, JH and Hearn, J 2008. Student self-assessment: The key to stronger student motivation and higher achievement. *Educational Horizons*, 87(1):40-49.
- Mooreng, BB and Du Toit, E 2013. The powerful learning environment and history learners in the Free State Province. *Yesterday&Today*, 9:45-66.
- Moskal, BM 2003. Recommendations for developing classroom performance assessments and scoring rubrics. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 8(14). Available at <https://pareonline.net/getvn.asp?v=8&n=14>. Accessed on 2 February 2019.
- Muttaqin, T 2016. Cooperative learning and students' self-esteem. Working Paper. Available at file:///C:/Users/12923079/Downloads/CooperativeLearningandStudentSelf-Esteem%20(2).pdf. Accessed on 1 June 2019
- Nieuwenhuis, J 2016. Qualitative research designs and data gathering techniques. In: K Maree (ed.). *First steps in reseach* (2nd edition). Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Nijhuis, JFH, Segers, MSR and Gijsselaers, WH 2005. Influence of redesigning a learning environment on student perceptions and learning strategies. *Learning Environment Research*, 8(1):67-93.
- NWEA, 2016. How to make formative assessment a habit: Beyond the classroom practices:1-7. Available at <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED567831.pdf>. Accessed on 2 April 2019.

- Offerdahl, EG and Tomanek, D 2011. Changes in instructors' assessment thinking related to experimentation with new strategies. *Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education*, 36(7):781-795.
- Palm, T 2008. Performance assessment and authentic assessment: A conceptual analysis of the literature. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 13(4):1-11.
- Perry, L 2013. Review of formative assessment use and training in Africa. *International Journal of School and Educational Psychology*, 1(2):94-101.
- Quinn, P 2006. *Corporative learning and student motivation*. Master's Theses. The college at Brockport: New York. Available at https://digitalcommons.brockport.edu/ehd_theses/285/?utm_source=digitalcommons.brockport.edu%2Fehd_theses%2F285&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages. Accessed on 1 June 2019.
- Riddell, NB 2016. Maximising the effective use of formative assessments. *Teacher Educators Journal*, 9: 63-74.
- Robinson, J, Myran, S, Strauss, R and Reed, W 2014. The impact of an alternative professional development model on teacher practices in formative assessment and student learning. *Teacher Development*, 18(2):141-162.
- Ruiz-Primo, MA 2011. Informal formative assessment: The role of instructional dialogues in assessing students' learning. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 37:15-24.
- Rule, P 2009. Bakhtin and Freire: Dialogue, dialectic and boundary learning. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 43(9):924-942.
- Sach, E 2015. An exploration of teachers' narratives: What are the facilitators and constraints which promote or inhibit 'good' formative assessment practices in schools? *International Journal of Primary, Elementary and Early Years Education*, 43(3):322-335.
- Samuelsson, J 2018. History as performance: Pupil perspectives on history in the age of 'pressure to perform'. *Education 3-13*, 47(3):333-347.
- Sardareh, SA and Saad, MRM 2012. A sociocultural perspective on assessment for learning: The case of a Malaysian primary school ESL context. *Procedia*, 66:343-353.
- Steadman, M 1998. Using classroom assessment to change both teaching and learning. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, 75:23-35.
- Stears, M and Gopal, N 2010. Exploring alternative assessment strategies in Science classrooms. *South African Journal of Education*, 30(4):591-604.

- Stosich, EL, Snyder, J and Wilczak, K 2018. How do states integrate performance assessment in their systems of assessment? *Education Policy Analysis Archives* (Special Issue), 26(13):1-31.
- Taylor, M and Kent, ML 2014. Dialogic engagement: Clarifying foundational concepts. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 26:384-398.
- Torrance, H 2012. Formative assessment at the crossroads: Conformative, deformative and transformative assessment. *Oxford Review of Education*, 38(3):323-342.
- Vander Ark, T 2013. What is performance assessment? Available at <http://www.gettingsmart.com/2013/12/performance-assessment>. Accessed on 20 February 2019.
- Volante, L and Beckett, D 2011. Formative assessment and the contemporary classroom: Synergies and tensions between research and practice. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 34(2):239-255.
- Von der Embse, N and Hasson, R 2012. Test anxiety and high-stakes test performance between school settings: Implications for educators. *Preventing School Failure*, 56(3):180-187.
- Warnich, P 2016. Personal Archive, File 5, Sections A-E (Consent forms, questionnaires, portfolios and data collected).
- Warnich, P and Meyer, L 2013. Trainee teachers' observation of learner-centred instruction and assessment as applied by History and Social Sciences teachers. *Yesterday & Today*, 9:13-43.
- Wilson, SM & Wineburg, SS 1993. Wrinkles in time and place: Using performance assessments to understand the knowledge of history teachers. *American Educational Research Journal*, 30(4):729-769.
- Zhao, XU, Selman, RL & Haste, H 2015. Academic stress in Chinese schools and a proposed preventive intervention program. *Cogent Education*, 2(1):1-14.

Historical Significance in the South African History curriculum: An un-silencing approach

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2019/n22a6>

Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Kgarimasondo@ukzn.ac.za
ORCHID No: 0000-0002-1850-6363

Abstract

The South African History Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) emphasises the significance of History being that of empowering learners with historical skills and knowledge but there are critical gaps that this article tries to posit that affects quality teaching. The current global atmosphere of democracy with its emphasis on decolonisation, demands curriculum transformation. Such a context calls on ways of bridging the divide between theory and practice in education. CAPS-History emphasise the importance of teaching historical concepts but excludes the critical concept of Historical Significance which safeguards skills of interpretation and understanding why certain histories are in the official arena and others not. This article argues the CAPS-History curriculum has to be transformed to reflect the ideological changes that is experienced globally. The article uses critical discourse analysis in an attempt to uplift historical knowledge of Africans and to un-silence historically significant narratives. Data for the article was drawn from the observation of the author's teaching experiences by using auto-ethnographical methods. The findings of the article are that CAPS-History have carried the implicit message that Historical Significance should be attributed to white males in power and selected events in history of people in positions of power and themes like symbols and symbolism, which are key in indigenous knowledge, are silenced. The conclusion of this article is that CAPS requires an epistemology that supports democratic principles of equality which calls upon un-silencing of certain historical narratives by employing Historical Significance as one of the critical concepts thinking concepts

Keywords: Historical Significance; Un-silenced; History; Symbols; Symbolism; Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement.

Introduction

Agency is key in the post-apartheid dispensation, as such action has to be taken by all South Africans so as to fight for the equality of all which includes recognition of all knowledges. It has been aptly put by Bacon's

that “knowledge is power”.¹ This means that the education system has to be congruent with the needs of the society it serves. In the current South African educational order schools and institutions of higher learning depict the aforementioned picture as teachings that are frequently disciplinary based, and curricula that are not serving the wide communities as the knowledge drawn upon are mainly Western in nature. Since, “knowledge is a commodity and access is the key” this means that, those who do not possess and cannot access knowledge are at a disadvantage. Hence educationists argue that an effective curriculum has to adhere to the needs of the society it serves because knowledge is heterogeneous and diverse in nature as it is socially constructed.² The way that a curriculum is delivered requires a teacher who employs critical discourse theory to engage with bias, injustices and irregularities when teaching History. According to Grumet a curriculum is based on the stories that we tell learners about their past, present and future.³ This understanding of curriculum aided me to focus on Historical Significance and probe about which stories learners are taught about their past, present and future and prompted me to ask, who tells the stories? Hence this article challenges the incompatibility between “intellectual rigour” and “relevance”⁴ as this has manifested in the construction of the CAPS-History curriculum and the teaching of History.

An added interpretation of curriculum is that of Aoki who argued that curriculum should not concentrate only on the intended aspects but also on how it is lived by learners and teachers,⁵ denoting that the curriculum has to speak to a social context. This is a call for the ability to use knowledge effectively as power which to many teachers and learners becomes a serious disadvantage since the knowledge in formal education is not always in congruence with the informal education they engage with at home. In South Africa the curriculum stories are drawn mainly from a Western milieu. History as a subject as depicted in CAPS consequently has similar ramifications – it is burdened with a Western focus and much content thus becomes foreign to many learners who are not familiar with a Western context. Scholars have, in this regard, raised an important issue

1 JMR García, *Scientia Potestas Est–Knowledge is power: Francis Bacon to Michel Foucault*, *Anglia-Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 119(1), 2001, p. 109.

2 Y Waghid, *Democratic education: Policy and praxis* (Stellenbosch, University Publishers, 2002), p. 69.

3 MR Grumet, *Restitution and reconstruction of educational experience: An autobiographical method for curriculum theory*, M Lawn & L Barton, *Rethinking curriculum studies: A radical approach* (London, Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 11-130.

4 C Williams & S Wilson, *Pedagogies for social justice: Did Bernstein get it wrong?* *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 14(4), 2010, pp. 417-434.

5 T Aoki, *Interview: Rethinking curriculum and pedagogy*, *Kappa Delta Pi Record*, 35(4), 1999, pp. 180-181.

of themes that are silenced in historical narratives but have ignored the knowledges that are undermined and ignored in History.⁶

This article focuses on the thinking concept of Historical Significance which is a second order historical thinking concept used to teach History in a creative and critical manner. As Levesque has articulated, historical thinking concepts like Historical Significance are not the “content” of History but are essential when engaging with enquiries in the subject and when deepening historical narratives.⁷ Historical thinking concepts are Western constructs that emerged in the 1970s and are relevant to our South African context as they aided in giving History narratives cognitive substance. Historical Significance is a key concept used by historians to advance an understanding of the past.⁸ The idea of significance hinges on interpretation in is a different way to understand the peculiarity between “structural or causal explanations (analytical discourse) and intentional explanations of History (narrative discourse)”.⁹ Hence, Cercadillo suggests that, learners must be taught significance for the purpose of cognitive development.¹⁰ Symbols and symbolism are part of Historical Significance since they deal with interpretation and has, in my view, been overlooked in literature and the various South African History curricula since 1994. A symbol is an object that represents or stands for something else, chiefly a material object demonstrating something abstract,¹¹ while symbolism refers to the use of symbols to signify ideas or qualities.¹² This infers that a symbol is an object that is signified through symbolism which is representation. Symbols can change their significances subject to the context in which they are used, which means that the symbolic significance of an object or an action is understood by when, where, and how it is used. According to the South African Government Information Bureau symbols have been critical in enforcing the new South Africa.¹³ It is also determined by

6 A Hostetler, P Sengupta & T Hollett, Unsilencing critical conversations in social-studies teacher education using agent-based modelling, *Cognition and Instruction*, 36(2), 2018, pp. 139-170.

7 S Lévesque, “Teaching second-order concepts in Canadian history: The importance of ‘historical significance’”, *Canadian Social Studies*, 39(2), 2005, np.

8 B Vansledright, “Thinking historically”, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(3), 2009, pp. 433-438.

9 J Wertsch & M Rozin, “The Russian revolution: Official and unofficial accounts”, *International Review of History Education*, 1998, p. 48.

10 L Cercadillo, “Significance in history: Learners’ ideas in England and Spain” (Ph.D., University of London, 2001), p.14.

11 Dictionary.com, “Symbol” (available at <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/symbol>, as accessed on 13 June 2018).

12 Literary Devices, “Symbolism” (available at <https://literarydevices.net/symbolism>, as accessed on 13 June 2018).

13 South African Government Information, “History - Into the second decade of freedom”, 2012 (available at <http://www.infor.gov.za/aboutsa/history.htm>, as accessed on 3 April 2018).

who reads the work. But the focus in the literature is based on Western lenses of symbols and symbolism of events as indicated in the work of Cercadillo.¹⁴ In order to determine which historical narratives are to be accorded as significant we have to understand that significance is based on judgemental pronouncements which are based on different measures that can be applied. Such measures are socially constructed and are determined by the social context at any given time. This implies that the principles for Historical Significance should assist in coordinating historical narratives into rational and important narratives. This denotes that historically significant narratives have to be represented in a holistic manner in terms of knowledge, events they come from and people they depict. Therefore, any representation of a historically significant narrative that lacks a holistic approach is guilty of silences and an incomplete representation.

CAPS-History for Grade 4 to 12 do not emphasis Historical Significance as being pivotal for learners to interpret History. This is because History must be taught not as knowledge collection but as a web of understanding, drawing from all the knowledges of the learners we teach. Though it is difficult to decide what ought to be significant in History, whether for the purpose of the curriculum or for national rituals and symbols, it is necessary, so as to inform and enrich classroom practice, to incorporate Historical Significance as key in understanding the essence of what History is all about. In this regard the literature on the teaching of History has neglected the integration of the concept of significance and the issue of symbols and symbolism, especially the African indigenous perspective. Thus, Historical Significance, including its emphasis on symbols and symbolism, is important and has to be integrated into CAPS or new curriculum version. This is because with Historical Significance the concern is how historians use evidence not to create detached “facts”, but as data for establishing what connect them.¹⁵ Similarly, it is the “frame of reference” within which specific facts or events are essential in order for them to become significant.¹⁶ CAPS-History inaugurates learners into a historical process¹⁷ of which Evans would approve.¹⁸ But, as argued by

14 L Cercadillo, “Significance in history: Learners’ ideas in England and Spain” (Ph.D., University of London, 2001), p. 14.

15 RJ Evans, *In defence of history* (London, Granta Books, 2012), np.

16 P Rogers, The past as a frame of reference, C Portal (ed.), *The history curriculum for teachers* (London, Falmer Press, 1987), pp. 3-21.

17 Department of Basic Education, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). National Curriculum Assessment Statement for Social Science Senior Phase* (Pretoria, Government Printing Works, 2011), p. 9.

18 RJ Evans, *In defence...*, np.

Munslow, this is a Western oriented and rationalist / empirical process construction or version of History and requires deconstruction.¹⁹ Hence, this article through the observations of the author, tries to illustrate that Historical Significance has to be integrated into the CAPS so that it depicts a History that accommodates different significances so as to ensure a holistic narration of historical accounts. Empowering learners to comprehend that History is constructed and reconstructed according to context is important, because this determines what questions, events, people, developments are seen as “significant” and important for learners’ study.

In sum, part of the aims of History in the Further Education Training has not engaged with the concept of Historical Significance.²⁰ CAPS-History maintains that learners must be taught skills such as interpretation by making sense of historical evidence within a context.²¹ As argued by Wertsch and Rozin, Historical Significance focuses on interpretations²² but from my observation and analysis of CAPS-History the concept itself has been left out. Equally, literature on Historical Significance has omitted using symbols and symbolism to understand importance in History, which means that, History learners are disadvantaged in terms of understanding what is historically significant. Focus has been placed on significance in terms of events, people and historical characters but the symbols and interpretations, especially African indigenous ones, have been overlooked which leaves a gap in understanding historical narratives. Since symbols are a historical source of evidence, it is important that their interpretations are constructed by different learners in a diverse context. I therefore argue that for learners to understand historical narratives they need to understand the concept of Historical Significance so that they can understand how narratives are accorded significance from within their own, and other, social, cultural, political and economic contexts.

Methodology

Data reflected in this article comes from my observations of the teaching of History using CAPS-History and my training of History teachers between 2008-2018. As argued by Zwozdiak-Myers, teachers who are keen to improve in their professional practice are constantly asking

19 A Munslow, *Deconstructing history* (London, Routledge, 2006), pp. 16-17.

20 DoBE, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) Grades 10-12 History* (Pretoria, CapeTown, Government Printing Works, 2011), p. 8.

21 DoBE, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) Grades 10-12 History* (Pretoria, CapeTown, Government Printing Works, 2011), p. 9.

22 J Wertsch & M Rozin, “The Russian revolution...”, *International Review of History Education*, 1998, p. 48.

questions about their teaching practice, which inspires commitment to continuously learn, create or find new ideas.²³ For this study the data used are the author's written reflective teaching journal, secondary sources and CAPS-History. This study is auto-ethnographic in nature and is based on highly personal accounts and experience of the author.²⁴ Embodied auto-ethnographic accounts of professional practice in education, such as the one in this article, can serve to reconfigure power relations, opening up interpretations of experience and remaking practice communications. This is supported by Denshire who argues that the impact of auto-ethnography can be to "create discomfort through their challenges to traditional realist modes of representation".²⁵

The teaching journal I constructed since 2013, was a self-reflection of my pedagogy and observations of the teaching of CAPS-History, as I started engaging with the teachers I trained at university. Through discussions in class and, an analysis of CAPS-History, I came to the conclusion that though the History curriculum safeguards quality teaching and learning, there are a silence related to Historical Significance I then started to reflect on how I taught History before 2013. This I did in order to link my practice with the observations I made while teaching at university. I did this so as I try to detect changes and similarities in how CAPS-History dealt with Historical Significance. I concluded that to-date CAPS-History did not engage with Historical Significance, and especially how it relates to symbols and symbolisms linked with African Indigenous Knowledge. I then discovered that even before my teaching at university I did learn to view CAPS-History in a critical and innovative manner by involving my learners' worldviews in my History teaching. I continued with the same process of reflection and journal keeping while teaching at university. I did this to ensure what, as Waghid argues, to create an effective curriculum that will integrate the worldview of the society it serves.²⁶ The learners I taught in high school were all Africans, while at university they constituted the vast majority of the student population.

Decisions on which themes from CAPS-History to relate to Historical Significance for the purpose of this article became explicit based on my engagement with my learners, reflections on my own teaching and through

23 P Zwozdiak-Myers, *The teacher's reflective practice handbook* (New York, Routledge, 2012), p. 3.

24 AC Sparkes, Autoethnography and narratives of self: Reflections on criteria in action, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 17(1), 2000, pp. 21-43.

25 S Denshire, On auto-ethnography, *Current sociology*, 62, 2014, p. 840.

26 Y Waghid, *Democratic education ...*, p. 69.

the reading and analysis of my teaching journal and secondary sources. As argued by Denshire “an auto-ethnographic representation of practice can function as something of a corrective to depersonalized and disembodied accounts of professional work”.²⁷ A thematic method of analysis was used to analyse my data. The key themes identified from my reflection journal were based on the correlation with the purpose of this article like: what is Historical Significance? understanding Symbols and Symbolism, my observations of CAPS-History, how I taught Historical Significance in school. These themes are discussed and theorized further down.

I used the critical paradigm because the aim is to change how CAPS-History is currently excluding Historical Significance. As a result, an unsilencing approach to History was as it links to the paradigm and the nature of this project, which is to integrate and transform the concept of Historical Significance by integrating indigenous knowledge. The paradigm is aligned with critical discourse analysis used in this article as it highlights matters of power irregularities, manipulation, exploitation, and structural injustices.²⁸ This discourse relates with current debates globally of anti-colonial approach concentrates on “mechanics and operations of colonial and re-colonial relations and the implications of imperial projects”.²⁹ In this article I term the unsilencing approach as the process of rewriting, re-reading, reviewing CAPS-History because, it allows themes that are significant in History to be pushed from the periphery to the centre.. As proposed by Ramose, African people must regulate the teaching, learning and content of their education grounded on their understandings for contextual relevance.³⁰

Understanding historical significance and symbols and symbolism

From the literature reviewed it is clear that Historical Significance is represented by authors based on the significance of people as historical

27 S Denshire, On auto-ethnography, *Current sociology*, 62, 2014, p. 833

28 J Blommaert & C Bucean, Critical discourse analysis, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29(1), 2000, pp. 447-466.

29 M Simmons & G Dei, Reframing anti-colonial theory for the diasporic context, *Postcolonial directions in education*, 1(1), 2012, p. 74.

30 MB Ramose, Foreword, S Seepe (Ed.), *Black perspectives on tertiary institutional transformation*, (Johannesburg, Vivlia, 1998), p. vi.

characters in history,³¹ however some scholars placed emphasis on events³² and others combined both events and characters as being significant.³³ The representation of Historical Significance as signified through people presents the argument that they are more important than events and vice versa. The arguments posed for the representation of both events and people signify that collaboratively people and events in history are important as people are compelled to react to their circumstances. The focus on people infers that without particular individuals who reacted in the way that they did, history would have possibly unfolded in a different way thus, and events are significant because of the individual person or people involved.³⁴ However, what is missing is the symbolism and symbols of these events and the people involved. As Danto reiterates for Historical Significance to be rendered what it is, narratives must report events which actually happened in a chronological order, explain what happened so as to connect events and attach some meaning to them.³⁵ This explains that Historical Significance is about the selection of narratives according to relevance. However, that relevance must give or have meaning for the History of the society and has to be told in an authentic manner. These would be holistic or integrated historical narratives as they allow for stories to be told from the context studied and in which studying takes place.

Among the literature reviewed only Cercadillo mentions symbolic significance in terms of events, but he omits people and symbols.³⁶ He argues that symbolic significance is normally related to myths and the main objective of historians is to provide solid arguments in order to debunk these.³⁷ He further argues that people get the History wrong deliberately in order to forge national unity. Arguments like these reveal what is perhaps

31 See, HC Triandis, *Individualism and collectivism* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1995), G Partington, "What History should we teach?", *Oxford Review of Education*, 6(2), 1980, pp. 157-176; M Bradshaw, Creating controversy in the classroom: Making progress with Historical Significance, *Teaching History*, 125, 2006, pp. 18-25; P Seixas, Mapping the terrain of historical significance, *Social Education*, 61(1), 1997, pp. 22-27; P Seixas, T Morton, J Collyer & S Fornazzari, *The big six: Historical thinking concepts* (Toronto, Nelson Education, 2013).

32 G Partington, "What History should we teach?", *Oxford Review of Education*, 6(2), 1980, pp. 157-176, C Counsell, *History and literacy in Year 7: Building the lesson around the text* (London, Hodder Murray, 2004), p. 45.

33 L Cercadillo, "Significance in history: Learners' ideas in England and Spain" (Ph.D., University of London, 2001), p. 14; M Bradshaw, Creating controversy in the classroom..., *Teaching History*, 125, 2006, pp. 18-25.

34 G Dawson, *Commemorating war: The politics of memory* (London, New York, Routledge, 2017), p. 5.

35 L Cercadillo, "Significance in history: Learners' ideas in England and Spain" (Ph.D., University of London, 2001), p. 39.

36 L Cercadillo, "'Maybe they haven't decided yet what is right': English and Spanish perspectives on teaching Historical Significance", *Teaching History*, 125, 2006, pp. 6-9.

37 L Cercadillo, "Significance in history: Learners' ideas in England and Spain" (Ph.D., University of London, 2001), p. 69.

the central aim of myths in historical narratives, namely providing people, by means of History, with a sense of identity and direction.³⁸ Mason takes this further by proposing that the History in myths is illustrated in the way it “brings us across such artificial distances as time and space, and translating us from ourselves to them”.³⁹ Thus, looking at Cercadillo’s understanding of symbolic significance it explains why symbols have been overlooked and silenced in historical narratives. This indicates a colonised perception of Historical Significance as it excludes Ray’s views of myths as history because in African oral tradition “myth” and “history” overlap and merge into one another. As suggested by Ray, “Myth blends into history as cosmic and archetypal events bear upon local situations, and history blends into myth as local and human events become ritualized and infused with cosmic and archetypal meaning”.⁴⁰ The conceptualization of Historical Significance by omitting symbols as signifying what is important has missed the most important aspect of African understanding of what is significant in History. Lévesque explicitly articulated this by arguing that, “traditionally, English Canadian Historical monographs and school textbooks have carried the implicit message that Historical Significance should be ascribed to white middle and upper-class British males in positions of power or authority”.⁴¹ This depicts that Historical Significance is based on the significance of people and events as per Western epistemology. The reaction to this is that whatever is in the curriculum must help learners to relate to their world and be able to interpret it.

Symbols are explained as culture’s form of transcending the immediate situation, they will always be connected to the fundamental values and goals accepted in a society. Symbols are also seen a representation of something else by association, resemblance, or convention, especially a material object used to represent something invisible.⁴² Symbols are important for all societies, but for Africans who embrace oral tradition, it is engraved in their historical make-up. Symbols “are considered to be patterns that provide distal excess to some structure”.⁴³ It implies that knowledges have

38 E Wiesel, “Myth and History”, AM Olson (ed.), *Myth, symbol and reality* (London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1980), pp. 20-30.

39 H Mason, “Myth as an ‘ambush of reality’”, AM Olson (ed.), *Myth, symbol and reality* (London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1980), p. 16.

40 B Ray, *African religions, symbol, ritual and community* (New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1976), p. 24.

41 S Lévesque, “Teaching second-order concepts in Canadian history: The importance of ‘historical significance’”, *Canadian Social Studies*, 39(2), 2005, np.

42 Anon., Website demography, “Symbol” (available at <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/symbol>, as accessed on 18 September 2018).

43 P Vogt, The physical symbol grounding problem, *Cognitive Systems Research*, 3(3), 2002, pp. 429-457.

to be taken into consideration for Historical Significance to be relevant for all societies as by means of knowledge a society is constructed. As argued by Bodnar, symbols are national traditions.⁴⁴ He adds that, the United States has always pursued some historical symbols over others in an endeavour to encourage unity and, therefore, support for the state itself. Therefore, people and events that were core before the American Civil War, like colonisation and revolution, were commemorated as symbolically significant.⁴⁵ For example, the Statue of Liberty historically excluded immigrant narratives.⁴⁶ The statue in the 18th century symbolised the ideals of American republicanism, especially the belief in liberty, equality, and fraternity.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, as with many symbols not everyone will be happy with the interpretation behind them as symbols and they depend on who tells the story and for what purpose. Consequently, for some of the immigrants to America the Statue of Liberty did not represent their aspirations because the state and the middle class excluded them from the narrative of the history of America. Since symbols and symbolism are not static it was only in the 20th century that immigrants felt accommodated by the state symbolism of the statue as it now affirms that liberty, equality, and fraternity best explain the American experience of all. In this manner the state attempted to united all citizens. This example reveals that the History of any nation has to entail the Historical Significance of symbols as they delve deep into the representation of what the History means to the people of that country. Thus, symbols and symbolism can contribute to national unity and nation building.

Thus, in light of the above, ignoring symbols in African History is like omitting a major part of the history of Africans. Mick explains that symbols and symbolism are difficult to conceptualise in History but are important. He argues that:⁴⁸

It is hard to keep thinking about the symbolic meaning of objects and behaviour. To do so requires practice in adopting a view of actions that is sufficiently detached to permit analysis and interpretation, and sufficiently empathetic to produce insights. It is usually simpler to deal with the objects and behaviours themselves.

44 J Bodnar, Symbols and servants: Immigrant America and the limits of public history, *The Journal of American History*, 73(1), 1986, p. 149.

45 D Golding, Symbolism, sovereignty and domination in an industrial hierarchical organisation, *Sociological Review*, 27, 1979, pp. 169-77.

46 B Blumberg, *Celebrating the immigrant: An administrative history of the Statue of Liberty National Monument, 1952-1982* (Boston, The Institute for Research in History, 1985), p. 9.

47 J Bodnar, Symbols and servants ..., *The Journal of American History*, 73(1), 1986, p. 151.

48 DG Mick, Consumer research and semiotics: Exploring the morphology of signs, symbols, and significance, *Journal of consumer research*, 13(2), 1986, p. 196.

The above quotation illustrates that it was easy for the symbolic nature of Historical Significance to be overlooked because understanding symbols requires empathy and many historians employ a Western lens, which is detached from African epistemology. This, according to May, is because research on the significance of symbols has been relegated to poets and literary critics.⁴⁹ Since fields like Psychology have realised that it is important to understand people and events within their context, symbols are now perceived as being important. However, History are still lagging behind on aspects like symbolism as they are still termed as not historically significant in people's stories. Nevertheless, symbols are what dresses-up History, and to acquire a rich History one has to understand and know such symbols. This happens through the means of "social processes of sharing modes of behaviour and outlook within [a] community".⁵⁰ This indicates that every society has certain aspects of their culture that makes History significant. According to May, "These foundational principles of the societal culture are articulated in definite basic symbols and myths which offer some form of unity to the culture".⁵¹ Symbols and symbolism are pivotal for Africans as life is perceived as holistic with no line of demarcation between the sacred and profane.⁵² Symbols provide people with unifying cultural markers that are spatial and temporal.⁵³ For example, most indigenous people of South Africa identify themselves with places they come from as these are sacred spaces where their umbilical cords are buried. Thus, places become the cultural markers of their sacred spaces, a symbol that depicts their identity and birth place – *ekhaya* – which means home.

All nations have rituals they perform which are Historically Significant, but as Partington argues we choose what is significant and what is not. For South Africans a flag is a ritual symbol and is chosen as such. But CAPS-History depict a flag as an object for an event not as a symbolism that tallies with the country's pre-colonial and also colonial history and related temporal values and principles. It is true that national symbols are taught in Grade 6, and most textbooks unpack the symbolism in the flag, the coat of arms and so forth. However, what about how these flags are symbolic to different people? Nothing is mentioned about flags in pre-colonial Africa

49 R May, The significance of symbols, *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 1960, p. 301.

50 UIF Hannerz, *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto culture and community* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 184.

51 R May, The significance of symbols, *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, 1960, p. 314

52 J Amanze, *African traditional religions and culture in Botswana* (Gaborone-Botswana, Pula Press, 2002), p. 302.

53 P Harries, "Imagery, symbolism and tradition in a South African Bantustan: Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha, and Zulu History", *History and Theory*, 32(4), 1993, p. 106.

as if they only occurred in colonial times. Significant national dates like the 16th June 1976, focuses on the celebration of the youth (the significance is on people and the event itself) but little is emphasised on the symbolism and symbols related to the event. For example, the symbolic Historical Significance of learners being taught in Afrikaans and English was to deny African learners' knowledge of their languages which tallies with their identities. What is highlighted in the textbooks is that Afrikaans was the language of the oppressors nothing is mentioned on the fact that it was violation of the identity of indigenous people's identity by denying them to learn using their languages. This means that, it is important when celebrating such events to look at different symbols and symbolisms that will enhance nation building and address the injustices of the past. It is significant to know people behind the events and the events themselves but equally what the events and the people symbolise is important.

Other examples of ritual symbols are animals which are considered as national symbols which are normally regarded as holding the countries' national culture.⁵⁴ As indicated by Minahan, to illustrate the significance of symbols, such as currency, flag, uniforms, and places of worship, and war armour of countries are often adorned with their national animal symbols.⁵⁵ Thus, such symbols must be taught in schools to safeguard nation building and unity.

My observations of CAPS-History and teaching Historical Significance

As a History Education lecturer who trains teachers to teach the subject, I have observed a number of missing aspects in CAPS-History that impacts on the quality of teaching and learning. My observation lies in the fact that CAPS-History that Historical Significance as an important historical thinking concepts that can assist learners, teachers, including policy makers to choose relevant narratives that are linked with the South African society, are missing. One can argue that the absence of the concept can be due to the fact that teaching Historical Significance is embedded in the principles of unsilencing of narratives which is a continual fight of eradication of the belief that Western epistemology is the only lens that can be used to qualify what comprises as knowledge. CAPS-History only focus on the following second order historical thinking concepts: historical

54 N Hammerschlag & AJ Gallagher, "Extinction risk and conservation of the earth's national animal symbols", *BioScience*, 67(8), 2017, pp. 744-749.

55 J Minahan, *The complete guide to national symbols and emblems* (Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: Greenwood Press, 2009), pp. xx-xxi.

evidence, multi-perspectivity, cause and effect, change and continuity and time and chronology.⁵⁶ The afore mentioned historical concepts requires interpretation skills of visual and written historical evidence in order to help learners understand what is Historically Significant. This is because the mentioned concepts, when it has to be studied as per the curriculum, require historians, policy makers, learners and textbook writers to understand what is significant, how it was decided what is significant, and the reasons why that which was deemed as being Historically Significant is in the curriculum.

But in schools I discovered a disjuncture whereby historical narratives were not accorded significance as practiced by the societies studied. This was established during the period of the revised National Curriculum Statement (NCS) which emphasised citizenship. This is still echoed by the current CAPS-History, which emphasises that historical narratives must be entrenched in the significance of the South African constitution and that learners must be taught its values including those pertaining to nation building and citizenship.⁵⁷ Observing the teaching of CAPS-History and my Grade 8 teaching of the subject made me understand the gaps which stem from silencing features of Historical Significance. In addition, this is also evidenced by the prospective teachers I teach at university and the textbooks used currently in schools as they focus more on Western ways of narrating stories and issues like symbols and symbolism are overlooked. For example, in 2008 – 2011 I taught Grades 8 and 9 and my experiences were that the content and themes that I taught were missing the Historical Significance of the Historical characters studied. The focus was more Western and indigenous themes were discarded, despite being alive in unofficial History such as media and community stories. I consequently had to draw on unofficial History to supplement the way the textbooks prescribed interpreted the curriculum to teach the classes.

The examples of themes in the CAPS-History Grade 8 curriculum I am referring to are as follows: *Changing worlds: The Industrial Revolution in South Africa: diamonds and gold, and changing work and lives in South Africa on the mines, the land and in the cities (including the 1913 Land Act)*. My focus was on the significance of the events by looking at industrialisation and its impact on South Africa. An additional focus was

⁵⁶ DoBE, *CAPS Grade 10-12 ...*, p. 10.

⁵⁷ Department of Education, Republic of South Africa, *C2005 Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades 7-9 (Schools) Senior Phase* (Pretoria, Department of Education, 2004), p. 148.

looking at the symbolism of industrialism for South Africans in terms of land loss, the introduction of factories and the agricultural revolution. I did not only focus on events and people but went beyond the Western categories of what is significant in History. Also, in terms of the significance of historical characters, such as mineworkers, I would go to the extent of looking at symbolism of men leaving their homes to work in mines and what that meant to families as this is significant in homestead leadership and helps to teach learners about the family unit. In terms of the Land Act of 1913, I un-silenced the curriculum by focusing on the significance of land for Africans in order to show the Historical Significance of symbols and symbolism. Land for Africans is more than a title deed but has as deep symbolism as an inheritance, History, identity, religion and home. Thus, land is a critical symbol of livelihood for Africans and has to be integrated as such in historical narratives. In this regard my argument was to explain the impact of land dispossession to Africans and that it was not just about losing title deeds but it was a loss of their History, identity, humanness, and religion.⁵⁸ This infers that land loss to Africans before 1913, and thereafter, and its significance was more than being people involved or an event taking place, it was a symbolic representation of destruction of the destruction of African History, identity, humanness, and religion. The loss of land symbolised the dehumanisation of Africans as land gives them humanness.⁵⁹ Such symbolism was not to be found in the CAPS curriculum or the workshops we attended. My university studies and experiences of Africanism assisted me to teach my learners to use such unofficial History.

My experiences of especially CAPS-History serves to alert the prospective teachers I teach that; it is important to teach a holistic History of any theme. It also serves to emphasises that Historical Significance is important as a historical thinking concept as it empowers teachers and learners with interpretations so as to be able to teach rich histories.⁶⁰ As the current approach to teaching History focuses on decolonization, a learner-centred pedagogy which would allow learners an opportunity to use their diverse unofficial knowledges to understand some themes taught in class tallies well with the use of Historical Significance.

58 MC Kgari-Masondo, "Women as guardians of the environment in the midst of forced removals: From Lady Selborne to Ga-Rankuwa", *Alternation Special Edition*, 14, 2015, pp. 77-105.

59 MC Kgari-Masondo, "A socio-environmental analysis of land alienation and resettlement in Ga-Rankuwa, c. 1961 to 1977", *Journal for Contemporary History*, 38(2), 2013, pp. 21-45.

60 J Wertsch & M Rozin, "The Russian revolution...", *International Review of History Education*, 1998, p. 48.

Un-silencing historical narratives – Historical Significance

Transformation in the teaching of History by inserting Historical Significance as one of the key historical thinking second order concepts in CAPS-History is imperative. The relevant authorities have been silent about how this could be done. This article proposes that through the implementation of an un-silencing pedagogy Historical Significance can play a major role in ensuring that themes and stories that are not visible in the curriculum will be foregrounded. Thus, the insertion of Historical Significance in CAPS-History requires the urgent attention of policy makers and teachers. A systematic curriculum development exercise, including the development of teaching and learning materials, needs to be done to ensure that diverse epistemologies are drawn together when historical narratives are prepared for use in the classroom. Naturally, History teachers who encompass both Western and African Indigenous Knowledge would do a great job in integrating the two epistemologies in historical accounts. But university History courses seldom seem to engage in the integration of knowledges. Most History teachers have no training in courses that entail diverse indigenous knowledges and they need ready-made History materials to assist them. This article has shown, through the example of the author's teaching narrative that, though challenging, committed practitioners of History who are willing to engage in an un-silencing pedagogy which requires "border crossing"⁶¹ can succeed. Such a crossing deals with contradictions and allows for creative solutions thereof, for:⁶²

... the dimensions and boundaries of the 'unofficial' need to be explored in greater detail. By considering the symbols, images, versions, texts, institutions and media which bombard children daily with images of the past. It requires consideration of their potential effects and the ways in which they relate to the 'official' versions.

In terms of the teaching of History it means that the integration of unofficial and official narratives that are both Western and indigenous to Africa require recognition so as to bridge the gaps learners engage with outside the classroom when learning about their society. The main impact of teaching History narratives in a divisive manner is the eruption of conflicting views which can cause confusion to learners. Such a segregation of knowledges has to be addressed by all concerned. Otherwise this can lead to challenges in

61 H Giroux, *Border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education* (London, Routledge, 1992), pp. 30-40.

62 R Phillips, Contesting the past, constructing the future: History, identity and politics in schools, *British Journal of Education Studies*, 46(1), 1998, p. 45

understanding History as illustrated in the narrative of the author above. The author's narrative also depicts that students in her History Honours course still struggle in bridging the gap between the Western orientated official and the unofficial indigenous African knowledge. This indicates that teaching teachers and learners an integrated History that excludes knowledges of learners' context produce unconstructive members of society as they are faced with unsolved mysteries of a subject that end up discriminating and silencing what is historically significant historically in their personal narratives. The result is an incomplete History based on one-sidedness.

“Cultural border crossings pedagogy”⁶³ is proposed as one solution that can assist in un-silencing themes that are still colonised in History. The pedagogy is relevant in that it empowers the teacher with skills to help himself/herself first and then the learners to understand diversity and multiculturalism. Teachers are able to understand different cultures as different and not superior and in the process, learners will best understand their identity as South Africans in a globalised world. Cultural border crossing pedagogy would also be relevant as the teacher will assist learners to reconstruct and demystify the tension between official Western knowledge and unofficial indigenous African knowledge in History learning. The pedagogy tallies well with the values of the South Africa's Constitution. The tenets are based on the corrective measures to the divisions of the past so as to create a society based on democratic principles, social justice and basic rights, and to improve the quality of life of all citizens and liberate the potential of all South Africans.⁶⁴ The concept of multiperspectivity as endorsed in the teaching of History illustrates that CAPS-History contains principles that allow for teachers to have some defiance of the Western lens that is dominant in certain post-colonial discourses which many History teachers hardly contemplate. Such principles must be taught to learners and must be part of the curriculum. As Jenkins and Brickley have argued about the National History Curriculum of England and Wales, one can claim that South Africa's CAPS-History curriculum in essence “allows” interpretation, to possibilities and multiplicity of dissimilar meanings and knowledges, but that has to be pushed to the centre through the border crossing of cultures through un-silencing our pedagogies of teaching

63 H Giroux, *Border crossings ...*, p. 49.

64 DoBE, *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) Grades 10-12 History* (Pretoria, Cape Town, Government Printing Works, 2011), p. i.

History.⁶⁵ This implies that teachers need to research in-depth and draw silenced significant knowledges into historical narratives and allow learners to do the same.

Conclusion

The call of this article is that we have to move away from silencing historical narratives that are significant but, due to political propaganda, are pushed to the periphery. The five features promulgated by Partington on Historical Significance are important in transformation the teaching of History and the CAPS-History curriculum. History teaching in South Africa has to be relevant to democratic principles of respect for all knowledges that are silenced. Drastic change has to occur so that we teach our History learners from different perspectives by drawing from significant stories that are aligned with the communities it serves so that the respect for humanity can take place and a contribute to a national identity that is inclusive can happen. Using Weber's "ideal type" curriculum, any re-construction to achieve the ideal is worth pursuing because curricula is ever changing for the benefit of progress, societal interests and nation building.⁶⁶ This calls upon teachers, lecturers, and everyone in South Africa and globally who strives for equality, respect and tolerance to defy that which undermines the "others" narratives and teach Histories that are liberating and focus on communities' narratives. As suggested by Gatsheni-Ndlovu:⁶⁷

Decolonising methodology, therefore, entails unmasking its role and purpose in re-search. It is also about rebelling against it; shifting the identity of its object so as to re-position those who have been objects of research into questioners, critics, theorists, knowers, and communicators. And, finally, it means recasting research into what Europe has done to humanity and nature rather than following Europe as a teacher to the rest of the world.

This article is a call for recollecting, rereading and rewriting CAPS-History so it can portray all communities as they are, and not depicting them from the politicians, or colonisers' perspectives of wanting to dominate and dehumanise the other as historically insignificant. Hence, the historical thinking concept of Historical Significance was chosen as it is key in identifying what is significant. What is historically significant has

65 K Jenkins, & K Brickley, Always historicise: Unintended opportunities in National Curriculum History, *Teaching History*, 62, 1991, pp. 8-14.

66 M Van Manen, "Linking ways of knowing with ways of being practical", *Curriculum inquiry*, 6(3), 1977, p. 209.

67 S Ndlovu-Gatsheni, "Decolonising research", 2017 (available at: <https://specimen-news.com/2017/09/27/decolonising-research>, as accessed on 6 August 2018).

always been based on Western standards and indigenous African historical narratives have been pushed to the periphery and by integrating the concept of Historical Significance into the curriculum such silenced histories will have prominence.

Hands-on article

An exploration of the shifts in imagined academic and civic identities across four history curriculum documents

Kirstin Kukard

Herzlia High School, Cape Town

kirstinkukard@gmail.com

ORCID No: 0000-0001-6473-7405

Abstract

This article analyses four curriculum documents in terms of the kinds of academic and civic identities that they would seek to produce. The curriculum documents are two South African (Curriculum 2005 [1997] and the Curriculum and Policy Statement [2011]) and two English (the first History National Curriculum [1991] and the most recent Secondary History National Curriculum [2014]). The theoretical underpinnings of the discussion of identity are Bernstein's concepts of instructional and regulative discourse. The shifts in overall purpose and identity within the two contexts are striking. The first English national curriculum saw a tension between a focus on developing history learners who had a strong sense of national identity and using constructivist models that teach the learners the knowledge base of the subject. By contrast, Curriculum 2005 focused on attempting to create learners who were actively engaged with the problems of their current-day situation. By the second English national curriculum, a focus on making connections to current-day challenges had been introduced in addition to the existing concerns about national identity and understanding the way in which historians work. The Curriculum and Policy Statement (CAPS) reform in South Africa expressed greater concerns for developing historical thinking, but nevertheless retained a focus on actively engaged citizenship. The findings of this research provide a lens through which to consider current history curriculum reform and in particular, the ways in which curriculum documents imagine the learners that they would want to produce as both historians and citizens.

Keywords: Identity; Curriculum; Bernstein; Ministerial Task Team.

Introduction

This article draws on my Master's thesis,¹ which examined the shifts

¹ The article draws heavily on my master's thesis, submitted in May 2017 at the University of Cape Town. For the sake of brevity, I have not referenced every point.

in the way that four secondary history curriculum documents (National Curricula in England [1991; 2014] and in South Africa [1997; 2011]) imagined both the academic and civic identities of learners, particularly in relation to the purpose of school history. Given the current deliberation about revising the South African curriculum in light of the Ministerial Task Team's Report of February 2018, it is important to consider the ways in which the decisions made about the content of curricula are shaped by the implicit or explicit vision of the ideal history learner and citizen which the curriculum would like to produce. The research aimed to provide a way to describe the curriculum documents accurately through the development of a fine-grained analytic framework. Although my thesis considered both explicit and implicit civic identities, the purpose of this article is to focus on the three elements of the academic identities which relate to implied civic identities in the four curriculum documents. These findings are then related to the Ministerial Task Team Report.

This article begins by briefly describing the process of curriculum reform in each country. Bernstein's concept of *pedagogic discourse* is used to describe the ways in which the content choices of four history curriculum documents reflect differing imagined identities. The Ministerial Task Team report's recommendations regarding the curriculum content are considered.

Context of Curriculum Reform

England

History education in Britain went through a period of major revision from the 1970s, influenced by the progressive approaches of the Schools Council History Project (SCHP). This "new history" approach was seen as privileging skills over content and was linked to valuing learner-centred, constructivist approaches (Bertram, 2008:157). The first English National Curriculum came into place in the early 1990s at the behest of Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher was opposed to the 'new history' approaches because for her history was simply an "account of what happened in the past" and the most important function of the school curriculum was for learners to obtain a "knowledge of events" (Thatcher, 2013:573). Despite this, the History Working Group that was set up to produce the curriculum generally favoured the 'new history' approaches.

In 2013, after a series of revisions (1995; 1999; 2007), a radically new draft of the history national curriculum was tabled. The Conservative Education Minister, Michael Gove, made public statements arguing for the

need for learners to have “a better understanding of the linear narrative of British history and Britain’s impact on the world and the world’s impact on Britain” (Gove in Vasagar, 2011). In pursuing his goal of “rigour”, Gove’s new history curriculum became dense and almost entirely British-focused. There was considerable backlash from historians, history educationalists and teachers, and the final draft of the history curriculum resembled the 2007 national curriculum much more closely than the 2013 draft had done (Counsell, 2014).

South Africa

The history curriculum under the apartheid regime encouraged “traditional” teaching practices based on the ideas of Afrikaner nationalist historians (Witz & Hamilton, 1991:29). “People’s education” in the 1980s challenged this approach; this movement was heavily influenced by the Schools Council History Project and emphasised the importance of historical thinking. However, in the post-apartheid settlement, the focus on education as providing “portability of qualifications” (Ensor, 2003:326) led to the establishment of a fully integrated, outcomes-based curriculum. In this curriculum, history became part of the integrated Social Sciences, which incorporated Geography and Citizenship. While the review of Curriculum 2005 in 1999 resulted in history being reintroduced as a discrete subject, the underlying approach of outcomes-based education remained. A further revision began in 2009. The review committee argued for a clearly specified curriculum, which resulted in the CAPS curriculum (Hoadley, 2011).

Concerns about the lack of knowledge about South African history among South African learners led to the criticism of CAPS from the African National Congress (ANC)-aligned South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in 2014 (Kukard, 2015). A Ministerial Task Team was appointed in 2015 to discuss the possibility of history becoming a compulsory subject until the end of Matric, and to evaluate the CAPS curriculum (History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT), 2018:9). The History Ministerial Task Team published a report which recommends “strengthening” the CAPS curriculum ahead of the possible introduction of the subject as compulsory (HMTT, 2018:48). Particular attention is paid to improving the connections to a broader African context within the existing CAPS content (HMTT, 2018). The report shows contradictory imaginings of what kind of academic and civic identities should be

privileged, arguing for the importance of history as “instilling love of country” (HMTT, 2018:8) but also that it “produces a critically skilled citizen” (HMTT, 2018:40), and recognises the importance of history as “a discipline” (HMTT, 2018:41). It is therefore timeous to consider the ways in which other curriculum documents have dealt with these questions.

Reasons for selecting these four documents

The four curriculum documents² are:

- The first English National Curriculum, published in 1991;
- The revised English National Curriculum, published in 2014;
- Curriculum 2005: Lifelong learning for the 21st century, published in 1997;
- Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Grades 7–9 Social Sciences, published in 2011.

Given the current discussion around decolonising the curriculum, it may seem counter-intuitive to be examining English history curricula alongside South Africa curricula. The Ministerial Task Team made a concerted effort in their research to consider history curricula from developing nations, with a particular focus on African nations. However, they also considered some European history curricula (Poland, Netherlands, Italy, France, Austria, Norway and Russia) (HMTT, 2018). The purpose of the study was descriptive and not prescriptive in nature; there was no sense that the South African curricula should resemble the English curricula. Instead, the four curriculum documents have been chosen in order to facilitate a comparative study of the shifts in imagined identity. The methodology could be applied to comparing any curricula.

Theoretical framework: Pedagogic discourse

School history is a recontextualised form of the academic history discipline and produces particular academic identities. It is, however, also a subject that governments can use to shape civic identities through both explicit and regulative discourses (Bernstein, 2000). Drawing on the work of Althusser, Durkheim and Marx, Bernstein sees the ways in which education is framed and classified as being ideologically bounded (Bernstein, 2000). For Bernstein, “the battle over curricula is also a conflict between different conceptions of social order and is therefore

² For the sake of brevity, the curriculum documents are referred to as NC1991, NC2014, C2005 and CAPS respectively in the in-text referencing. The full bibliographic details are available below.

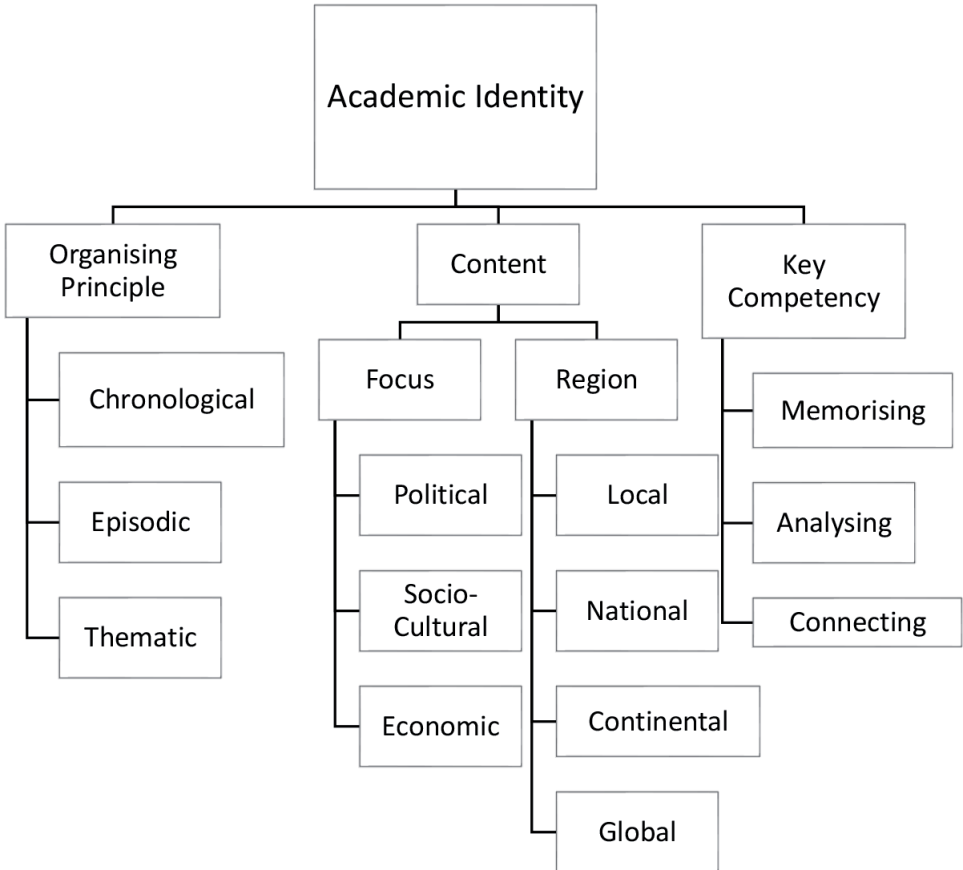
fundamentally moral” (Bernstein, 1975:73). Bernstein’s categories allow the researcher to examine the ways in which the structure of the curriculum itself and the pedagogic discourse that emerges imagine the academic learner and citizen.

The instructional discourse creates “specialised skills and their relationship to each other”, but is itself a recontextualised, imaginary subject discourse which has been de-located and relocated from the site of production (Bernstein, 1990:160) and therefore undergoes an “ideological transformation” (Bertram, 2012:5). The strength of the classification of the selection, sequence and pace of this “imaginary subject” is governed by regulative discourse, which provides the moral ordering of “relations and identity” (Bernstein, 2000:32). Recontextualisation therefore creates not only “a what but a whom” (Thompson, 2014:37) for Bernstein: the ‘imaginary subject’ (Bernstein, 1990). Pedagogic discourse is the rule which results in the “embedding” of the *instructional discourse* (curricular content and competencies) in the *regulative discourse* (“social conduct, character and manner”) (Bernstein, 2000:32, Singh, 2002:573). For Bernstein, the regulative discourse is always dominant in this process of embedding (Bernstein, 1990).

The terms academic and civic identity are not ones that Bernstein uses directly, but they map onto these concepts of instructional and regulative discourse. Through the relationship between the two, the academic consciousness of the instructional discourse is generated by the conscience of the regulative discourse. The concept of the pedagogic device therefore allows me to unpack the structuring of identity in the history curriculum (Bernstein, 2000). History is a subject in which it is particularly difficult to pry apart the academic and civic identities; the very nature of the subject means that the two are always very closely intertwined. The thesis did consider elements of the curriculum which reflected explicit civic identities, however, for the purposes of this article, I have focused on only three elements of the academic identities and therefore, the civic identities towards which these academic identities point.

Analytic framework

The analytic framework was created through an iterative process of working with both the data (defined below) and history education literature. The section of the analytic framework relevant to this article, on three aspects of academic identity, are presented in summary in Image 1.

Image 1: Summary of Analytic Framework: Academic identities

Source: Designed by author.

The process of constituting the data set was complex as each curriculum document was structured differently. It was, however, possible to standardise the data to be analysed through dividing it into three sections: *purpose statements*, *topics* and *elaborated content*. The *topics* within each curriculum generally give the overall area of study and the *elaborated content* outlines the *topic* in more specific detail. *Purpose statements* are a combination of the explicit aims of the history section of the curriculum, the procedural skills and historical concepts (cause and consequence, change and continuity, chronology and so forth). Together they give an indication of the intention the curriculum writers had for the curriculum.

Findings: Academic identities in the four curriculum documents

The following discussion provides the key findings of the academic and implied civic identities which emerge in the organisation and choice of content and the key skills emphasised in the curricula

Content organising principle

This element examines the extent to which the content has been organised as a continuous narrative (*chronological*), key episodes (*episodic*) or through the tracing of a theme (*thematic*). The organising principle was allocated based around the specificity of dates within the *topics*, the level of detail provided in the *elaborated content*, and the presence of either explicit or implied turning points or thematic organisers. In most cases there are anomalous elements within the curriculum, but the identification corresponds to the dominant features. The curriculum could also be coded as *hybrid*.

Table 1 summarises the coding of the four curriculum documents.

Table 1: Content organising principle

	Chronological	Episodic	Thematic
NC1991	X	X	
NC2014	X	X	
C2005			X
CAPS		X	

Source: Designed by author.

NC1991: Organising principle

NC1991 primarily has a *chronological* organising principle. Three of the eight *topics* have specific, contiguous dates included. For “The Roman Empire”, there is a period of history implied, even though dates are not specifically included. When one examines the *elaborated content* of the *topic*, “a unit involving the study of a past non-European society” (NC1991:47), it is clear that periodisation is also an organising principle; the difference is that the teacher has autonomy over which period of world history is under consideration. Five out of the eight *topics* are therefore organised according to periodisation and fall within the *chronological* organising principle. However, there are three units which are more *episodic* in their organisation: Core Study Unit 5 is a key event, as it deals

with the developments that led to the Second World War; Supplementary Study A and B both fall more within the *episodic* approach, as they are organised according to “turning points” and “depth study” (NC1991:47). The exception to this pattern is the allowance for a “thematic” study within Supplementary Study Unit A (NC1991:47). Overall, however, the *chronological* organising principle is most dominant, with elements of *episodic*.

NC2014: Organising principle

Unlike NC1991, the *elaborated content* outlined in NC2014 was non-statutory. However, I included the examples of *elaborated content* provided in the curriculum in my analysis as I take them to be a clear indication of the kinds of detail that the curriculum writers would want teachers to cover.

NC2014 is an example of a hybrid chronological-episodic curriculum, as it provides specific chronology within the *topics*. Although NC2014 does have some thematic and depth study *topics* and one *topic* which does not specify any dates “a significant society or issue in world history” (NC2014:97), it shows a very strong favouring of specific periodisation as an organising principle. However, the specificity of the dates indicates that the curriculum writers had particular events in mind as crucial markers of period. For instance, “1066” marks the Battle of Hastings, which is the beginning of the medieval period according to the curriculum writers; “1509” marks the date of Henry VIII’s ascent to the throne of England, marking the beginning of the Tudor period. The 2014 National Curriculum therefore has elements of a strong *chronological* approach, but tempers this with an expectation that the pedagogic decision of what elements of the *topic* to teach will take on a somewhat *episodic* dimension.

C2005: Organising principle

C2005 is strikingly different from the other curricula and gives no indication of limiting either dates or period in any of the *topics*. C2005 is strongly organised according to *thematic* principles. Within both the *topics* and the *elaborated content*, there are no specific dates mentioned. The only references to timescale are general, such as “Pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, Apartheid, post-Apartheid” (C2005:HSS6).³ This is in part due to the design features of the curriculum, which aimed to allow for a “flexibility in the choice of specific content and process”, following

³ HSS refers to Human and Social Sciences and is the relevant section of the Curriculum 2005 document.

the competence approach (Ministry of Education, 1997:17). The teacher therefore has almost complete autonomy over which periods and events to cover in order to reach the overall outcomes. *Thematic* elements are traced in the *elaborated content* as is shown in Image 3.

Image 3: C2005 Specific Outcome 3

<p>4. Informed judgements about issues are made in relation to the Constitution by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identifying the issues • analysing the issues • relating the issues to the Constitution arriving at a judgement 	<p><u>Scope, to include:</u> Past, present, and future perspective</p> <p><u>Judgements, might include:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the significance of the issues in relation to the Constitution • relationship to other issues • links with legislation and relevant organisations (e.g. labour law and trade unions) <p><u>Issues, might relate to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • human rights • disability • gender • cultural issues • fairness and justice • racism, prejudice and forms of bias • distribution and ownership of resources • environmental management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identify constitutional issues which impact on the lives of individuals and communities • identify channels through which the issues can be addressed • explore various strategies through which issues can be addressed
---	---	--

Source: C2005: HSS16.

The theme of “issues in relation to the Constitution” is explored without any clear limitation on particular periods or events. Instead, the teacher is limited only by a “past, present and future perspective” (C2005:HSS16). Overall, therefore, the approach is strongly *thematic*.

CAPS: Organising principle

The CAPS curriculum is strongly within the *episodic* category. Although some indication of dates is given, the key organising principle is turning points within history rather than an overarching chronology. Only two of the *topics* [“World War I (1914-1918)” and “World War II (1939-1945)”] (CAPS:40-41) have specific, contiguous dates listed, but even these are organised according to colligatory terms rather than long-term *chronological* periods. Nine out of the twelve *topics* are therefore organised according to colligatory terms such as “Colonisation of the Cape 17th-18th century” (CAPS:35) and “The Nuclear Age and the Cold War” (CAPS:42). The *elaborated content* is detailed but focuses on developing the central episode rather than covering a wide range of events within a period, as is the case in NC1991 and NC2014. Image 4 below shows the *topic* “The Transatlantic Slave Trade”.

Image 4: CAPS Topic and elaborated content: Transatlantic Slave Trade

GRADE 7: SENIOR PHASE HISTORY TERM 2	
Topic: The Transatlantic slave trade	Suggested contact time: One term/15 hours
This content must be integrated with the historical aims and skills and the associated concepts listed in Section 2	
Focus: The nature and impact of the slave trade between West Africa and the American South	
Content and concepts	
• West Africa before the European slave trade	1 hour
• The nature of slavery in West Africa before Europeans	
• Slavery in the American South	3 hours
- Plantations: tobacco, rice, sugar cane and cotton	
- Reasons for using slave labour	
- How slaves were captured, sold and transported from West Africa	
- Slave markets	
- Numbers of slaves that were taken to America	
- What happened to the raw materials that slaves produced	
• The impact of the transatlantic slave trade on slaves	6 hours
- What it was like to be a plantation slave in the American South	
o Slave culture in songs and stories	
o Resistance to slavery: individual responses, e.g. sluggishness, passivity, indifference, shirking, alcoholism, flight, suicide, arson, murdering owners	
o Rebellion against slavery	
o Nat Turner's revolt 1831	
o Joseph Cinque and the Amistad Mutiny 1839	
o The Underground Railroad (an informal network of secret routes and safe houses used by escaping slaves)	
o Harriet Tubman: slave who escaped to freedom, and helped other slaves to escape	
o The story of John Brown and his mission to abolish slavery	
• The impact of the transatlantic slave trade on the economies of	2 hours
- West Africa	
- America and Britain	
- Gains for America and Britain and negative impact on West Africa	
• Revision, assessment (formal and informal) and feedback should be done on an ongoing basis	3 hours
Learners should read and write for part of every lesson.	
Evidence of learner's work, including assessments, should be kept in the learner's notebook.	

Source: CAPS:34.

All the detail is linked to the central *topic* and no other events within a similar period of history are covered. The organising principle is therefore strongly *episodic*.

Content: Focus and region

Focus

The *topics* and *elaborated content* points were coded as *political*, *socio-cultural* or *economic*. It is somewhat artificial to pull these elements apart

as they often overlap. However, those points that were not coded as any of the above were also recorded; particularly in the case of C2005, the sizable percentage of points that did not fall into either of the three focuses is very telling. Table 2 outlines the number of *elaborated content* points and *topics* that fall within the various elements of the focus of the curriculum. Some points may be coded as multiple focuses, and thus the percentage total for each curriculum could exceed 100%.

Table 2: Content focus results

	Number of topics + elaborated content	Political	%	Socio-Cultural	%	Economic	%	Not Coded	%
NC1991	80	41	51%	38	47.5%	13	16.3%	2	2.5%
NC2014	55	33	60%	22	40%	7	12.7%	6	10.9%
C2005	428	47	11%	79	18.5%	96	22.4%	226	52.8%
CAPS	230	125	54.3%	66	28.2%	56	24.3%	10	8.7%

NC1991: Content focus

NC1991 was structured around a deliberate attempt to have a wide range of “perspectives” including:

- political;
- economic, technological and scientific;
- social;
- religious;
- cultural and aesthetic
(NC1991:33)

The *elaborated content*, as seen below in Image 6, is structured around these varying perspectives and for each topic the different aspects are listed under emboldened headings. NC1991 shows an even split between *political* and *socio-cultural* elements in the content. It is interesting that *economic* elements are considerably lower than the other two, despite the goal of including a variety of the above perspectives. Although each *topic* has points across all focuses, there are generally more *elaborated content* points for *political* than for the others, as can be seen in the second bullet point in Image 6.

Image 6: Elaborated content for the topic Medieval Realms: Britain 1066-1500

Britain and the wider world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the idea of Christendom and the extent to which the British Isles were part of a wider European world
the development of the English monarchy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Norman conquest, including the battle of Hastings (1066), and its impact the nature of English medieval monarchy relations of the monarchy with the Church, barons and people, including Magna Carta (1215) and the Peasants Revolt (1381) the origins of Parliament relations between England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales
medieval society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> feudalism and the structure of medieval society the beliefs and influence of the Church how material needs were met: farming, crafts and trade health and disease, including the Black Death and its impact
the legacy of medieval culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the arts and architecture in medieval times and how they reflected the society in which they were produced the development of the English language

Source: NC1991:39.

This pattern is repeated across several *topics*, which has resulted in the comparatively high number of *political* points.

NC2014: Content focus

NC2014 shows a bias towards a *political* focus, with 60% of content coded, at least in part, as *political*. Topics such as “the development of Church, state and society in Britain 1509-1795” could potentially have a broad range of focuses. However, the ways in which the *elaborated content* is framed, such as “the Interregnum (including Cromwell in Ireland)” or “The Restoration, ‘Glorious Revolution’ and power of Parliament” (NC2014:96), have a decided *political* focus. While the teacher could make clear connections to *socio-cultural* and *economic* content, the *political* aspect is foregrounded in the curriculum document.

C2005: Content focus

It is striking that of all the curricula C2005 has the highest percentage of content with an *economic* focus. There was an attempt to teach history in such a way that the economic structural features of change were foregrounded. The specific outcome, “Demonstrate a critical understanding of how

South African society has changed and developed” (C2005:HSS2), is the most clearly historical of all the specific outcomes. One of the *elaborated content* points within the Range Statement (SO1:AC2) is “exploitation of resources (including human resources), especially in relation to minerals and farming” (C2005:HSS5). The focus of this content is on the creation of inequality in society through the events around South Africa’s industrialisation, migrant labour and land reform during apartheid.

However, other elements of the *elaborated content* are less clearly recognisable as history. For example, the specific outcome, “Makes sound judgements about the development, utilisation and management of resources” (CAPS:HSS2), contains range statements such as in Image 7.

Image 7: Extract of Range Statement

Factors influencing the relationship between resources and human development, to include:

- **access to education and training**
- **location and distribution**
- **ownership and control**
- **available technology**
- **exploitation**

Source: C2005:HSS19.

It is also significant that over half of the curriculum could not be identified as any of the three focuses. These points ranged from more skills-based *elaborated content* points, such as the “reading and construction of maps, graphs and other techniques for recognising and describing patterns” (C2005:HSS13), to content which is more clearly geography based, such as “Environmental issues to include: deforestation; over-utilisation; soil erosion; etc.” (C2005:HSS21). There are also several points which are non-academic, such as “Significance of attitudes and values in ... personal decision making” (C2005:HSS31).

CAPS: Content focus

In sharp contrast to C2005, CAPS show a decided bias towards *political* content. Although the curriculum follows a broadly *episodic* organising principle (as discussed above) the overarching approach is of turning points in the formation of the South African nation. As with NC1991 and NC2014, much of the content can be identified as part of the narrative of *politics*. For topics such as “The Nuclear Age and the Cold War”

(CAPS:41) or “Turning points in South African History 1960, 1976 and 1990” (CAPS:44), all the *elaborated content* points could be coded as *political*.

However, it is interesting that there is an even balance between the *socio-cultural* and *economic* content. There is still a sense that history is the study of “change and development in society over time” (CAPS:9) and therefore that all aspects of human society need to be examined.

Region

The *topics* and *elaborated content* points were also coded according to region: *local*, *national*, *continental*, *global* or *not coded*. The following table outlines the number of *elaborated content* points and *topics* that fall within the various elements of the region of the curriculum. Some individual points may be coded as multiple focuses, and thus the percentage total could exceed 100%.

Table 3: Content region results

	Number of topics + elaborated content	Local	%	National	%	Continental	%	Global	%	Not Coded	%
NC1991	80	1	1.3%	42	84%	28	35%	14	17.5%	0	0%
NC2014	55	4	7.3%	43	78.2%	8	14.5%	14	25.5%	0	0%
C2005	428	141	33%	183	43%	71	16.6%	101	23.6%	227	53%
CAPS	230	1	0.4%	100	43.5%	36	15.7%	116	50.4%	2	0.9%

Source: Designed by author.

NC1991: Content region

There is a clear focus in NC1991 on *national* history. This corresponds to the above discussion around the *political* Focus of the curriculum. The curriculum does teach a sizeable element of European history and one *topic* out of the eight is focused entirely on world history. In several other topics, British history is taught within the context of connections with Europe and the rest of the world. For example, in the *topic* “The era of the Second World War”, the *elaborated content* deals with *national* content such as “the home front in Britain”, *continental* content such as, “the redrawing of national frontiers in Europe”, and *global* content such as “the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki” (NC1991:45). Two out

of the eight *topics* are specifically *continental* in their Regional Focus: “The Roman Empire” (NC1991:37) and “A unit involving the study of an episode or turning point in European history before 1914” (NC1991:47).

NC2014: Content region

NC2014 favours *national* history very strongly. Five out of the seven *topics* are primarily *national* in focus. While elements of the *elaborated content*, such as “the French Revolutionary wars” in the *topic* “ideas, political power, industry and empire: Britain 1745–1901” (NC2014:96) could be coded as *continental*, the framing of the overall topic emphasises that it is British history that is the priority.

C2005: Content region

C2005 has by far the lowest incidence of *national* history of the four curriculum documents (43%). It also has by far the highest percentage of *local* history of the four curriculum documents (33%). A *local* regional focus does not necessarily entail non-historical knowledge, and some elements such as “issues of nation-building” were to be considered “from the local/community” within periods from “pre-colonial times to the present” (C2005:HSS11). However, other points were non-historical, such as “issues: local (e.g. lack of security at school)” (C2005:HSS33). While a sizeable percentage of the content could be coded as *national*, it is very striking that such a high percentage has a *local* regional focus.

CAPS: Content region

CAPS is the only curriculum that has a higher percentage of *global* (50.4%) than *national* (43.5%) history. Of the sixteen *elaborated content* points within the *topic* “World War I (1914–1918)”, only three could be coded as *national*; the rest are all *global*. In the *topic*, “World War II (1939–1945)”, all twenty-four *elaborated content* points were coded as *global*.

CAPS also has almost no *local* history, with the one exception being that the project suggested for Grade 9 Term 3 on South African history allows for teachers to choose their own topic according to the “learner’s context” (CAPS:14). Overall, the *national* and *global* regional focuses dominate.

Regional scope

In addition to considering the way in which the content was divided according to region, the *purpose statements* were also coded according to

local, national, continental or global. This allows for a discussion of the extent to which the content choices reflect the intentions of the curriculum writers.

Image 9: Regional scope results

	Number of purpose statements	Local	%	National	%	Continental	%	Global	%
NC1991	33	0	0%	3	9.1%	3	9.1%	3	9.1%
NC2014	10	1	10%	3	30%	0	0%	4	40%
C2005	276	60	21.7%	60	21.7%	11	4%	18	6.5%
CAPS	53	2	3.8%	3	5.7%	1	1.9%	1	1.9%

Source: Designed by author.

NC1991: Regional scope

It is interesting that NC1991 makes equal reference within the *purpose statements* to *national, continental and global* regional scope. This is in sharp contrast to the reality of the content, which, as discussed above, has a strongly *national* regional scope (84%). Although both *continental* and *global* are present in the curriculum, they are by no means of equal weight. The hope that the curriculum would “enable pupils to develop knowledge and understanding of British, European and world history” (NC1991:11) is therefore not matched by the content selected.

NC2014: Regional scope

It is striking that NC2014 makes more reference to *global* concerns than *national* in the *purpose statements*. The content did have 25.5% *global* coding, so this regional scope is visible in the content. It does not, however, correspond to the high level of *national* content that is prescribed. This could be due to a sense that Britain’s role in the world was changing and that part of the role of the history curriculum was to prepare learners for the “challenges of their time” (NC2014:94). The increased visibility of *connecting* as a key competency, as discussed below, supports this viewpoint.

Thus, both English curricula therefore present themselves as having a broader regional scope than is reflected within the content choice.

C2005: Regional scope

C2005 makes the most direct references to its regional scope out of the four curriculum documents. The specific aims element of the curriculum does see understanding *national* history as an important element; one of the specific outcomes is: “Demonstrate a critical understanding of how South African society has changed and developed” (C2005:HSS2). The relatively high presence of *local* regional scope within the *purpose statements* compared to the other four curricula reflects its concern to valorise local knowledge (Ensor, 2003). Although there is a sense that *global* relations are important, such as “The interrelationships between South Africa and the rest of the world are explored” (C2005:HSS7), the *local* context is emphasised.

CAPS: Regional identity

The CAPS document has a relatively low incidence of *purpose statements* coded as elements of regional scope. The relatively higher level of *national* versus *global* coded *purpose statements* does not correspond with the content choice coding, which, as discussed above, favours *global*.

There was a dramatic decrease of 17.9% in *local* regional scope from 21.7% in C2005 to 3.8% in CAPS. *National* regional scope also decreased, from 21.7% in C2005 to 5.7% in CAPS. The *continental* regional scope remained low in both curricula (4% in C2005 and 1.9% in CAPS). There was also a decrease, from 6.5% in C2005 to 1.9% in CAPS, of *global* regional focus. As was the case with the English national curricula, the regional scope and the regional focus do not correspond in the CAPS document.

Key competency

Key Competency was coded according to the primary skills that the curriculum document outlines in the *purpose statements*. The statements were coded individually to produce a percentage measure, but these results were then described as to whether the three skills of *memorising*, *analysing* and *connecting* are highly visible, moderately visible, weakly visible or mostly invisible. *Memorising* competencies use the language of recalling or describing and emphasise the informational aspect of knowledge; *analysing* competencies use the language of historical thinking and key disciplinary concepts; *connecting* competencies use the language of using

historical thinking in order to engage as citizens and applying historical knowledge to current situations.

Table 4: Key competency results

	Number of purpose statements	Memorising	%	Analysing	%	Connecting	%	Not Coded	%
NC1991	32	4	12.5%	26	81.3%	8	25%	1	3.1%
NC2014	10	3	30%	4	40%	4	40%	1	10%
C2005	276	21	7.6%	95	34.4%	148	53.6%	24	8.7%
CAPS	53	3	5.7%	30	56.6%	23	43.4%	13	24.5%

Source: Designed by author.

NC1991: Key competency

Analysing is highly visible as the key competency in NC1991. This is not surprising given the influence of the SCHP way of thinking and its influence on the creation of the curriculum. The *purpose statements* that were coded as *memorising* are generally the lower-order elements of the Attainment Targets,⁴ such as “describes changes over a period” (NC1991:3). Those that were coded as *connecting* are related to creating empathy and understanding other points of view, such as “show an awareness that different people’s ideas and attitudes are often related to their circumstances” (NC1991:4). However, most of the attainment targets use the language of *analysing*, such as “make deductions from historical sources” (NC1991:9).

NC2014: Key competency

It is interesting that NC2014 has such a wide spread of *key competencies* compared to NC1991. *Connecting* the past to the present is seen as being equally as important as *analysing*. Statements such as the following were coded as *connecting*:

History helps pupils to understand the complexity of people’s lives, the process of change, the diversity of societies and relationships between different groups, as well as their own identity and the challenges of their time (NC2014:94)

There is a clear sense that history education should result in citizens who are engaged with the current realities of society. This aspect was absent from NC1991.

⁴ Attainment Targets were the statements of outcomes for NC1991. They were controversially framed in terms of historical skills and concepts rather than key content.

The pressures of *memorising* are still clearly seen in *purpose statements* like:

... know and understand the history of these islands as a coherent, chronological narrative, from the earliest times to the present day: how people's lives have shaped this nation and how Britain has influenced and been influenced by the wider world (NC2014:94).

The emphasis here is not on rote memorising, as students must still “understand” the history, but they will not be able to say that they have fulfilled the requirements of the curriculum if they do not also “know” it “coherently”. However, the importance of *analysing* remains, and the attainment targets of NC1991 are recognisable in statements such as:

... understand the methods of historical enquiry, including how evidence is used rigorously to make historical claims, and discern how and why contrasting arguments and interpretations of the past have been constructed (NC2014:94).

Overall, there has been a shift from a very strong focus on *analysing* as the key competency to a broader vision of the key competencies that history education should produce.

C2005: Key competency

C2005 has a very strong focus on *connecting* as the key competency. There is a particular focus throughout the curriculum on the competencies of debating and discussion. This is shown in *purpose statements* such as “The means of making voices heard, and for obtaining information, should be discussed and strategies agreed on” (C2005:HSS18). This is also reflected in the emphasis on group work within the curriculum.

The lack of focus on *memorising* is not surprising given that C2005 was written in reaction to the perceived rote-learning approach of the previous apartheid curricula. The only points which are relevant to *memorising* are those where the retelling of stories is required, such as “give an account of the changes experienced by communities, including struggles over resources and political rights” (C2005:HSS6). The focus of *memorising* in this example is therefore community based, rather than *memorising* the coherent narrative of the nation state as a whole.

The low incidence of *analysing* in comparison to the other curricula is due to the lack of specification of C2005 as a history curriculum. A number of the points that were coded as *analysing* were in fact more relevant to geography,

such as “analyse the causal factors and the relationships which influence the extent of the impact of natural events and phenomena on the lives of people” (C2005:HSS29). There was evidence of more history-specific *analysing* competencies, such as “deducing and synthesising information from sources and evidence” (C2005:HSS37) but this was not highly visible.

It is also interesting that this section is the area with the lowest level of *not coded* points. This is likely because C2005 is an outcomes-based curriculum and therefore frames most of its material as skills and purposes rather than specific content.

CAPS: Key competency

CAPS has a fairly strong focus on *analysing* as the key competency, but *connecting* still plays a significant role. The curriculum is clearly more strongly specified as historical and it therefore prioritises *analysing purpose statements*, such as “History is the study of change and development in society over time” (CAPS:9). However, like NC2014, *connecting* also has an important role to play, as history is also about “learning to think about the past, and *by implication the present* in a disciplined way” (CAPS:9 emphasis mine). CAPS is therefore in strong contrast to C2005, which focused on *connecting* as the primary competency.

Shifts within academic identities in the four curriculum documents

Image 11 characterises the various elements of the academic identities found within the four curriculum documents.

Image 11: Summary of academic identities

	Organising principle	Content		Key Competency
		Focus	Region	
NC1991	<i>chronological/ elements of episodic</i>	<i>political/ socio-cultural</i>	<i>national</i>	<i>analysing</i>
NC2014	<i>chronological/ episodic</i>	<i>political</i>	<i>national</i>	<i>analysing/ connecting</i> with some elements of <i>memorising</i>
C2005	<i>thematic</i>	<i>economic/ socio-cultural</i>	<i>national (local to a lesser degree)</i>	<i>connecting</i>
CAPS	<i>episodic</i>	<i>political</i>	<i>global (national to a lesser degree)</i>	<i>analysing/ some elements of connecting</i>

Source: Designed by author.

Organising principle

Within the English national curricula, the organising principles have remained much the same. There is a stronger sense of a *chronological* organising principle within NC1991 than in N2014, but it does still have visible elements of an *episodic* organising principle. The tension between *chronological* and *episodic*, which is present in both curricula, could be a result of the wider tension between the *progressive* influence of the approaches of SChP versus the *traditional* concerns of Thatcher in 1991, and Gove in 2014. Depth and overview and thematic “lines of development” approaches were a key part of the approach adopted within the SChP curricula (SChP, 1976:43-46). As discussed in the introduction, both Thatcher and Gove had a very clear conception of what constituted a valid history curriculum; that is, a chronological narrative. The tensions between the more *episodic* and *chronological* approaches could be a by-product of these contrasting pressures placed upon the history curriculum writers.

By contrast, the South African curricula showed a dramatic shift in terms of organising principle. Whereas C2005 follows a *thematic* organising principle, CAPS follow a strongly *episodic* organising principle. The *thematic* organising principle in C2005 allowed for the teachers to have great freedom in what content they chose. The avoidance of a *chronological* approach could be explained because C2005 was a reaction against the apartheid-era use of superficial content-heavy approaches, which relied on rote drilling pedagogies (Nykiel-Herbert, 2004:251). The change in CAPS to an *episodic* approach is reflective, at least in part, of the influence of the “turning points” approach from the SChP on South African history educationalists.

It is interesting, however, that neither South African curricula make use of a *chronological* organising principle, compared to the English curricula where its use is quite prominent. The kind of academic identity that the English curricula hope to produce therefore has a strong emphasis on understanding chronology. C2005 is more concerned with tracing key themes, while CAPS see understanding key turning points as the most important element.

Content: Focus and region

In relation to content, the English curricula both showed a clear focus on *political* and *national* content. There was a slight increase in *political*

content from NC1991 (51%) to NC2014 (60%) and a slight decrease in *national* content from NC1991 (84%) to NC2014 (78.2%). *Socio-cultural* was the second most visible element of the content focus. This aspect also decreased slightly from NC1991 (47.5%) to NC2014 (40%). In both curricula, the *economic* focus had the lowest incidence (16.3% in NC1991 and 12.7% in NC2014). *Local* history increased from NC1991 (1.3%) to NC2014 (7.3%). In NC1991, *continental* history made up 35%, which was by far the most across all four curricula. In NC2014, this had decreased to 14.5%. Inversely, *global* content increased from NC1991 (17.5%) to NC2014 (25.5%). The incidence of non-coded items in both English curricula remained relatively low. Overall, the regional focus of the content in both curricula was dominated by *national* content. While there was a significant emphasis on *socio-cultural* material, the *political* content was more evident.

As with the pressure for a *chronological* organising principle, there was a pressure on both NC1991 and NC2014 reforms for a *national political* focus in the telling of the narrative of the formation of the nation state (Baker, 1993:167-168). Thatcher was “appalled” in particular at the lack of focus on British history in the History Working Group’s proposed history curriculum, which is perhaps part of the reason that the final curriculum has a higher level of *national political* history (Cannadine, Keating & Sheldon, 2011:194) Similarly, Gove’s revision of the national curriculum was prompted in part by the concern that there was a lack of knowledge about *national* history (Fordham, 2012). The ongoing tensions about the purpose of history education within England can thus be seen in the dynamics within the content selection.

Both South African curricula show a substantially lower percentage of *national* history compared to the two English curricula (C2005 – 43% and CAPS – 43.5%). It is interesting that there had not been much shift between the two South African curricula in relation to the percentage of content related to *national* history. However, whereas C2005 had 33% of its content coded as *local*, only 0.4% of the CAPS content could be coded as *local*. It is likely that the focus on *local* content within C2005 was aimed at preventing authoritarian, top-down approaches, in direct contrast to the approach of Christian National Education during apartheid (Nykiel-Herbert, 2004:258). On the other hand, C2005 had only 23.6% *global* content, whereas CAPS had 50.4%, by far the highest of all four curricula. There has therefore been a major shift from a significant focus on *local* history in C2005 to a much

more *global* focus in CAPS. Both curricula had a relatively low incidence of *continental* content (C2005 – 16.6% and CAPS – 15.7%). South Africa is therefore not clearly positioned as an African nation in either curriculum. Compared to the English curricula, both South African curricula have a much lower incidence of *national* content.

There was a relatively low incidence of *political* content within C2005 (11%) compared to CAPS (54.3%). Given the fractured nature of South African society after the end of apartheid, it is interesting that the curriculum reform did not create a strong narrative of the building of the nation state. There was a moderate increase in *socio-cultural* content, from 18.5% in C2005 to 28.2% in CAPS. The level of *economic* content remained consistent at 22.4% in C2005 to 24.3% in CAPS. However, given the high incidence of *non-coded* items in C2005, *economic* was the highest of all the content focuses. There has therefore been a shift in academic identity in relation to content, from a prizing of *economic* and *socio-cultural* interpretations of *local* history in the context of *national* history, to a greater focus on *political* history of the nation within a *global* context.

It is interesting that none of the curriculum documents’ dominant regional scope corresponds to the regional focus as seen in Image 12:

Image 12: Comparison of regional scope and regional focus across the four curriculum documents

	Regional Scope	Regional Focus
NC1991	even <i>national</i> (9.1%), <i>continental</i> (9.1%) and <i>global</i> (9.1%)	<i>national</i> (84%)
NC2014	<i>global</i> (40%)	<i>national</i> (78.2%)
C2005	even <i>local</i> (21.7%) and <i>national</i> (21.7%)	<i>national</i> (43%)
CAPS	<i>national</i> (5.7%)	<i>global</i> (50.4%)

Source: Designed by author.

This suggests that there are some tensions in the way in which the curriculum documents would want to imagine the regional identity of the history learner. The expressed aims of the Regional Scope within the *purpose statements* and the regional focus within the substantive content prescribed are in some cases (such as NC1991) completely undermined by the actual content prescribed.

Key competency

In relation to key competency, NC1991 has by far the highest visibility of *analysing* (81.3%). By comparison, NC2014 has only moderate visibility of *analysing* (40%). There was an increase in *memorising* from 12.5% in NC1991 to 30% in NC2014, which therefore constitutes a shift from weak to moderate visibility. There was also an increase in the visibility of *connecting* from 25% in NC1991 to 40% in NC2014. Although *connecting* remained moderately visible in both curricula, the increase of 15% of *purpose statements* related to *connecting* is significant. The main shifts with the imagined academic identity are therefore from a strong focus on *analysing* in NC1991 to a more balanced view of all three key competencies within NC2014.

The strong focus on *analysing* within NC1991 is perhaps reflective of the tension between the History Working Group and the more *traditional* pressures refusing to have content knowledge as the goal of the attainment targets, and instead insisting upon defining “principles of assessment” based around “conceptual development” (Guyver, 2012:166). These “principles” embody many of the key competencies of *analysing*, as they reflect skills in constructing and engaging with historical accounts. The fact that NC2014 has a more varied view of key competency is perhaps reflective of the increasing influences of concerns about citizenship and making the curriculum relevant to the problems facing modern society,⁵ and the ongoing pressure of more *traditional* views of history education, which favour *memorising* a *national chronological* story.

Memorising remained mostly invisible within both C2005 (7.6%) and CAPS (5.7%). The low level of *memorising* is probably in part a reaction against the apartheid-style rote learning of content. It is interesting that the CAPS document does still include an indication that “memory skills remain important”, but that this is given within the context of not driving a wedge between understanding content and developing historical skills and aims (CAPS:11). By contrast, *analysing* increased from moderately visible in C2005 (34.4%) to highly visible in CAPS (56.6%). This is in part since CAPS is much more clearly specified as a history curriculum and foregrounds historical thinking. The increased role of *analysing* is perhaps also indicative of the influence of the English curriculum reforms on the CAPS curriculum writers. There was also a shift from *connecting* being the

⁵ Particularly after the Crick Report (1998) and Ajegbo Report (2007) on issues of citizenship.

primary key competency within C2005 (53.6%) to being only moderately visible within CAPS (43.4%). The key competency has therefore shifted across the South African curriculum reforms from *connecting* in C2005 to *analysing* in CAPS.

NC1991 is thus the curriculum where *analysing* is seen as by far the most important. The other three curricula see it as important, but not to the same degree. *Connecting* has remained an important key competency in the South African curricula, whereas the role of this key competency has increased in significance across the English curriculum reforms.

Academic identities in relation to civic identities

The elements of the results related to academic identity also provide elucidation on the ways in which the instructional discourse is embedded within the regulative discourse. For NC1991, there are tensions between attempts to produce a history student who has a strong chronological understanding of the political narrative of the nation, and a student who also understands what life was like for ordinary citizens. The focus on a key competency of *analysing* within this curriculum shows a privileging of critical thinking over memorising.

In relation to content, the instructional discourse within NC2014 has not changed much from NC1991. There is still a focus on a *chronological* or *episodic* approach to a *national political* history. The major shift within the key competencies has been towards *connecting*. This shows an increased focus on the ways in which history can shape students' experience of the current world.

Unlike the English national curricula, where there are limited shifts within the instructional and regulative discourses, the differences between the two South African curricula represent a major shift. Whereas C2005 takes a *thematic* approach to primarily *socio-cultural* and *economic* content, CAPS focuses on an *episodic* approach to *political* content. While both curricula have a strong *national* element, it was far less so than in the English curricula. CAPS also focuses more on *global* than *national*. There was also a shift from primarily *connecting* key competency in C2005 to an increase in the visibility of *analysing* in CAPS. The regulative discourses shaping these instructional discourses are therefore showing a shift from a citizen connected to their local issues in the context of the nation, in C2005, to a critical thinking citizen aware of global trends, in CAPS

Relating the CAPS findings to the Ministerial Task Team Report

The Ministerial Task Team Report's recommendations are based on its analysis of the CAPS document. It is well beyond the scope of this paper to do an in-depth analysis of the Report. However, some key themes regarding the kinds of academic and civic identities that the Report sees in CAPS can be compared to the findings discussed above. The Report discusses CAPS from Grades 4-12, whereas my analysis was just on Grades 7-9. It would be interesting to extend the study to cover Grades 4-6 and 10-12. Despite this, it is instructive to consider the ways in which the characterisation of CAPS within the Report is accurate based on the above findings.

The Report argues that the “chronological sequencing is poor” and that “history is taught in ‘bubbles’” (HMTT, 2018:80). This corresponds to the finding that CAPS is *episodic* in its organising principle. The Report also observes that the broad chronological breakdown of topics does, however, also mean that topics of earlier African history are covered in primary school before learners are able to engage with them at a sophisticated level (HMTT, 2018:41).

One of the key recommendations of the Ministerial Task Team report was that the CAPS curriculum needed to be strengthened regarding an African focus as “the content is still sanitised in terms of teaching African History” (HMTT, 2018:7). This corresponds to the findings that there was more *global* content than *national* and a very low incidence of *continental*. The Report does therefore seem to be justified in seeking to strengthen the African and South African content within CAPS and to work towards producing learners who work with “conflicting history on a continental, national or personal level” (HMTT, 2018:41). The Report's discussion does not deal directly with the issue of the balance of *political*, *socio-cultural* and *economic* content. However, it does argue that learners need to know “many layers” (HMTT, 2018:40). Two examples where the report seeks to extend the content focus of CAPS is in adding more gender balance and in including a “religious perspective” on some topics (HMTT, 2018:40; 79). Overall, the Report's characterisation of CAPS does seem to concur with the findings above.

In terms of key competencies, the Report argues that CAPS has “just content for content's sake” (HMTT, 2018:40), suggesting that it encourages a memorisation approach. This is a major point of disagreement between the findings and the Report. CAPS in fact emphasises both analysing and

connecting the content learned to the current day issues in South Africa. According to the Report the goal of history should be:

...to produce a critically skilled citizen who is capable of handling multiple kinds of perspectives and who is able to recognise his or her individual intellectual role in adjudicating knowledge (HMTT, 2018:40-41).

As CAPS does promote the disciplinary thinking involved in “adjudicating knowledge”, this should be considered when reworking the curriculum. According to the Report, the “main objective” of history is to “produce a learner who knows the ‘story’ of who we are in its many layers” (HMTT, 2018:40). This call for a “story” echoes the discourse of the importance of telling “our island story” used by Gove and others in the 2014 English curriculum reforms (Gove in Fordham, 2012:242). The Report is not clear about how to avoid the difficulties, faced in the English curriculum reforms, between teaching analytical, disciplinary thinking and knowing a coherent “story”, which the Report does claim it wants to avoid (HMTT, 2018:42).

Conclusion

Through analysing the shifts in the academic identities which emerge in these four curriculum documents, it is possible to trace changing conceptions of the imagined history learner. The analytic framework allowed for a fine-grained analysis and provides a method for evaluating claims about a curriculum, such as those made by the Ministerial Task Team Report about CAPS.

The current debates about the kind of history learner the South African history curriculum should seek to produce need to be considered in view of preceding curriculum reforms both in South Africa and internationally. This presents an opportunity to build on the strengths and to avoid the weaknesses of past curricula.

References

- Baker, K 1993. *The turbulent years: My life in politics*. Faber & Faber: London.
- Bernstein, B 2000. *The pedagogic device, pedagogy, symbolic control and identity*. Taylor and Francis: London.
- Bernstein, B 1990. The social construction of pedagogic discourse. In: B Bernstein (edt.), *Class, codes and control: Volume IV: The structuring of pedagogic discourse*. Routledge: London and New York.

- Bernstein, B 1975. "On the curriculum", *Class, codes and control, Volume 3*. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.
- Bertram, C 2012. Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device as frame to study history curriculum reform in South Africa. *Yesterday and Today*, 7:1.
- Bertram, C 2008. Doing History. *Journal of Education*, 41:155-177.
- Cannadine, D, Keating, J & Sheldon, N 2011. *The right kind of History: Teaching the past in twentieth-century England*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.
- Counsell, C 2014. On being guardians of an 's': who will polish and protect the curriculum jewel of interpretation(s) plural?. *Schools History Project 26th Annual Conference*, 12 July 2014.
- Department for Education 2014. *The National Curriculum in England: Key Stages 3 and 4 Framework Document*. The Stationery Office: London.
- Department of Basic Education 2011. *History Curriculum and Policy Statement: Further Education and Training Phase*. Department of Basic Education: Pretoria.
- Department of Education 1997. *Curriculum 2005: Lifelong learning for the 21st century*. Department of Education: Pretoria.
- Department of Education and Science 1991. *History in the National Curriculum*. HMSO Publications: London.
- Ensor, P 2003. The NQF and higher education in South Africa: Some epistemological issues. *Journal of Education and Work*, 16(3):325-346.
- Fordham, M 2012. Disciplinary History and the situation of History teachers. *Education Sciences*, 2(4):242.
- Guyver, R 2012. The History Working Group and beyond: A case study in the UK's History quarrels. In: T Taylor & R Guyver (eds.), *History wars and the classroom: Global perspectives*. Information Age Publishing: Charlotte.
- History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT) 2018. *Report of the History Ministerial Task Team for the Department of Basic Education*. Department of Basic Education: Pretoria.
- Hoadley, U 2011. Knowledge, knowers and knowing: Curriculum reform in South Africa. In: L Yates and M Grumet (eds.). *Curriculum in today's world: Configuring knowledge, identities, work and politics*. Routledge: London.

- Kukard, K 2015. Content choice: A survey of history curriculum content in England since 1944. A relevant backdrop for South Africa. *Yesterday and Today*, 13:17.
- Ministry of Education 1997. *Government Gazette*, 18051st edn. Ministry of Education: Pretoria.
- Nykiel-Herbert, B 2004. Mis-constructing knowledge: The case of learner-centred pedagogy in South Africa. *Prospects*, 34(3):249-265.
- Schools Council History 13-16, Project 1976. *What is history? Teachers' guide*. Edinburgh: Holmes-McDougall: Edinburgh.
- Singh, P 2002. Pedagogising knowledge: Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23(4):571-582.
- Thatcher, M 2013. *Margaret Thatcher: The Autobiography*. Harper Press: London.
- Thompson, A 2014. *SEXUAL TENSION: The imagined learner projected through the recontextualising of sexual knowledge into pedagogic communication in two curricula in South Africa and Ontario, Canada*. Master's edn, University of Cape Town: Cape Town.
- Vasagar, J 2011. 24 November 2011-last update, *Michael Gove accuses exam system of neglecting British history* [Homepage of *The Guardian*]. Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2011/nov/24/michael-gove-british-history-neglected>. Accessed on 6 March 2017.
- Witz, L and Hamilton, C 1991. Reaping the whirlwind: The Reader's Digest illustrated History of South Africa and changing popular perceptions of History. *South African Historical Journal*, 24(1):185-202.

Book Review

Ramaphosa's turn: Can Cyril save South Africa?

(Tafelberg, 2018. ISBN:0624085554)

Ralph Mathekga

Paballo Moerane
University of Kwa Zulu-Natal
moeranep@ukzn.ac.za

The book themed and titled *Ramaphosa's turn: Can Cyril save South Africa?* Is a necessary book as the “new dawn” has dawned upon us and many South Africans are desperate for a corruption free and economically healthy country after the Zuma era. The introduction intrigues the reader with critical questions such as “why should a billionaire businessman want to be president of a volatile society with such deep inequalities as ours?” herein, is the genesis of understanding how Ramaphosa “won the presidency, but lost the power play” (p. 16.), and how he will manoeuvre his saving of the country as many desperately need him to. The introduction further lays down the thorns that could make his reign difficult, example, an ideologically divided African National Congress (ANC).

The book begins with a chapter aptly titled, The Battle of Nasrec. This looks into the battle of the soul of the ANC. Zuma's involvement in grand corruption (What has come to be known as State Capture) resulted in the country's cry of him stepping down and some in the ANC made this call. Nasrec was Zuma's fight back through Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and to say they did not have numbers would be a blunt lie. This chapter beautifully captures how Zuma fought back and said anti-Zuma campaigns are from White monopoly capital (WMC), and thus, it was imperative for the party to fight for Radical Economic Transformation (RET). The author makes an interesting triangulation of the Zuma-camp; anti-Zuma camp and the so-called premier league which outsmarted both factions. It teaches us that beyond factions, there are powerful and focused interest groups with parasitic characteristics within the party (these are clearly described throughout the book). When Ramaphosa realised that his camp did not have sufficient power to take him all the way to victory (p. 29), we learn of the *Tiki Taka* nature of the premier league which assisted Ramaphosa in winning the presidential vote. Perhaps this is the first phase of knowing the real Cyril Ramaphosa. The negotiator and the trade unionist, how far was

Cyril willing to go for his presidency?

The author reminds us that Ramaphosa is a complex leader. In our quest to understand why a billionaire wants to lead a fragmented nation, the United Democratic Front (UDF), Unionism, his work on the National Development Plan (NDP) and his negotiation skills that produced the constitution of 1996 are tools detailed to give a glimpse of the nature of our leader. “He has demonstrated that he could improvise and adapt to different contexts and the demands of different institutions” (p. 45). His improvisation and adaptability are shown when he breaks a ‘deal’ with the not so credible premier league. How the premier league needs Ramaphosa to cleanse themselves is detailed in chapter 5, however what the book still needs to answer is “What is in it for Ramaphosa”? Chapter 2 answers this question in not so many words “Ramaphosa’s key agenda is not clear”.

Chapter Three poignantly reminds us that we are a fragmented nation. Yes, the ANC has been battling to position itself as more than a liberation movement (p. 45); it has battled to assert itself as a party capable of managing a complex society (p. 62); there has been shortfalls of the democratic system and Zuma years have left the country and its institutions battered and bruised. Herein, the author reminds us that even with no clear agenda or the quandary of whether to please the ANC or the broader society, South Africa urgently needs remedies in a form of innovative policies for challenges such as inequality, poverty and unemployment. Ramaphosa and the ANC are cautioned of their inward approach and are soundly advised on an outward approach for the benefit of the broader society. Ramaphosa has confidently stated that he aims and hopes to implement the NDP, which could result in a fragmented relationship with the alliance partners due to its Neo-liberal nature. The book outlines the “critical but stable” relationship Ramaphosa has with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The deep policy differences between Ramaphosa and the alliance partners prove that their relationship was found on getting rid of Zuma. With Zuma gone, they all need to discuss the basic conditions of the “new dawn” (p. 70) otherwise the limping alliance will prove to be a headache for Cyril.

In order to “save” South Africa, the book shows that Ramaphosa needs friends, important questions arise, who are Ramaphosa’s friends? Is he indebted to the premier league? Will he forge his own agenda? This chapter lays down Ramaphosa’s strange conglomeration with interest groups (p. 77)

which does not give him absolute power. He, to date, as both ANC and president of the country continues to navigate uncertainty between the competing agendas and interests of the people who surround him within the ANC. Can Cyril win 2019 elections? Was a necessary question as his campaign had more traction outside the ANC than inside? South Africa was desperate for recovery as the past decade was infested with corruption and lethargy within government. This chapter reminds us that the level of degeneration needed the ANC to ask for forgiveness from South Africans (p. 114). For the first time since democratic South Africa the ANC was uncertain of a majority win, the 2016 local government elections were humbling for the gigantic movement and thus, realised they needed Ramaphosa's "cleanliness". Even if the ANC won elections, this chapter argues that they do not need a strong majority as this will not give them room to self-correct and for Ramaphosa's agenda to thrive (p. 112). The 57.5% win (the lowest since 1994) is clear that the ANC needs cleansing and repositioning as the book predicted. Indeed, Gauteng was interesting to watch as the book suggests, the party hanged on a thread. Ramaphosa had to rekindle this relationship (the middle class) which saw the party make it with a mere 50.19%.

The book, in the rural voter game chapter prompts the reader to engage in scholarly rural studies. A significant part of the population in South Africa exists as rural and urban communities, therefore, rural voters want the same returns as urban voters. The rural areas have been neglected for too long, and even though ANC may have strong majority in these areas, they risk losing the ground if they do not fix themselves. The notion that "rural communities are isolated, lack meaningful contact with the dynamic economic and social world experienced in urban areas" (p. 122) is diminishing as rural communities have access to mass media and are able to consume near similar-information. Ramaphosa's demeanour appeals to the private sector and the middle class (clever blacks). He needs to also appeal to the needs of rural communities as they are also able to define their own struggles. It is imperative for Ramaphosa to craft policies that speak to the economics of the rural communities (p. 122).

Theorising Kwa Zulu-Natal (KZN) as a "headache" for Ramaphosa, which was proven to be true pre and post elections was intellectually argued. The author outlines the multi-layered complexities of factionalism and ethnicity in the province. The book was published before the 2019 general elections, it is interesting to see the thoughts prior to the elections. For example, the author predicts a decline of KZN voters which came to

live as ANC moved from 65.31% in 2014 to 54.22% in 2019. This chapter posits that Zuma still (to date) enjoys support in the province and it is no secret that ANC KZN was not happy with his axing and Nasrec loss. I am reminded of a factional popular song *Wenzi uZuma, wena ulawulwa ipropaganda* (what did Zuma do, you are led by propaganda). Interestingly, Zuma left office asking “What did I do?” The lukewarm response by Ramaphosa has not provided a solid stance on Zuma’s corruption and therefore state capture. This is clearly outlined in chapter 10, knitting the increasing complexities of state capture which reveals the involvement of both the public and the private sector. While others have called for the enquiry to be widened to colonial and apartheid era, others have called for it to just focus on the Guptas. The chapter concludes, that however way the enquiry deals with the interrogation private sector should not be left out.

The chronology and synchronised nature of the book at this point (Chapters 11 and 12) provides the reader with a platform to interweave Ramaphosa’s worldviews and the private sector. Using Ramaphosa’s promises to the international community about Zuma’s exit, the author hypothesises that Ramaphosa is an internationalist and a private sector darling. He argues that ever since his ANC presidency and that of the country, he has been on a mission to draw SouthAfrica closer to the international community, especially when it comes to the economic policy. Ramaphosa’s close associations to multinational companies (McDonald and Lonmin) makes him an ally to the west, posing a threat to the BRICS project and consequently the RET agenda. Ramaphosa needs a clear criteria for advances with other powers (p. 160) and must justify why his worldview is in the interest of South Africa. Chapter 12 reminds us of the elephant in the room being the private sector. The call for this sector to transform dates back to Mandela era and they felt punished by the Zuma’s reign.

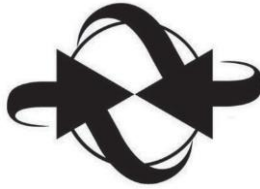
Leading to Nasrec and general elections, the private sector preferred Ramaphosa and has thus, found difficulty in making both the ANC as per Conference resolutions and the private sector happy. For example, the call for expropriation of land without compensation makes the ANC happy, however a disclaimer of making sure that this does not destabilise food security and the economy gives Ramaphosa and the private sector time to stall the process. To date, the president has not according to this demonstrated that he controls the RET narrative. Drawing developments from the state capture enquiry, the author concludes arguing that the private sector needs to play a better role in democratic South Africa and should

not be left to self-regulate. Ramaphosa is again warned that he needs to set out the conditions of his relationship with the private sector or what RET forces would call “White Monopoly Capital”.

The author seeks to conclude the book by drawing the reader into the soul battle of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), we are reminded that these enterprises (Eskom, SAA, PRASA, Post Office) are embroiled in corruption, financial mismanagement and shadows of government failures. The author shows how political and business elites have brought these enterprises to a state of dysfunctionality and thus, the dominant narrative emanating from the private sector for the privatisation of SOEs. Ramaphosa has made it his mission to clean and bring integrity back into SOEs. Interestingly, taps into the apartheid regime and shows that SOEs have the potential of being fully functional and of service to society as the apartheid government was able to use them to tackle unemployment and poverty amongst those it served.

This book is certainly a valuable and useful source on understanding the dynamics and complexities within the ANC and the broader society. It is well written and provides insights on who and what Ramaphosa stands for. The contents of the book give nexuses on state capture, private sector, the voting game, who surrounds the president etc. The style, language and approach of the book are of a high quality, particularly with regards to the challenging subjects of Ramaphosa and the tripartite alliance, the private sector and the SOE dilemma, and the author thus, should be applauded. The book is thought provoking and bone pinching, it provides an intellectual discourse on various topical political issues.

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



SASHT Constitution

The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT)

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

1. CONSTITUTION

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

1.1.1 the precise terms of any proposed alteration shall be set out in a notice prior to convening the meeting and/or Circulated to members via electronic medium at least a month before the meeting;

1.1.22 the purpose and objects of the Society shall not be altered without the consent of 66% of the members (via electronic medium and formally communicated/confirmed at the AGM that follows the approved/disapproved alteration.

2. OBJECTIVES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. MEMBERSHIP

3.1 Membership shall consist of three types:

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

3.1.2 Group membership (schools, academic institutions, private organisations & publishers): Will pay an annual membership fee determined by the Executive Committee on a yearly basis which will include a membership provision of more than one individual. These members will be eligible to vote but not all be eligible to serve on the committees. Electronic correspondence will be received as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected *Yesterday&Today* Journal obtained.

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

The individual members outside the borders of South Africa will be eligible to vote but not serve on the Executive Committee (these members could serve on other commit-

tees as occasionally identified, as well as on the *Yesterday&Today* editorial board) and will receive electronic correspondence as well as a copy (twice annually) of the SASHT-connected Journal, *Yesterday&Today*.

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

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

3.2.2 is approved by the Executive Committee as a member.

3.3 Any member may resign by notice to the chairperson, the vice chairperson or the secretariat/treasurer.

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

4. MANAGEMENT

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

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

4.2 An election of new Executive Committee members for the SASHT Executive during every third Annual General SASHT meeting should be conducted by one of the SASHT members or an executive member who has been nominated to undertake the task (and not the current chairperson or vice chairperson).

4.3 A process of nomination and election becomes necessary if Executive Committee members have served a three-year term. Both new nominees and retiring committee members are eligible for re-nominating in a re-election. Electing the new SASHT Executive of 10 members through Internet will be conducted at least two weeks prior to an annual SASHT conference. The secretariat manages the term of office of the SASHT Executive, sends out notifications to retiring/re-election status members and invites new nominations, to be done formally and on a standard SASHT nomination form.

4.4 Only fully paid-up members of the SASHT (and preferably only one member per institution in the Society having served in the Society for at least one year) are eligible for election as Executive Committee members. A nominator of a nominee and the seconder (inclusive of the nominee) must all be paid-up members of the SASHT.

The newly elected SASHT Executive from the nominations received will be formally revealed during an annual AGM meeting of the SASHT.

From the ten nominees, fully elected by secret vote and accepted, the positions of chairperson and vice chairperson should be voted for by the newly elected SASHT Executive Committee. This voting process will normally be done after the AGM meeting in the year of election.

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

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

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

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

5. MEETINGS

5.1 Executive Committee Meetings

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

5.1.2 SASHT Executive Committee meetings will take place BEFORE an annual SASHT conference and AFTER the conference.

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

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

5.2 General Meetings

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

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

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

5.4 The following procedures shall apply to all general meetings:

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

5.4.2 Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

5.5 Finances

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. RIGHT TO VOTE

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

7. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Any amendment to this Constitution shall only be effected by a two-thirds majority decision at a general meeting or via proper E-mail communication prior to a general meeting; or a special general meeting, and further provided that seven days' prior notice was given of the proposed amendment.

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

8. DISSOLUTION

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

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

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

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

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

9. MISCELLANEOUS

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

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

Editorial policy

1. Y&T is a scholarly, peer-reviewed journal (accredited since the beginning of 2012).
2. The Y&T journal is a journal for research in especially the fields of History teaching and History discipline research to improve not only the teaching, but also the knowledge dissemination of History, History of Education and History in Education. The Journal is currently editorially managed by the University of Pretoria and published under the auspices of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT).
3. Contributions may be either in the humanities (historically based theoretical discourses), or from education (best practice workshops, or focused content research with a fundamental theoretical basis reflecting History or other histories). Articles, in which interdisciplinary collaborations between the humanities and education are explored, are also welcome.
4. Regional content mostly considers quantitative and qualitative research in Southern Africa, but international contributions, that apply to History teaching and research in general, are equally welcome.
5. Authors may submit individual contributions or contributions created in teams.
6. All manuscripts are subjected to a double-blinded review process.
7. The language of the journal is English. However, abstracts may be in any of the 11 official languages of South Africa.
8. Contributions must be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 250 words.
9. The titles of articles should preferably not exceed 20 words.
10. The names of authors and their full institutional affiliations/addresses must accompany all contributions. Authors also have to enclose their telephone and E-mail and postal addresses and orchid numbers.
11. The Harvard or the Footnote methods of reference may be used (see the last pages of the journal for the reference guidelines for more detail on the Harvard and Footnote reference methods). The authors' choice of which reference method will be respected by the editorial management. References must be clear, lucid and comprehensible for a general academic audience of readers. Once an author has made a choice of reference method, the Y&T guidelines for either the Harvard reference method or the Footnote reference method must be scrupulously followed. The guidelines for referencing according to the Harvard method are provided on the

last pages of the journal. The most recent Yesterday&Today journal articles could also serve as guideline.

12. Editorial material with images (illustrations, photographs, tables and graphs) is permissible. The images should, however, be of a high-density quality (high resolution, minimum of 200dpi). The source references should also be included. Large files should be posted in separate E-mail attachments, and appropriately numbered in sequence.
13. Articles should be submitted to the editor (Professor Johan Wassermann) electronically at: Johan.wassermann@up.ac.za Notification of the receipt of the documents will be done within 72 hours.
14. The text format must be in 12pt font, Times New Roman and in 1.5 spacing. The text should be in Microsoft Word format.
15. The length of articles should preferably not exceed 8 000 words.
16. Articles which have been published previously, or which are under consideration for publication elsewhere, may not be submitted to the Yesterday&Today journal. Copies of the Journal is also electronically available on the SASHT website at www.sashtw.org.za and on the Scielo platform at www.scielo.org.za
17. For scientific research articles, page fees of R220.00 per page (for 10 pages R2 200) will be charged from the South African author's university. However, in the end it remains the responsibility of the author to ensure that these fees are paid.
18. The journal utilizes the Portico digital preservation system in order to create permanent archives of the journal for purpose of preservation and restoration.
19. Yesterday&Today is an Open Access journal which means that all content is freely available without charge to the user or his/her institution. Users are allowed to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of the articles, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without asking prior permission from the publisher or the author. This is in accordance with the Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) definition of Open Access.
20. The journal has a registered deposit policy with SHERPA RoMEO. This policy indicates to institutions whether they are allowed to upload a duplicate copy of an article by an author affiliated with the home institution, into their institutional repository (Green Open Access). The following link to SHERPA RoMEO can be followed: <http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo/issn/0038-2353/>.
21. Copyright and License terms remains with the authors/s of the article/s. All articles published Yesterday&Today can be re-used under the following CC licence: CC BY-SA Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

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: ONLY provide the following:** Title, Campus & University full address, e-mail address, orchid number.
Title: 10pt, regular font; Campus & University: 10pt, italics; and E-mail address: 10pt, regular font. (Consult previous articles published in the Y&T journal as an example or as a practical guideline).
Example: Pieter van Rensburg, *Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University*, p.vanrensburg@gmail.com.
4. **Abstract:** The abstract should be placed on the first page (where the title heading and author's particulars appear). The prescribed length is between a half and three quarters of a page.
The abstract body: Regular font, 10pt.
The heading of the *Abstract*: Bold, italics, 12pt.
5. **Keywords:** The keywords should be placed on the first page below the abstract.
The word 'Keywords': 10pt, bold, underline.
Each keyword must start with a capital letter and end with a semi-colon (;).
Example: Meters; People; etc. (A minimum of six key words is required).
6. **Heading of article:** 14pt, bold.
7. **Main headings in article:** 'Introduction' – 12pt, bold.
8. **Sub-headings in article:** '*History research*' – 12pt, bold, italics.
9. **Third level sub-headings:** 'History research': – 11pt, bold, underline.
10. **Footnotes:** 8pt, regular font; BUT note that the footnote numbers in the article text should be 12pt.
The initials in a person's name (in footnote text) should be without any full stops. Example: LC du Plessis and NOT L.C. du Plessis.
11. **Body text:** Names without punctuation in the text. Example: "HL le Roux said" and NOT "H.L. le Roux said".

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

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

13. **Any lists** in the body text should be 11pt, and in bullet format.
14. **Quotes from sources in the body text** must be used sparingly. If used, it must be indented and in italics (10pt). Quotes less than one line in a paragraph can be incorporated as part of a paragraph, but within inverted commas; and **NOT** in italics. Example: An owner close to the town stated that: “the pollution history of the river is a muddy business”.
15. Quotes (**as part of the body text**) must be in double inverted commas: “...and she” and *NOT* ‘...and she’.
16. **Images: Illustrations, pictures, photographs and figures:** Submit all pictures for an article in jpeg, tiff or pdf format in a separate folder, and indicate where the pictures should be placed in the manuscript’s body text. All visuals are referred to as Images.

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

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

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

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

17. Punctuation marks should be placed in front of the **footnote numbers** in the text. Example: the end.¹ **NOT** ...the end¹.
18. **Single and left spacing** between the sentences in the footnote.
19. **Dates:** All dates in footnotes should be written out in full. Example: **23 December 2010; NOT 23/12/2010 [For additional guidelines see the Yesterday & Today Reference guidelines].**
20. Language setting in Microsoft Word as **English (South Africa); do this before starting with the word processing of the article.** Go to ‘Review’, ‘Set Language’ and select ‘English (South Africa)’.

The footnote or Harvard reference methods – some guidelines

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

The footnote reference method

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

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

The titles of books, articles, chapters, theses, dissertations and papers/manuscripts should NOT be capitalised at random. Only the names of people and places (and in some instances specific historic events) are capitalised. For example:

P Erasmus, “The ‘lost’ South African tribe – rebirth of the Koranna in the Free State”, *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77;

NOT

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

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

Examples of an article in a journal

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

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

Example of a shortened version of an article in a journal

From:

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

To:

P Erasmus, “The ‘lost’ South African tribe...”, *New Contree*, 50, November 2005, p. 77.

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

Examples of a reference from a book

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

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

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

Example of a shortened version of a reference from a book

From:

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

To:

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

Example of a reference from a chapter in a book

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

Shortened version:

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

Example of a reference from an unpublished dissertation/thesis

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

Examples of a reference from a newspaper

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

or

Zululand Times, 19 July 1923.

Archival references:

• Interview(s)

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

• Example of interview reference

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

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

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

• Example of an Electronic Mail - document or letter

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

• National archives (or any other archive)

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

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

A source accessed on the Internet

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

A source from conference proceedings

First reference to the source:

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

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

Shortened version:

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

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

GENERAL:

Illustrations

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

Authors, PLEASE obtain copyright and reproduction rights on photographs and other illustrations.

Copyright on all material in *Yesterday&Today* rests within the Editorial Advisory Committee of *Yesterday&Today*.

The Harvard reference method

References in the text

References are cited in the text by the author'(s) surname(s) and the year of publication in brackets, separated by a comma: e.g. (Weedon, 1977:13).

If several articles by the same author and from the same year are cited, the letters a, b, c, etc. should be added after the year of publication: e.g. (Fardon, 2007a:23).

Page references in the text should follow a colon after the date: e.g. (Bazalgette, 1992:209-214).

In works by three or more authors the surnames of all authors should be given in the first reference to such a work. In subsequent references to this work, only the name of the first author is given, followed by the abbreviation *et al.*: e.g. (Ottaro *et al.*, 2005:34).

If reference is made to an anonymous item in a newspaper, the name of the newspaper is given in brackets: e.g. (The Citizen, 2010).

For personal communications (oral or written) identify the person and indicate in brackets that it is a personal communication: e.g. (B Brown, pers. comm.).

Ensure that dates, spelling and titles used in the text are accurate and consistent with those listed in the references.

List all references chronologically and then alphabetically: e.g. (Scott 2003; Muller 2006; Meyer 2007).

List of references

Only sources cited in the text are listed, in alphabetical order, under References.

Bibliographic information should be in the language of the source document, not in the language of the article.

References should be presented as indicated in the following examples. See the required punctuation.

• Journal articles

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of article, unabbreviated title of journal, volume, issue number in brackets and page numbers: e.g. Shepherd, R 1992. Elementary media education. The perfect curriculum. *English Quarterly*, 25(2):35-38.

• **Books**

Surname(s) and initials of author(s) or editor(s), year of publication, title of book, volume, edition, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Mouton, J 2001. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

• **Chapters in books**

Surname(s) and initials of author(s), year of publication, title of chapter, editor(s), title of book, place of publication and publisher: e.g. Masterman, L 1992. The case of television studies. In: M Alvarado & O Boyd-Barrett (eds.). *Media education: an introduction*. London: British Film Institute.

• **Unpublished theses or dissertations**

Fardon, JVV 2007. Gender in history teaching resources in South African public school. Unpublished DEd thesis. Pretoria: Unisa.

• **Anonymous newspaper references**

Daily Mail 2006. World Teachers' Day, 24 April.

• **Electronic references**

Published under author's name:

Marshall, J 2003. Why Johnny can't teach. Reason, December. Available at <http://www.reason.com/news/show/29399.html>. Accessed on 10 August 2010.

Website references: No author:

These references are not archival, and subject to change in any way and at any time. If it is essential to present them, they should be included in a numbered endnote and not in the reference list.

• **Personal communications**

Normally personal communications should always be recorded and retrievable. It should be cited as follows:

Personal interview, K Kombuis (Journalist-singer)/S van der Merwe (Researcher), 2 October 2010.



SUBSCRIPTION 2019-2020

I HEREBY WISH TO:

1. RENEW SUBSCRIPTION 2. TO SUBSCRIBE AS A SASHT MEMBER

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| SOUTHERN AFRICA | { | - INDIVIDUAL MEMBER R200 <input type="checkbox"/>
- INSTITUTIONS R400 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| RESIDENTS AND INSTITUTIONS | { | - USA \$60 <input type="checkbox"/>
- EUROPE £40 <input type="checkbox"/> |

TITLE: _____

SURNAME: _____

INITIALS: _____

INSTITUTION: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CODE: _____

TEL: (W) () _____

CELL: _____

E-MAIL ADDRESS: _____ FAX: _____

THE AMOUNT INDICATED FOR THE YESTERDAY & TODAY JOURNAL ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, PAYABLE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING, AND CAN BE SEND TO:

ELECTRONIC PAYMENT TO: SASHT ACCOUNT DETAILS: ABSA CENTURION SASHT 678209406	THE SECRETARY TREASURER SASHT: DR KATE ANGIER SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR HISTORY TEACHING THE JOURNAL ADMINISTRATOR: MS LEBO SEROBANE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS PO BOX 1174 VANDERBIJLPARK
---	--

EVIDENCE OF PAYMENT MUST BE SCANNED AND E-MAILED TO: kate.angier@uct.ac.za AND lebo.serobane@nwu.ac.za