

**A study of the central tenets of critical thinking
in history classrooms**

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2015

A study of the central tenets of critical thinking in history classrooms

by

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Philosophiae Doctor

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September 2015

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I thank God for the unprecedented strength, intellectual capacity and intellectual perseverance that He has bestowed upon me to be able to complete this doctoral study.

I extend my special thanks to the following people:

- ❖ Dr Alta Engelbrecht my supervisor, for her untiring and continuous guidance and encouragement throughout the study. Her critical evaluation of sections of this study has shaped it and ensured that it has achieved its objectives. Her commitment, support, open-mindedness and enlightenment have empowered me to grow into a formidable researcher.
- ❖ Professor Neil Roos, my co-supervisor, for encouraging me to study with the University of Pretoria and demonstrating confidence in my intellectual capacity to complete this study. His contribution to the refinement of the chapter on the epistemology of the discipline, has grounded me as a contemporary historian and significantly enriched this study. I am indebted to him for his knowledge of the discipline that he has imparted to me over the years.
- ❖ My wife, Lizzy, for her constant support and encouragement and for having put up with an absent husband during the period of field work. Her sacrifice is highly appreciated.
- ❖ My children, Bontle and Junior, I love you so much and your support has strengthened me to move forward through the intricacies of this study with confidence, knowing that I am supported by the important people in my life.
- ❖ My brothers, Lesiba and Lucky, and my sister Matlakala, for their motivation and encouragement during my course of study.
- ❖ The priests and the church for their support during the struggle to complete this study.
- ❖ The University of Pretoria for awarding me the Post-Graduate Scholarship which has supported me throughout the four years of study.
- ❖ The principals of the four sampled schools where I conducted the research for their humility, openness, tolerance and professionalism.
- ❖ Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the four teachers who were active participants in the research, and who displayed the dispositions of humility, perseverance, integrity, empathy and encouragement. This propelled me forward in the intricate task of empirical data collection.

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Malose Daniel Ramoroka, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree at any other institution of higher learning. Furthermore, all sources used in this study have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature:

Date: 05 October 2015

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ACRONYMS

HOD	Head of Department (at school level)
ANC	African National Congress
NSC	National Senior Certificate
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements
DBE	Department of Basic Education
OBE	Outcomes-Based Education
US	United States
NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
DET	Department of Education and Training
NETF	National Training and Education Forum
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

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ABSTRACT

The study explored the central tenets of critical thinking and historical thinking in the history classroom. This was done by investigating the extent to which the elements of critical thinking and historical thinking are cultivated in South African schools. The study also piloted a dialogical pedagogy which is in line with the knowledge construction, cooperative and active learning advocated by critical theorists and social and cultural constructivists. The purpose of the dialogical approach is to solve the poverty of critical thinking and historical thinking in the classrooms. The thrust of this study is summed up in the main question driving this study, namely: *How do South African teachers respond when exposed to a teaching pedagogy which incorporates an active process of knowledge construction that enhances historical thinking and critical thinking?*

The study was located within the framework of historical thinking as conceptual framework and lens that guided this study. The study used the qualitative research paradigm and Action research design recommended by critical theorists in order to systematically intervene to solve the problem of historical thinking and critical thinking in the classroom. This dialogical approach has been recommended by critical-thinking philosopher, Socrates, and the critical theorist Paulo Freire, as a method designed to liberate learners in the classroom.

It was found in this study that the epistemological beliefs of teachers are mostly based on the outdated scientific perspective of Ranke, and textbooks that are used do not provide suitable primary and secondary sources for teachers to engage in the *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualization* advocated by Wineburg and Seixas. It was also found that some teachers are able to articulate aspects of historical thinking such as empathy, multiple realities and the analysis of primary sources but they cannot reflect these elements in the classroom. It was also established that most learners and teachers in this study responded positively to the change in pedagogical strategy and became active participants in argumentation and reasoning supported by evidence. The positive responses by learners are an indication that South African schools have the potential to inculcate the central tenets of critical thinking and historical thinking.

Key words

Historical thinking, empathy, sourcing, corroboration, contextualization, critical thinking, critical thinking model, critical theory, dialogical method, epistemological knowledge

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING AND CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY ON THE CENTRAL TENETS OF CRITICAL THINKING IN HISTORY CLASSROOMS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I articulate the background, problem statement, purpose of the research and the research questions that direct the study. I elucidate the significance of the study in terms of its contribution to improving the quality of education. I attempt to justify the rationale for undertaking this study and articulate the critical aspects of curriculum development in South Africa. In analysing the detrimental effects of Tyler's rational model that became the foundation for the curriculum in South Africa, I realise that it is critical to provide the background of Bantu Education, its impact on the education of African learners and the resistance to Bantu education, especially the role played by the History Commission within the National Education Crisis Committee. In the course of this chapter I scan the educational landscape by showing the disheartening effect of an examination-driven system that leads to the over-bureaucratisation of the system, and which in turn leads to high failure and dropout rates. Inequality and other social ills are also elaborated upon as constraints affecting the quality of the education system in South Africa. I also outline the transition from apartheid education to the National Curriculum Statement developed by the democratically-elected government. Finally, I articulate the research paradigm and explain the reason for the choice of this epistemological underpinning.

1.2 SETTING THE STAGE

The history of education in South Africa is exemplified by the history of Apartheid education, in which the system was used as a tool to condition, psychologically, a huge section of the South African society to perceive itself as inferior to the white man. Education was used as an instrument to distinguish between those that required "high status knowledge", meaning whites, and those requiring only enough knowledge to be servants, meaning Africans. Tyler's linear model, or what has been termed the "technical approach" by scholars, characterised by intended outcomes or objectives, led to the manipulation of the aims and objectives of the curriculum by a government with the political intention to develop a divided society. Apple (2003) calls them the "power brokers of society" which, in the context of South Africa, meant whites who became economically powerful, and the "powerless", meaning the Africans who remained poor. This objective approach to curriculum development was designed by Tyler in 1949 and has since been the baseline of curriculum development in most countries (Tyler, 1949). This model was associated with the

behaviourist approaches to learning and it was based on the transmission model of teaching and learning because knowledge was considered absolute and needed to be transmitted to the children. This curriculum approach has been critiqued by social and cultural constructivists, postmodernists and poststructuralists who embrace the multiple realities that need to be cultivated in learners, rather than absolute truth. The point is articulated succinctly by critical theorists, as a curriculum that is designed to oppress sections of society. Michael Apple (2003:69), a critical theorist, argues that traditional knowledge and the way the school is organised are all tied in with the economy. Economic stability, it is argued, naturally requires a ruling class and a servant class and the schools help to establish this dichotomy. The schools provide “high status knowledge” for privileged or white learners. This was evident in South Africa. The promulgation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 resulted in African learners being barred from studying Mathematics and Physical Sciences because these subjects were classified as “high status subjects”. This sorting into groups led to the inferior curricula prescribed for Africans, Coloureds and Indians, and resulted in the creation of nineteen (19) Departments of Education along racial lines.

History teaching has been a controversial subject, given the painful past the majority of South Africans have been subjected to. In the 1990s there was more emphasis on taking over the political power by the ruling party and its liberation partners. Negotiation for a political solution and inauguration of the democracy, peace and reconciliation were the priorities of South Africans at that time. Both the Afrikaners and African communities were tired of oppression, cross-border raids and guerrilla wars launched by Mkhonto We Siswe (armed wing of the ANC) (Dryden, 1999). The study of history was not a priority because it reminded South Africans of their painful past. In the conceptualisation of the first curriculum in 1997 called Curriculum 2005, the subject History was integrated into Human and Social Sciences and this was seen as an indication that history was not relevant in the new democratic South Africa (Engelbrecht, 2008). This uncertainty led to the dwindling number of learners enrolling for History and there was a drive towards Mathematics and Physical Sciences, the high status subjects denied to African learners during the apartheid era. After the 1994 election, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was designed to build the nation by bringing the perpetrators and victims of apartheid together in order to start the process of healing the nation. Under those circumstances History teachers were uncertain about the future and the place of History in the curriculum (Engelbrecht, 2008; Dryden, 1999).

When the National Curriculum Statement was implemented in Grade 10 in 2006, History was included in the curriculum but by then the enthusiasm of History teachers had already been diminished and some of them opted to teach Life Orientation (a new subject designed to instil the values of the constitution in learners) (Black, 2014).

When the content of History was finally stipulated under the interim syllabus in the 1990s, the history of the struggle was given centre stage and Afrikaner history and perspective was placed at the periphery. Most African teachers who had been forced to teach Afrikaner content were inspired by the stories of the struggle such as the Soweto uprisings, the Sharpeville Massacre and the Rivonia Trial and were determined to tell this story about the struggle. This compromised the teaching of historical thinking in the process and is the reason why the curriculum is loaded with extensive content (Eeden, 1999). There was a drive by the ruling party to ensure that South African learners acquired knowledge about the struggle and about Nelson Mandela. The pedagogical approach took the form of the transmission of the stories of the struggle of the African people and the teaching of empathy was compromised (Siebörger, 2005; Kallaway, 1993). As indicated by Kallaway, not all teachers followed the apartheid syllabus rigidly but individual teachers broke the law and taught African History, historical skills and critical thinking, even though they were not prescribed by the apartheid education syllabus. However, Kallaway (1993) admits that this was mostly prevalent in white schools and could not take place in black schools because the teaching which sought to enlighten learners was undermining the agenda of the apartheid state which wanted to use education, and history in particular, to indoctrinate the African people regarding the superiority of the Afrikaner community, the master race.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

For many years critical thinking has been perceived as an important educational aim and is currently viewed as a critical aim within educational standards across many countries in the world. There is general consensus among scholars that people who think critically have a greater propensity to enhance important democratic ideals (Hale, 2008; Hare, 1998; Paul, 1995). The goals of teaching History such as empathy, historical significance and cognitive analysis of sources are adequate to achieving the educational objectives designed to promote critical thinking (Bain, 2009).

The technical approach to teaching and learning, reinforced by the empirical and technicist curriculum approach, has resulted in teaching and assessment being rooted in rote learning, regurgitation of memorised facts and the transmission of so-called perfect ideas to learners. The examination is used as a reliable measurement tool to identify those who are intelligent and those who are not. This narrow paradigmatic confusion about examination as a reliable measurement of the skills and knowledge that have been attained by learners, is fundamentally flawed and it is the consequence of a system dominated by technical control of the curriculum (Fischman, et al., 2005). According to Kohn (in Fischman, et al., 2005:214), high-stakes testing has radically altered the kind of instruction that is offered in schools, to the point that “teaching to the test” has become a prominent part of the nation’s education landscape.

Teachers often feel obliged to set aside other subjects for days, weeks, or even months at a time in order to devote time to boosting students' test scores. Indeed, both the content and format of instruction are affected; the test essentially becomes the curriculum (Kohn, in Fischman, et al., 2005). The examination and content-based approach to the teaching of subjects, and History in particular, has led to the regurgitation of memorised facts. The transmission model was been castigated by social constructivists and History education experts who believe that knowledge is actively constructed within the community of learning and enquiry (Tharp & Gallimore, 1993; Wineburg, 2001; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Bain, 2009).

The detrimental effect of the technical approach to the curriculum is also castigated by Paul Hurd. According to him there are "too many facts, too little conceptualizing, too much memorizing, and too little thinking" (<http://www.criticalthinking.org/>). Henry Giroux (in Smith & Terence, 2003:68) also critiques this technicist approach. According to him certain people are declared intelligent, others unintelligent, purely on the basis of their conformity or lack thereof, to the narrow bands of learning offered in the educational setting. The argument that I am advancing in this research is that unless education and assessment leaders in this country adopt a pedagogical content knowledge where the subject matter content and pedagogical strategies are integrated in order to create an environment for active, cooperative and dialogical learning to take place, where learners have the opportunity to display sophisticated knowledge of the discipline, South African learners will continue to be subjected to an environment that does not promote the critical thinking and problem-solving skills that are essential to moving them out of their current socio-economic conditions. This view is supported by Rehmani (2003), who asserts that children tend to do better in subjects requiring rote memory, but do poorly in basic comprehension and understanding.

Within the discipline of History there was widespread discontent about the transmission model of teaching History which resulted in the regurgitation of factual knowledge. This approach was criticised by social constructivists who view learning as based on students' active participation in problem-solving and critical thinking regarding a learning activity that they find relevant and engaging. Learners construct their own knowledge by testing ideas and approaches based on their prior knowledge and experience, applying these to a new situation, and integrating the new knowledge gained with pre-existing intellectual constructs (Kanselaar, 2000). In this instance teachers' prior knowledge and apprenticeship may serve as obstacles to teaching high-level thinking which requires teaching methods that encourage knowledge construction.

There is considerable consensus among social constructivists, History education experts and education experts that teaching and learning should reflect the pedagogical content knowledge and involve learners

in active learning (Vygotsky, 1978; Wineburg, 2009). The radical constructivist movement abandons the traditional philosophical position of realism according to which knowledge has to be a representation of an essential reality, i.e., an 'out there' world prior to its having been experienced. On the contrary, it adopts the relativist position that knowledge is something which is personally constructed by individuals in an active way, as they try to give meaning to socially accepted and shared notions. As Von Glasersfeld himself says, "knowledge is the result of an individual subject's constructive activity, not a commodity that somehow resides outside the knower and can be conveyed or instilled by diligent perception or linguistic communication" (Von Glasersfeld, 1990:37). The realist perspective is a transmission model which Plato supported because he believed that adults possess perfect ideas that need to be transmitted to the children (in Smith & Terence, 2003). Social and cultural constructivists believe that knowledge is socially constructed and takes into account prior knowledge, conceptions and misconceptions of learners and the integration of new learning by the teacher in the active process of learning where performance is assisted. Dialogical and active learning involve teachers and learners in the community of practice through conversation and this is where knowledge is constructed. According to Vygotsky (1978), teaching, learning and schooling in social context can all assist learning. But for the development of thinking skills, in particular the ability to form, express, and exchange ideas in speech and writing, the critical form of assisting learners is through dialogue, through questioning and sharing of ideas and knowledge that happen in conversation (Tharp & Gallimore, 1993).

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is to change the teaching behaviour of teachers from traditional methods of transmission of factual knowledge to the dialogical approach which is based on active and cooperative learning and which encourages knowledge construction rather than regurgitation of memorised facts. This is achieved through a four-stage model of Action Research where teachers are given four opportunities to migrate to a dialogical approach in which they integrate disciplinary knowledge and dialogical pedagogical practices to enhance the concept of "doing of history" in the classroom. The study explores the epistemological beliefs of teachers and ascertains the extent to which their conceptions and misconceptions are an obstacle to the practice of what Lee Shulman (1986) calls Pedagogical Content Knowledge.

It is argued in this research that a framework based on historical thinking and the appropriate pedagogical content knowledge which facilitates the construction of knowledge in the classroom is in line with the learning theory articulated by human and social constructivists such as Bruner (1986) and Vygotsky (1978), philosophers such as Socrates and Bacon and critical theorists such as Giroux and Paulo Freire

(2005). This pedagogical approach is considered by Lee Shulman (1986) to be the missing paradigm. Pedagogical content knowledge as conceptualised by Shulman (1986) is used to judge the ability of teachers to integrate pedagogical content such as the active, cooperative and dialogical model with the epistemology of the discipline when introduced to this new dialogical teaching methodology. As its name implies, pedagogical content knowledge integrates subject matter with pedagogy and is attentive to discipline-specific practices of inquiry and organisation and the particular challenges of teaching presented by each subject. For example, a history teacher with a commanding grasp of pedagogical content knowledge will understand history's rules of evidence and argumentation, including how to read primary sources, and will be able to convey those skills to students in the context of teaching historical content (Sheehan, 2013). Bolstad and Gilbert argue it is through disciplinary thinking that students (as novices) shift from focusing on the superficial features of knowledge to developing the characteristics of experts who tend to "think in terms of deep structures or the underlying principles of knowledge" (cited in Sheehan, 2013).

This study, therefore, uses the historical thinking framework as criterion to judge teaching and learning in the classroom. This criterion has been developed from the works of Wineburg (2001) and Seixas and Morton (2013) and is used to evaluate the cultivation of historical thinking and critical thinking in the classroom. The study also explores the epistemological beliefs of teachers about the discipline of history and assesses the extent to which these beliefs shape their pedagogical practices in the classroom. The teaching methodologies that are used by the selected sample engage learners in the construction of knowledge within the framework of historical thinking. Learners are engaged in group discussions, role playing, debates and simulation to acquire and demonstrate historical thinking skills such as the analysis of primary sources and the display of historical empathy. They are engaged in a debate to choose a line of argument, by selecting facts of historical significance to advance a strong argument and draw a valid conclusion which is supported by evidence.

1.5 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

How will South African teachers respond when exposed to a teaching pedagogy which incorporates an active process of knowledge construction that enhances historical thinking and critical thinking?

1.6 SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- a) In what ways are the epistemological beliefs of teachers and learners essential in the teaching of historical thinking and critical thinking?
- b) How does the framework for historical thinking relate to the elements of critical thinking and

- knowledge construction in the classroom?
- c) To what extent are the social constructivist conceptions of learning compatible with historical thinking and critical thinking?
 - j) To what extent do developments in academic history impact on the nature of historical thinking in the classroom?
 - d) What are teachers' conceptions of elements of history thinking?
 - e) What are the conceptions of teachers on the teaching of History?
 - f) What are the teachers' conceptions of critical thinking and how are they related to the study of history?
 - g) How does epistemological belief about teaching history affect teachers' pedagogical practices in the classroom?

1.7 LITERATURE STUDY

1.7.1 Bantu education and its impact on the education of African learners

In recent times the Department of Basic Education has been under immense attack from opposition political parties and academics over the building of schools, the standard of education, Mathematical Literacy, Life Orientation and passing learners at 30%. Criticism is evident in the two articles that appeared in the editions of 23 March 2012 and 16 August 2013 respectively of *The Star* newspaper, in which Dr Mamphela Ramphela, an academic and political activist, and Rabelani Dagada, a lecturer at Witwatersrand's Business School, criticise the current education system. Dr Ramphela (*The Star*, 23 March 2012) considers the current education system to be worse than Bantu Education under the Apartheid system, while Rabelani Dagada views Bantu Education as a better education system than the current education system (Dagada, *The Star*, 16 August 2013). Despite the challenges experienced by the Department of Basic Education, the views articulated by these academics are not only a misrepresentation of historical facts but also demonstrate a condescending, triumphalist attitude by those who benefited from the Apartheid Education, notwithstanding the fact that it undermined the consciousness of African learners. This inference constitutes academic dishonesty and is not based on solid evidence. Given the interest in comparing Bantu Education and the current education system, it is appropriate for this section to dwell on the Bantu Education Act, 1953 (Act No. 47 of 1953) and its impact on the quality of the education of African learners.

In 1948 the National Party won the general election and adopted Apartheid as official government policy. In 1949 the Eiselen Commission was appointed to enquire into and report on all aspects of "native"

education. The commission recommended separate education systems for different population groups. The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr HF Verwoerd, championed the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act 1953 (Act No. 47 of 1953). The Act emerged from the eugenics philosophy represented by Francis Galton which is a pseudoscientific theory that suggests that whites are mentally superior and Africans mentally inferior and therefore both need to be indoctrinated to accept their superior and inferior positions. Education was construed to be part of the overall Apartheid system that included “homelands”, urban restrictions, pass laws and job reservation. The role of an African was that of labourer, worker, and servant only. As HF Verwoerd, the architect of the Bantu Education Act, 1953 (Act No. 47 of 1953), asserts, "There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live" (Kallaway, 2002; Hartshorne, 1992). The words of HF Verwoerd summarise the philosophy behind the Apartheid education system which was to provide an African learner with a special training that would confine him to his community in the rural areas. Verwoerd’s philosophy supports Francis Galton’s supremacist position that “when classifying the categories of humans according to their natural gifts, the Negro was so extravagantly inferior as to require an entirely different scale of evaluation ... The intellectual measuring tape had to be adjusted downwards to accommodate congenitally limited native capacities” (Roberts, 2007). Bantu Education therefore constituted an entirely different scale of measurement which was adjusted downwards to meet the perceived low intellectual standard of African learners. The curriculum was dominated by religious education and social sciences, civic and manual work, arts and crafts. The training was geared towards training African learners to occupy lower positions in industries and mines in accordance with job reservation.

This type of education is branded by Paulo Freire (2005) as a banking concept of education or the “pedagogy of the oppressed”. This philosophy led to the establishment of the idea of a master race moulded on German Nazism and there was no intention to develop an egalitarian society. Dr Verwoerd and Dr W Eiselen both studied in Germany and learned a great deal about the use of education to indoctrinate people and create racial divisions, based on the superiority of the German Aryan Race. The education designed for whites also promoted bigotry, indoctrination and the herd mentality and resulted in a divided society which in the long run created a poor and powerless African society. Although the subjects were similar to those offered to white learners, African learners were not encouraged to study Mathematics as asserted by Verwoerd and this was reinforced by the provision of poor resources, and unqualified and poorly-trained teachers. According to Hartshorne, “the facilities, like school buildings, classrooms, libraries and laboratories, were not of equal quality and much more money was spent on white learners, so they had better facilities”. White learners had at least ten years of compulsory schooling

and free education while Black learners did not have this opportunity. There was a high drop-out rate in schools for black learners (Hartshorne, 1992).

In 1979 the Education and Training Act (Act No. 90 of 1979) replaced the Bantu Education Act and reforms were introduced to improve the education of African learners. Government spending was increased to support schools with resources, teachers' salaries were improved, new schools were built, and more learners attended school. There were many more learners in secondary schools than there had been in the early years of Bantu Education. More learners passed matric, although the percentage was still low, especially in comparison with white students (Kallaway, 2002; Hartshorne, 1992). The changes were minimal and were brought about in a period which was characterised by a heightened programme of resistance against the "total strategy" and "total onslaught" policy of PW Botha in the 1980s. There was therefore no meaningful education and the reforms of the 1970s did not benefit the African learners. By 1988 only 17 schools had been established by the DET and 4 899 learners were still using double-session classes. 399 schools and 93 527 learners in the Homelands were also using double-session classes (Hartshorne, 1992:43). These double-session classes were the result of a shortage of classrooms and were prevalent throughout the Bantu Education era. The situation provided limited time for quality teaching and learning because learners had to share a limited number of classrooms. This system was brought to an end after 1994 by the democratic government, when new schools were developed to provide access to education for more African learners.

According to Pam Christie (1991), few Africans who attended school actually reached Standard 10. In 1988 only 2,7% of Africans but 70% of white learners who were at school, were in Standard 10. The number of learners that reached matric increased from 1976 to 1982 (Christie, 1991:122). Although the number of African learners increased in matric, the achievement rate, especially in the university entrance qualification, was very low. For the whites it was a different story. A 94% pass rate was achieved, and 49% obtained matric exemption. From this it is clear that the Apartheid Education benefited the whites. Africans could not obtain matric or matric exemption due to poor resources and overcrowding. In the same year, 53% of Africans passed Matric and 13% obtained matric exemption (Christie, 1991:122). According to Christie, whatever the reasons for these differences, matric results are still used as the main criterion for selecting candidates for university entrance. Therefore, poor matric results mean that African learners have less chance of going to university than white learners (Christie, 1991:122).

1.7.2 Resistance to Bantu education and the Afrikaner Nationalist perspective

The resistance to Bantu education was varied; some teachers embarked on resistance on their own by not teaching the apartheid syllabus rigidly, but expanded the content focus on their own without the

approval of the Department of Education and Training. These teachers included themes such as the 1976 Soweto Uprisings and the role played by Steve Biko and others and changed the teaching methodology from the transmission model to analytic and critical thinking pedagogical practices. Others became part of the History Groups that embarked on the resistance which culminated in alternative resources being generated. One of the key players that united the resistance groups against Bantu Education was the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) which was formed by university academics to resist Bantu Education (Kallaway,(1993).

Peter Kallaway (1993) describes how individual teachers joined the struggle against apartheid education as individuals in their schools. Kallaway (1993) was a teacher during apartheid and explains the teaching of history as follows: “we all participated in an elaborate charade at the times of the external examination, where we cooked up prepared answers that we all knew from the study of past papers were what the examiner wanted” (Kallaway,1993:11). Kallaway (1993) also insists that the school curriculum was not definitive, that knowledge was partial, problematic and ideological; and that in a society like South Africa under apartheid the political assumptions and ideology of the ruling groups reached into the classrooms. However, he advanced a view that even under such an authoritarian curriculum he and other teachers were able to teach different interpretations and this resulted in those who thought apartheid was a good thing changing their minds. Kallaway (1993) attempts to dispel the misconception that Afrikaner nationalist perspective was accepted as absolute and implemented in all schools in an authoritarian model of transmission. On the contrary, Kallaway (1993) asserts that there were teachers even during apartheid who tried their best to demonstrate historical skills in the classroom while at the same time satisfying the criteria for preparation of learners to sit for examination. He acknowledges that this was not the case in all schools. When he moved from Wynberg Boys’ High School, a white school for males, to an African school, Orlando High in Soweto in the seventies, he realised that the standard of a privileged school like Wynberg Boys’ High School could not be applied in Orlando High in Soweto. He attributed this poor teaching of History to intense inspection and monitoring of schools which was inspired by Apartheid education. Even under these conditions, Kallaway (1993) managed to create a space for flexibility within the classroom to teach different interpretations. It was difficult for Bantu Education inspectors to monitor each and every school and he believes teachers could create space for teaching a balanced History that reflected the history of the African people (Kallaway,1993).

As an attempt to form a collective resistance to apartheid, the History teacher’s league of Cape Town was formed. According to Kallaway (1993), this group demonstrated how the space can be used by a group of teachers rather than individual teachers to teach a balanced History. The emergence of this league demonstrated the continuation of the passive resistance against apartheid education by history teachers.

Dryden (1999), a doctoral student at the University of Cape Town, in her thesis entitled “Mirror of a Nation in Transition”, outlines challenges faced by History teachers and students in Cape Town Schools. She unravels the evidence in her research that reveals that some privileged schools extended their curriculum to include African history such as the 1976 Soweto uprisings but others followed the prescribed content rigidly and ignored African historical events as if they had never happened. There is consensus between Kallaway (1993) and Dryden (1999) that good history teaching existed mostly in white English schools, which were fortunately not subjected to intense inspection.

Kallaway also outlines the emergence of a tradition of alternative educational thinking, research and material production in South Africa of which he was part. In elucidating the new tradition, Kallaway (1993:11) regards “the recent launch of the History in Progress Series in Cape Town as a demonstration of the vigorous perpetuation of a school history convention that challenges the myths of apartheid education and seeks to promote new learning methodologies”. Kallaway (1993) argues strongly that the basis for critical and democratic practice in the field of History was laid long before the advent of democracy. Kallaway asserts that:

In the late 1980s subject history was a topic that attracted a great deal of negative criticism and generated a lot of heat in the public debate. Any educational gathering of Black South Africans was likely to focus on this as a key aspect of the ideological agenda of inferior education associated with apartheid. Within the people’s education movement, the call for people’s history was prominent (Kallaway, 1993:11).

Educationalists who resisted the dominance of Afrikaner nationalist perspectives, including the prescribed content that excluded African history, resolved to develop alternative traditions to apartheid education. The alternative traditions, according to Kallaway (1993), were underpinned by three elements, namely, the development of alternative history materials for use in the classroom, the experience gained in the evaluation of mechanisms geared to testing skills and critical thinking in the JMB (The Joint Matriculation Board was an independent assessment body) and other examinations within the present system, and the experience already gained from the writing of alternative textbooks for schools (Kallaway, 1993).

During the 1970s a small group of teachers and historians began with experimentation aimed at transforming History Education in their classrooms. These initiatives were largely based on the (Schools) History Workshop in Johannesburg and Natal History Teachers’ Society and drew much of their inspiration from the work of the “New History” movement and Schools Council History Project in Great Britain (Kallaway, 1993). Teacher seminars on African history and neo-Marxist historiography, as well as the introduction of the “New history” methodology, which emphasised the acquisition of critical skills and

historical understanding as against the memorisation of content, broke ground for teacher involvement in the production of these materials on a modest scale (Kallaway, 1993). Most of the materials were circulated locally for teacher use and proved to be the beginning the culture of “alternative history”. Prior to 1976 teachers were active participants and most of the meetings were held at Orlando West High. However, there were obstacles to this development. These included limited funding, tight government control and being required to complete the syllabus in preparation for examination, which allowed limited space for innovation. These developments were irrelevant to examination which was based on the Afrikaner nationalist perspective and on the regurgitation of memorised facts. The spectre of the examination as a standard of teaching and learning had been established and it continued to hound teachers during apartheid and continues to do so up until today. Examination was an obstacle to the teaching of extended content and historical thinking skills and it is still an obstacle in the democratic South Africa and continues to inhibit the teaching of historical thinking (Kallaway, 1993).

According to Kallaway (1993), the JMB was also a critical participant in the struggle against the Afrikaner nationalist perspective. The JMB set new procedures in place that enabled papers to assess critical understanding of history and the purpose of history was now to develop critical skills and insights, rather than to remember vast hunks of factual content. By changing the nature of the external examination and marking procedures, it was possible to influence school pedagogy (Kallaway, 1993). In this small era of old, in relative freedom from the large educational bureaucracies, elements of new policy that could create the new kind of history were established. Similar initiative was taken in the Senior Certificate in Natal and DET, House of Delegates (Indian Education). In this way the basis of teaching history for the future was laid (Kallaway, 1993).

Alternative textbooks were produced and *History Alive* was one of the alternative books which emerged out of this tradition (Kallaway, 1993). The new books drew heavily on the methodologies developed by the Schools Council History Project in Britain which emphasised skills-based learning. The book conformed to the requirements of the syllabi and challenged the Afrikaner nationalist paradigm that had dominated history education for years during the apartheid era. The limited space for inclusive content of African history prevented the book from encompassing a lot of African history (Kallaway, 1993).

1.7.2.1 People’s Education and People’s History: NECC History Commission 1987-1988

Prior to the changes of 1990, the period of education crisis during 1987-1988 led to the emergence of a whole discourse on People’s Education, which was coupled with a period of intense political activity in popular politics. In that context the National Education Crisis Committee people’s history commission was

set up to investigate the needs in this area of education and make recommendations. The committee under the leadership of Prof Colin Bundy, then of the University of Cape Town, consisted mainly of academics from UCT and University of Western Cape and also drew its members from the history workshop in Johannesburg (Kallaway, 1993; Engelbrecht, 2008).

Although the campaign for people's history was associated with political mobilisation rather than the revision of school history, the commission provided a space where the nature of history for a future curriculum could be discussed. According to Kallaway (1993), the debates did not make sense at the time but they nonetheless provided a framework for history education in the future. African history and the history of the liberation movements were given a position of prominence and the issues of methodology were highlighted in the group's publication that emerged at the beginning of 1988. This publication did not succeed in making any headway in school History, suffering the same fate as the additional materials. Once again the DET refused to allow the publications in its educational institutions. The political moment was not right for such publications to reach the schools. In 1988 the committee ceased to exist (Kallaway, 1993).

The HSRC embarked on a project of investigating the teaching of History in schools in South Africa. This was an opportunity for the history groups to investigate the teaching of history. After consultations with the defunct NECC history commission and its executive, and being assured by the HSRC that the research was independent of government, members resolved to participate (Kallaway, 1999:15). The members used their experience gained in interaction with the JMB and chose a topic entitled "Evaluation in History Education". This was motivated by the belief that changes in examination and assessment procedures would inevitably have a backwash effect on the teaching and learning of the subject as a whole. If examinations tested critical thinking and understanding along with insights into the modes of investigation common to the historical discipline, the transformation of teaching and learning in the classroom would follow. Teachers would then be provided with the space for experimentation and teaching for critical understanding, regardless of any content that would inform any new curriculum revision. According to Kallaway (1993:15), "we felt that the adoption of such policies would provide a powerful level for promoting a break with the practices of Apartheid education". This set the tone for future policy debates. The committee members were committed to a critical and skills-based curriculum and there was controversy regarding the framework on the selection of content.

The initiative in policy formulation for the future was taken by the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), a project of the NECC. The recommendations of the NEPI Curriculum Research Group stress the fact that all recommendations for a future policy must take into account the current inequalities and the

current crisis in the system. The report stresses the fact that “the curriculum is not a neutral or a technical account of what schools teach” (Kallaway, 1993:16). The NEPI provided a democratic framework for curriculum policy formulation in the future.

1.7.3 Transition from Apartheid education to an outcomes-based curriculum

According to Rob Siebörger (2005), there was a sense of great expectancy in the years between the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 and the first democratic election in South Africa in 1994. History teachers, history educationalists and historians looked forward with impatient anticipation to the time when the apartheid curriculum would be cast aside and history could claim its place as an important instrument in the construction of a new national identity. It would fulfil three roles: keeping the triumph over evil fresh, memorialising the struggles of the past, and helping to break down all remaining racism; giving back a history to those who had been denied or robbed of one before; and helping to strengthen democratic and constitutional values - or the three ‘r’s of reconstruction, redress and reconciliation (Siebörger, 2005). Teachers were eager to tell the story of Mandela’s “long walk to freedom” to the South African communities in order to build the “rainbow nation”, - a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society embracing freedom of speech and the press. To many people History was a tool for citizen education and this has given content selection priority over historical thinking (Siebörger, 2005).

The battle for the appropriate narrative that needs to be prescribed for learners to learn has been contested by various parties within South Africa. This battle for curriculum content has been evident in many countries, especially those which experienced settler colonialism such as South Africa, Australia and the USA (Cooper & Guyver 2013). The History curriculum for schools was more extensively debated than ever before in the period 1994 – 1998. The sub-committee for History of the National Department of Education produced an in-depth report proposing various positions to the curriculum. The findings and recommendations of this committee were not well received by the History Task Team of the ruling ANC (Van Eeden, 1999:11). The ANC task team lambasted the Department for selecting a committee comprising of white middle-aged men who did not possess the expertise that the ANC committee professed to have. The ANC History Task Team was expanded to include representatives from cultural, gender and academic sections (Van Eeden, 1999). The academic specialists from Afrikaans-medium and dual English and Afrikaans universities were excluded from this task team. After the 1994 election the ANC formed an interim structure, the National Training and Education Forum (NETF) which replaced all curriculum development structures existing at the time. Subject committees were set up under the authority of the NETF to review the curriculum and to process all submissions by the public and a wide spectrum of the organisations and institutions by August 1994. The NETF committee for history gradually

implemented a process of “cleansing” the history syllabi of all discriminating and incriminating content. The following submissions were considered:

- a) The present history syllabi and textbooks were inherently biased and ideologically distorted, based on a narrow Afrikaner Nationalist or Eurocentric view of the past.
- b) History was important for developing values such as non-racialism, non-sexism, mutual respect and peaceful coexistence, tolerance, defense of rights and academic freedom.
- c) Curriculum practice in South African schools was determined by historical interpretation found in textbooks and finally, new methodologies to ensure that educators taught critical thinking (Van Eeden, 1999:12).

After considering the submissions, the NETF made recommendations concerning changes to the curricula of the different school subjects, especially those themes dealt with in pre-colonial and pre-industrial South Africa, such as the lifestyles of the inhabitants of South Africa, slavery, the movement of indigenous peoples in the nineteenth century, the establishment of the Union of South Africa, the road to democracy, coverage of more recent events, African medicines and African states. There was criticism because some academics were excluded and others felt that members of the subcommittees were not sufficiently trained to handle curriculum changes (Van Eeden, 1999:12).

The process of developing a new curriculum began in August 1996. Experts or specialists were appointed in eight committees representing eight subjects. History was included in the social and human sciences learning area (subject). The Afrikaner nationalist thinking that dominated the curriculum was castigated and there was fear that it would be replaced by the political agenda of the ruling Party (ANC) (Van Eeden, 1999:13). This resulted in the development of Curriculum 2005 which infused history into a social science subject along with Geography. There were concerns raised regarding the manner in which aspects of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) were being implemented in Grades 1-3 classrooms in which it had been introduced, and consequently there were fears that it would prove counterproductive (Taylor & Vinjevoold, 1999). These concerns led to the appointment of a Ministerial Review Committee in February 2000, chosen chiefly for its expertise in the curriculum area. The committee presented its report and was critical of many aspects, including the training of teachers, the learning support materials and the shallow understanding of many teachers of the operation of the curriculum. The major criticism was levelled against curriculum design and it found that the model was “strong on integration and weak on conceptual coherence or progression” (Siebörger, 2005). The curriculum was refined into a National Curriculum Statement (NCS), which was implemented for the first time in the Further Education and Training band in 2006. The National Senior Certificate based on this curriculum was awarded to the first candidates in

2008 and this was regarded as a watershed moment because it replaced the Senior Certificate which had been perceived as a product of apartheid education.

1.7.4 Programmes implemented by the Department of Basic Education (DBE) to address the legacy of Bantu education

The democratic government of South Africa adopted a new constitution, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), which embodies the basic principles of human rights and the Freedom Charter. These include the provision of quality education for all learners irrespective of class, religion, race and disabilities. The spirit of the constitution is to create an egalitarian society based on respect for the human rights of all citizens, including women and children, and respect for the law. The DBE developed programmes to address the unpalatable consequences of Bantu education. These were based on redress, access, social justice, social cohesion, inclusivity and promotion of indigenous knowledge systems which included the development of African languages.

The result of textbook development was the production of History books that recognised the achievements of the African people. The Bantu Education textbooks were dominated by the Afrikaner nationalist perspective and content was characterised by Afrikaner history that glorified Afrikaner leaders. Africans were included, but were branded as problems and their reminiscences were dismissed as a pack of lies. African leaders were not perceived as historical figures, and this included the great Nelson Mandela and other political activists. History books produced in the new democratic dispensation reconstructed, reasserted and resurrected the history of the African people and presented it in a way that recognised their achievements. The content included resistance to the implementation of apartheid, the road to democracy and the truth and reconciliation process. This type of history was intended to unite the people of South Africa into a non-racial society as opposed to a history content that promoted the idea of the superiority and invincibility of the white man. However, this was achieved at the expense of Afrikaner nationalism and other schools of thought (Engelbrecht, 2008).

African learners are beginning to perform well and have made a breakthrough into the top 20 performers in the Grade 12 results. In 2012 an African learner from Limpopo was the best learner in South Africa. This was a watershed moment in the history of the South African education system and demonstrates its achievement by ensuring that one of the learners condemned by the Bantu Education system as unsuitable to access high status knowledge, has proved its proponents to be wrong (DBE Technical Report, 2012).

The democratic government has focused its attention on providing female learners, who were previously marginalised, with quality education. Barriers that have been preventing these learners from completing their school education have been outlawed by the new government. Many female learners have enrolled for Mathematics and the sciences. Their performance has improved over the years and they are now comparable to, and in some instances even better than male learners in these scarce subjects. In 2012 the best African learner who obtained 100% in Mathematics, 100% in Physical Sciences and 100% in Accounting, was a female learner. This achievement should be attributed to a suitable education environment that the DBE has provided to South African communities (DBE Technical Report, 2012).

After twenty years of democracy, the programmes and educational reforms introduced by the democratic government have managed to provide access to education for many African learners who were previously marginalised by the Bantu Education system. However, compared to the 1988 results, the quality of the African learners' results has not changed dramatically and this can be considered to be the reason why some academics consider Bantu education to have been better. Their argument is fundamentally flawed, however, because during the Bantu education era only a fraction of the African learners reached matric and this cannot be considered an acceptable situation (Christie, 1991).

In reaction to this debilitating state of affairs, the Department of Basic Education introduced the programme of Annual National Assessment which was implemented over a three-year period from 2010 to 2012. The results of the Annual National Assessment confirmed the findings of the PIRLS, showing that learners' level of literacy was very low compared to that of learners in other African countries (Howie, et al. 2006, 2008 and 2011; Annual National results, 2013). The average percentage obtained by Grade 3 learners was 52%, and 43% respectively for Grades 6 and 9 in the 2012 Annual National Assessment. The low level of performance in the lower grades is largely responsible for the high failure rate in the higher grades because, as the grades become higher, the content and skills demanded are also more difficult. There is no strong epistemological foundation in these lower grades, which is a prerequisite for the cultivation of critical thinking skills (DBE, Annual National Assessment Technical Report, 2012).

1.7.5 Teaching methodology

Teaching methodology has been considered an obstacle in the South African education system and the initial teacher education at universities and colleges has failed to ground teachers in the appropriate pedagogical content knowledge which would enable them to explore and negotiate learners' beliefs through active learning and dialogical learning in order to construct knowledge through the framework of historical thinking. Without the necessary expertise teachers resort to shortcuts and technical

mechanisms that lead to content-based teaching and rote learning which are prevalent in most South African schools (NEEDU National Report, 2012). In carrying out this research, a concept of pedagogical content knowledge is adopted where knowledge is constructed within a community of enquiry and there should be integration between subject matter content and pedagogical practices. This framework, according to social constructivists, will assist performance through an active and dialogical approach, and enable learners to construct knowledge by engaging in historical thinking and critical thinking (Kanselaar, 2000). Social constructivism encourages learners to create their own knowledge instead of copying from authority, be it a book or teacher (Kanselaar, 2000). This approach is supported by critical-thinking experts such as Socrates, and it is similar to the tutorial system that he established in Ancient Greece when he cultivated the elements, traits and standards of critical thinking. The teaching method is also supported by critical theorists such as Giroux, Habermas, Paulo Freire, Adorno and Horkheimer, who advocate a dialogue between teacher and learners. The teaching method is premised on dialogue and the generation of knowledge by learners and is supported by Critical Race theorists, humanists, feminists and social constructivists who believe that the powerless, in the context of learners, have the potential to generate knowledge within the community of practice (Seixas, 1993).

There is consensus amongst the philosophers of critical thinking and social constructivists that students come to classes with prior knowledge (Kanselaar, 2000). According to Socrates the prior knowledge must be subjected to test or criticism and the student must acknowledge the weakness of the currently-held view and accept having to discard information to allow the emergence of new knowledge. In Socrates the term “knowledge” was constructed when he as a midwife assisted the student to produce a new-born child or idea which could stand against criticism. This is in line with Vygotsky’s internalisation of higher psychological functions. The dialogue is supported by social constructivists including Bruner (1986) and Vygotsky (1978). This teaching methodology opposes the current “pedagogy of the oppressed”, characterised by indoctrination, bigotry and the herd mentality.

The rationale for this framework is to develop a methodology that will be compatible with the teaching of Historical thinking because the current traditional teaching methodology which is based on a technicist model is an impediment to the cultivation of critical-thinking skills. Although the critical aspect of Action Research is self-reflection by the teacher, the level of development of most teachers dictates that they be assisted by an outsider who engages with them in participative research to generate collaborative knowledge that will solve classroom problems (NEEDU National Report, 2012). It is envisaged that after the teachers have acquired the necessary skills they will empower other teachers through a participative research design to turn teaching and learning from a “pedagogy of the oppressed” into a “pedagogy of hope”.

1.7.6 Social conditions that serve as obstacles to the provision of quality education to African learners

The education system in South Africa appears to be creating conditions for the proliferation of social ills instead of reducing them. The success of education is seen in terms of its ability to develop learners' cognitive skills, civic responsibility, vocational skills and personal development. The system appears to be biased in favour of the cognitive skills, but these skills cannot be achieved without the cultivation of intellectual traits such as humility, empathy, perseverance, integrity, self-discipline, selflessness and independent thought (NEEDU National Report, 2012). It is these intrinsic qualities that provide the enabling knowledge that serves as scaffolding for a learner to ascend the academic ladder on his or her own, without the teacher's assistance. It is these qualities that define a truly educated person and they need to be central to the education of the young people of this country. This education is suitable for the development of learners into good citizens who will not fall victim to social ills, but who will demonstrate fair-minded intellectual thinking and be able to take up their ethical responsibilities towards society.

The social conditions of African learners are also considered to be an obstacle to their educational development. Parents of a typical African child are illiterate and poor, and are either employed as domestic workers or gardeners, as migrant workers in the mining and industrial sectors of South Africa, or are unemployed. Most of the working class are located in Rustenburg, Johannesburg, Kimberley and eMhlahlene where platinum, gold, diamonds and coal are mined, or in industries in Johannesburg. Some of the working class are employed as farm workers and their conditions are debilitating. Most of the learners are without their immediate parents and are living with their grandparents. Consequently, learners are not well taken care of at home and become caught up in social ills which include absenteeism, bunking of classes, drug abuse, sexual abuse, teenage pregnancy and various forms of violence (DBE, Action Plan 2014, 2011). The absence of parents in the educational lives of learners is a spectre of Apartheid that continues to haunt them. Without parental support learners are not able to acquire family values such as humility, empathy, perseverance, integrity, reconciliation, compliance with the traditional norms and Ubuntu, which were fundamental in the establishment of South African communities. Africans were known to be a homogeneous group, sharing land and food, being one community, and preserving their culture. However, they were undermined by the migrant system, dispossession of their land and minerals and the destruction of the traditional polity and chiefdoms which could be considered to have been a prerequisite for the emergence of a European-style social culture which is currently dominant in most of the schools. The erosion of the culture of the African communities by Apartheid and western culture, and the failure of the democratically-elected government to reassert

and resurrect African values through a social science subject such as History, has led to further erosion of the African culture.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study of historical thinking and critical thinking in South African schools is a crucial study of the most valued thinking skills in the world. It has the ability to equip South African learners with essential skills that will help them cope with a rapidly-changing world. The historical-thinking framework is used through Action research as an intervention to introduce teaching methodology which is based on active and dialogical pedagogy which will open a new window on the teaching of historical thinking. As a result of this research teachers and learners will be engaged in active and dialogical learning in order to construct knowledge collaboratively within the classroom community of enquiry. Factual knowledge presented in the textbooks will be perceived as a narrative conception by a historian that needs to be reconciled with other narratives from secondary and primary sources in order to construct historical knowledge based on accurate evidence. Once learners demonstrate a critical habit of mind they will not accept anything without questioning and will acquire intellectual skills on their own because they are driven by the acquired habit of mind. According to Aristotle, "If you are what you repeatedly do, then excellence is not an act but a habit" (Aristotle Quotations, 384 BC-322 BC). This assertion is true because if learners gather evidence repeatedly in order to challenge assumptions and draw valid conclusions using critical reflection, they are likely to develop a critical, reflective habit of mind. This will bolster the quality of teaching and learning and increase the achievement rate of learners, especially the achievement of quality results. In particular, this will promote the credibility of the school exit qualification in South Africa.

1.9 PARADIGMATIC, EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

1.9.1 Paradigmatic assumptions

It was critical that a research paradigm should be established in this research and it dictated that this section should dwell on the two major research paradigms and their strengths and shortcomings. Qualitative design represents one of the two major paradigms according to which social science research is conducted. Quantitative research represents the other paradigm. The quantitative design is represented by the positivist approach to research as a model of science. The proponents of positivism hold several beliefs about the nature of knowledge which together form positivist epistemology (Hesse-Biber, 2011:8). The positivist holds the view that there is a knowable reality that exists outside the research process. The social world, like the natural world, is governed by rules, which result in patterns. Accordingly, causal relationships between variables can be identified, proved and explained.

The qualitative paradigm, on the other hand, is epitomised by the interpretive stand which is another approach to research and focuses on understanding, interpretation, and social meaning. It presupposes that meaning is constructed through the interaction between humans, and therefore meaning does not exist independently of the human interpretive process. The researcher, working from the interpretive tradition, values experience and perspective as important sources of knowledge. The interpretive approach is associated with the hermeneutic tradition, which is about seeking deep understanding by interpreting the meaning that interactions, actions and objects have for people. This perspective posits that the only way to understand social reality is from the perspective of those who are immersed in it.

This research is located within the interpretive paradigm that teaching, learning and assessment can only be judged through expert judgment and not through a scientific process. There are aspects of education research that continue to be an exact science, but an ontological stance in which the researcher is elevated to the status of an intellectual know-all will not work. In order to penetrate the depths of the phenomenon being studied, it is necessary for the researcher to have humility and be prepared to stoop to the level being researched in order to recognise the participants' perception about critical thinking and historical thinking.

1.9.2 Epistemological assumptions

With the epistemological assumption, conducting a qualitative study means that the researchers try to be as close as possible to the participants being studied. Therefore, subjective evidence is assembled based on individual views. This is how knowledge is known – through the subjective experiences of people. It then becomes important to conduct studies in the “field” where the participants live and work. This is an important context for understanding what the participants are saying. The longer the researcher stays in the field and gets to know the participants, the more the researcher learns from first-hand information (Creswell, 2013:20). This research is located within the epistemological assumption, in that the researcher needed to spend time at three schools where the participants work and to solicit subjective information from them in terms of their perceptions about the teaching of history and integration of the historical thinking framework in their pedagogical strategies.

1.9.3 Ontological assumptions

Ontology relates to the nature of reality and characteristics. According to Creswell (2013:20) “when the researchers conduct qualitative research they are embracing the idea of multiple realities”. Creswell

elaborates this point further that “when studying individuals, qualitative researchers conduct a study with the intent of reporting on these multiple realities”. Evidence of multiple realities includes the use of multiple forms of evidence in themes using the actual words of individuals and presenting different perspectives. For example, when writers compile a phenomenology, they report how participating individuals view their experiences differently (Creswell, 2013:20). This is the approach followed in this study and the conceptions of teaching history by three teachers are explored to ascertain their influence on the teachers’ pedagogical practices in the classroom.

Ontological assumption is concerned with the questions pertaining to the kinds of things that exist within society. For example, women were excluded as knowers. This relates to epistemological assumptions, but ontological assumptions relate to the existence of patriarchy which undermines women and therefore ontology in a feminist perspective would relate to the “state of being” which is the ontological basis of the status of women. In teaching and learning the epistemological assumption would relate to the perceptions of teachers regarding teaching and learning and the ontological assumptions would relate to the “state of being” which is the prevalence of an authoritarian banking methodology that inhibits the teaching of critical thinking and historical thinking.

Research traditions are underpinned by their distinctive ontological nature. For instance, the ontological principles underpinning quantitative research are considered to belong to that body of social thought collectively called the “objectivist perspective” such as “positivism, within which the ontological nature of the society is based upon the view that society is a separate entity, existing quite distinct from social actors that comprise a given society” (Jupp, 2006:202). However, “the ontological outlook of the qualitative research examines the relationships between social actors and society, drawing on interpretive sociology”. Therefore, according to Jupp, “ontological assumptions of sociologists studying the social world from this perspective are guided by the desire to investigate the different ways in which social actors are constantly interpreting the social world from their own particular perspective”. Jupp emphasises that the “ontological basis for qualitative interpretive sociologists is one in which social reality is seen as a constantly shifting emergence, the property of individual creation” (Jupp, 2006:202). This study is located within an interpretive ontological stand where the social world within the classroom is interpreted from the perspectives of the participants.

1.10 RESEARCH DESIGN

1.10.1 Action Research

There is no doubt that nearly everyone with a direct interest in classroom teaching is disenchanted with traditional educational research (Hustler, Cassidy & Cuff, 1986:7). Whether they be teachers, education

specialists, heads of department or heads of school, they regard such research as lacking in relevance and practicability for what they all regard as the prime task of research: helping teachers to improve the learning experience of the children in their classes (Hustler, Cassidy & Cuff, 1986:7). This criticism is levelled at the traditional modes of enquiry such as the qualitative and quantitative designs. The need for research to improve practices in the classroom cannot be over-emphasised. The current state of affairs in South Africa is that inspectors are not allowed to enter classrooms in South Africa, the classrooms being declared “no-go areas” for inspectors by the teacher unions. However, this research has the capacity to change this situation by enlightening teachers regarding the power of collaboration, peer evaluation and reflection to improve practice in the classroom.

Action research was used within the framework of qualitative design. The research on critical thinking and history teaching involved an interpretative, naturalistic approach to observing behaviour in its natural setting, and therefore a qualitative action-based research design would be appropriate for this research. This design is open to different interpretations and it is logical to use a design that will enable teachers to evaluate the model and provide their input during the collection of empirical data within selected schools. This research takes place in three schools and problems identified in the classroom are solved in the classroom.

There is increased understanding on a global scale, that doing Action research can help people contribute to the knowledge economy. It is widely recognised that physical resources such as oil and gas will run out in a short time. It is therefore essential to move from a resource economy to a knowledge economy (McNiff, 2010:46). More people need to learn how to develop the kind of skills and knowledge that will enable them to create new forms of resources and goods to sustain an ever-growing world population.

Action research design is seen as an alternative means of producing alternative knowledge of the powerless, working-class, oppressed and marginalised women. The critical theorists who advocate reflective knowledge argue that meaningful human knowledge must not merely understand the world but also change it and be nominative and action-oriented, as well as descriptive and explanatory (Reason & Bradbury, 2006:89). The action component of Action research or participative research is supported by critical race theorists, humanists, feminists and social constructivists as “a strategy that builds democratic awareness, liberating education and promoting critical consciousness, overcoming internalised oppressions and developing indigenous or popular knowledge” (Reason & Bradbury, 2006:72). There has always been a belief that knowledge is power, and those who lay claim to legitimate knowledge are those in power. The powerless have been turned into objects in the knowledge-generation process by experts, bureaucrats, academics and capitalists. This paradigm is promoted by traditional approaches to research,

especially the positivist paradigm. In this research an Action research approach is followed and the researcher is seen as part of the group that works together to generate collective knowledge that should be used to solve problems in the classroom. Any classroom solutions and methodologies are discussed in a robust discourse and all individuals provide their inputs in terms of the suitability of the model. Knowledge and action are therefore generated collaboratively by the researcher and the participants in a process of participatory knowledge generation. The process is considered to be democratic and liberating and the findings are considered to be a joint effort and therefore acceptable.

1.11 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The data collection methods include in-depth interviews, lesson observations and focused group discussions. The systematic process of collecting data is illustrated as follows:

Table 1.1 Data collection methods

Steps	Stages of Action Research
a) Teachers were interviewed at their own schools on the baseline concept of critical thinking	Enquiry
b) Observation of the first lessons presented by three teachers based on the traditional teaching method	Enquiry
c) The first review session in which the lessons were reviewed and models of critical thinking and Action research were presented	Intervention
d) Observation of the second lessons presented by the three teachers based on dialogical approach in which they were required to reflect the elements, standards and traits of critical thinking	Transition
e) A review session in which the second lessons were reviewed and modified	Transition and modification
f) Observation of the third and fourth lessons based on dialogical teaching methods in which teachers were expected to demonstrate that they had migrated from the banking education to a dialogical approach to teaching and learning. Evidence of learner response to the dialogical approach would be used to respond to the main question	Stabilisation

1.12 ANALYSIS

The analysis follows qualitative “inductive” methods and deductive logic is used in the analysis of data. The four-stage model of Action research comprising enquiry, intervention, transition and modification and finally the stabilisation stage is used in the analysis and presentation of the findings. The analysis is done in accordance with the elements, standards and traits of critical thinking that need to be reflected at each of the four stages of Action research in order to respond to the main question in this study. Evidence of migration from the banking education approach to the dialogical approach guides the analysis, interpretation and presentation of the findings.

Three teachers were selected, interviewed and required to present four lessons in accordance with a four-stage model of Action research and also to participate in a robust group discussion which was intended to provide them with the opportunity to review lessons through self-reflectivity and critical reflection on recorded lessons. The data analysis emanating from these data collection methods was an in-depth iterative process that was based on categories that apply to traditional teaching methods, dialogical teaching, elements of critical thinking and the epistemology of the discipline of history. All aspects of teaching and learning were highlighted, analysed and placed in categories according to how they are related and how they relate to the main question. Many categories were generated which relate to the following aspects: Conceptions of teachers, Historical thinking, the dialogical teaching approach and critical thinking. Data was arranged logically in accordance with themes in order to respond to the main question driving the research.

1.13 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I collected data in accordance with the ethical standards of the University of Pretoria. The University of Pretoria issued a formal approval for the collection of data after a careful analysis of the instruments that I had developed for the interviews and lesson observations. I requested permission to conduct research in two Gauteng districts and permission was granted by the Research Directorate in Gauteng Department of Education on behalf of the Superintendent-General. I further requested permission from the principals of the three schools which participated in this study and permission was granted. I wrote letters of consent for three teachers requesting them to make themselves available for participation in this study. I indicated to teachers that I was using an Action research design that recognised them as generators of knowledge and not as objects of the study. I made it clear that their participation was voluntary and at any stage they were free to withdraw if they wanted to do so. I obtained responses from each of the teachers indicating their commitment to participating in this study.

1.14 ORGANISATION OF THE CHAPTERS

CHAPTER ONE articulates the background, problem statement, purpose of the research and the research questions that direct the study. The significance of the study is clearly articulated in terms of its contribution to improving the quality of education. The chapter justifies the rationale for undertaking this study and articulates the critical aspects of curriculum development in South Africa. The chapter analyses Bantu Education and its impact on the education of African learners and the resistance to Bantu Education system waged by the National Education Crisis Committee. It also outlines the programmes introduced by the democratic government to address the imbalances of the past. The chapter also outlines the transition to the Outcomes-Based Curriculum. Finally, the chapter articulates the research paradigm and explains the reason for the choice of this epistemological underpinning. Finally, the research design and methodology are explained, as well as ethical considerations.

CHAPTER TWO explores the literature on curriculum development in South Africa with special focus on technical models that undermine the teaching of critical thinking and historical thinking in South African schools. The chapter explores literature that encompasses the studies involving historians and high school students in historical thinking and other sources that explore the gap between novices and historians in respect of the demonstration of the sophisticated knowledge of the discipline. The chapter articulates a conceptual framework which is based on the historical framework developed by Seixas and Wineburg. This framework is used as a lens in the conduct of this study and also as criteria in evaluating the literature on teachers' conceptions and lesson presentations in the classroom. The chapter also explores History education studies with special focus on the analysis of sources, the display of empathy and conceptions of elements of historical thinking by teachers and historians. The chapter explains the concept of critical thinking by demonstrating, through Socrates, Francis Bacon and Bertrand Russell, how the elements of reasoning, intellectual standards and intellectual traits of critical thinking have been exemplified throughout intellectual history since the Ancient Greeks. Finally, the chapter highlights the contribution of critical theorists to the concept of critical thinking.

CHAPTER THREE explores the development of the discipline of history up until the 20th century and its impact on school history education. It unpacks the development of history, drawing on the pioneering epistemological works of scholars such as Ranke, Carr and Marx, and how they influenced the discipline of History in the 1800s and 1900s. The chapter explicates the battle waged by historians against the empiricist approach and the achievement of "objectivity" and explores the challenges launched against textuality by Marxists, non-Marxists, social historians and cultural historians in support of the oral tradition, oral sources and memory as legitimate sources of evidence to reconstruct the histories of ordinary people. The chapter also deals with the expansion of the parameters of the discipline which led to the

establishment of new fields such as social history and women's history. The role played by *Annales*, Marxists, social scientists and social historians, postmodernist and literary theorists in changing various areas of historiography over time, leading to the emergence of paradoxes within the epistemology - realism versus relativism, quantitative versus qualitative, top-down versus bottom-up histories and literary aspects of historicism versus presentism, and these have influenced the modern conceptions of the discipline of history. The chapter explores debates about the aspects of school history education such as heritage and historical thinking and explains how these aspects influence the teaching of history. Finally, the chapter outlines the historiography of South Africa and elaborates on the contribution of Afrikaner, Marxist and Liberal schools of thinking to the writing of the history of South Africa from different political, economic and social perspectives.

CHAPTER FOUR explores the various aspects of the research methodology used in this study and provides the rationale for the selection of the qualitative approach to research. The chapter advances a strong case for the use of Action research design as a strategy to diffuse the knowledge that is generated from above by those in power and imposed upon the powerless. The chapter also focuses on the location of power and knowledge and the generation of alternative forms of knowledge through participative research methodology. This chapter strongly captures the social reality as advocated by feminists, critical theorists, social constructivists, social scientists, critical race theorists and history education experts who are united in their common advocacy of participatory Action research to change the current social reality. The chapter outlines criteria which are used during the lesson observations when the three teachers pilot a four-stage model of action research as an effective mode to migrate them to a dialogical approach. The chapter outlines various methods of collecting data and how these methods are used to triangulate the data and ensure that the data collected are valid and reliable. Finally, the chapter describes the ethical issues relating to the conduct of this research and articulates strategies to comply with the ethical conduct required in academic research.

CHAPTER FIVE presents the findings of the research and demonstrates how the conceptual framework and methodology have been used to yield relevant data to address the research questions. Each question raised is responded to and data are collected through a variety of methods. The chapter also demonstrates the two-pronged approach of Action research which is enquiry for diagnosis and action strategy for intervention, and how questions relating to the two aspects are answered.

CHAPTER SIX provides the conclusion of the study and the inferences that can be made from the data regarding the migration from an authoritarian transmission model to a dialogical method that has the capacity to promote elements of critical thinking and historical thinking. The chapter provides a

summation of each chapter, summary of the findings of the literature reviews and analysis of the empirical data. The chapter also delves into the contribution of the study and the implications of the study for the education system in South Africa. The chapter also highlights the limitations of the study and provides suggestions for further research. Finally, the chapter concludes by providing evidence from all exponents of Action research, elements of critical thinking and historical thinking to respond to the main question driving the study.

1.15 CONCLUSION

In conclusion it should be acknowledged that Bantu education and Apartheid education in general had far-reaching negative repercussions for African learners. There were very few schools for African learners and therefore access to quality education was restricted. There were limited resources such as laboratories and libraries, and classrooms were overcrowded. Teaching methodologies were based on rote learning and regurgitation of facts. The National Education Crisis Committee embarked on various strategies for resisting apartheid education and these include the provision of alternative materials and the expansion of the content to include the history of African people and the inclusion of other schools of thought. This chapter also articulates the main question and supplementary questions and stipulates the purpose of the research as well as the methodology and analysis methods that are followed.

The next chapter is based on the literature review and explores the consequences of Tyler's rational model, the South African curriculum content framework, as well as the outcomes of the history curriculum, the contributions of scholars of critical thinking and critical theorists, as well as an analysis of the body of research of young scholars in South Africa based on the analysis of Outcomes-Based Education. The chapter explores literature on some of the aspects of historical thinking. The chapter also presents a conceptual framework of historical thinking as articulated by Seixas, Wineburg, and other historians.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I explore the literature on curriculum development in South Africa with special focus on technical models that undermine the teaching of critical thinking and historical thinking in South African schools. I analyse literature that encompasses the studies involving historians and high-school students in historical thinking and explore other studies that use primary sources in order to foster historical thinking skills in high-school learners and teachers. I also articulate a conceptual framework which is based on the historical thinking framework developed by Seixas and Wineburg. This framework is used as a lens in the conduct of this study and is also used as criterion in evaluating the literature on the relationship between teachers' conceptions and lesson presentations in the classroom. I review the History education studies with specific focus on the analysis of sources, the display of empathy and conceptions of elements of historical thinking by teachers and historians. I further explain the concept of critical thinking by demonstrating, through Socrates, Francis Bacon and Bertrand Russell, how the elements of reasoning, intellectual standards and intellectual traits of critical thinking have been exemplified throughout intellectual history since the Ancient Greeks. Finally, I highlight the contribution of critical theorists to the concept of critical thinking.

The chapter focuses on the following questions:

- a) How does the framework for historical thinking relate to the elements of critical thinking and knowledge construction in the classroom?
- b) In what ways are the epistemological beliefs of teachers and learners essential to the teaching of historical thinking and critical thinking?
- c) To what extent are the social constructivist conceptions of learning compatible with historical thinking and critical thinking?

2.2 THE HISTORY OF CURRICULUM AND CURRICULUM CHANGE

2.2.1 The impact of Tyler's Rational Model on curriculum development in South Africa

The history of formal western schooling in South Africa dates back to the missionary education from the mid-1800s until 1948. The missionaries focused on teaching Africans the elementary skills of reading, writing and numeracy, mainly in order to enable them to read the Bible. The prime objective of missionary education was to convert Africans to Christianity. These missionary schools, particularly Lovedale, Tiger Kloof, Adams and others, produced the African elite including John Dube, Solomon Plaatje and Pixley Seme, who all became founding members of the so-called South African Native National Congress which was renamed the African National Congress in 1923. Kallaway (2002) has put together a volume in which different authors explore the history of apartheid education in South Africa and includes the role played by the Eiselen Commission in 1949. He details its brief, which was to explore the possibility of establishing different education systems for different population groups. The Commission recommended the separation of education systems for different population groups along racial lines, out of which the Bantu Education Act (Act No. 47 of 1953) was born. The book also outlines the influence of Paulo Freire (2005) in the struggle for people's education during the 1970s and 1980s, which led to the establishment of alternative schools (Kallaway, 2002). The Black Consciousness Movement was also influenced by Paulo Freire, especially Freire's early work, the *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Freire's book is a pioneering intellectual work about the negative academic repercussions of technicist curriculum development which seeks to underdevelop the learner through a banking education where learners are conditioned and indoctrinated to accept established hegemonies. Black consciousness wanted to free blacks from "mental slavery" (Swart, 2009:5). These writers, including Freire, provided the groundwork for apartheid education and its impact on Africans, Indians and Coloureds.

The point of departure is Tyler's rational model of curriculum development which has resulted in a curriculum driven by objectives or outcomes as organising principles for content, teaching methodology and assessment methods. The objective-driven curriculum is relevant to this research since it was responsible for the genesis of an Outcomes-Based Education in South Africa. The systemisation of the curriculum mapped out by Bobbit (1918) took its inspiration from industrial processes and began a trend not only towards utilitarianism, but also towards increasing specificity and the proliferation of objectives (Butterfield, 1995). Tyler's rational model restored a level of generality to the notion of objectives (Butterfield, 1995). This objective-driven curriculum was legitimised by Benjamin Bloom who further categorised knowledge into six taxonomies which were integrated into Tyler's objective curriculum. The

technical curriculum approach was solidified and became the basis of curriculum development in many countries for decades and continues to influence curriculum development at the present time.

2.2.2 History curriculum

Many countries have experienced debates and conflict over the choice of content or the narrative that needs to be taught to the children. South Africa is no exception. As a country which had been divided by the apartheid system and the struggle against apartheid, nation building in South Africa was a priority after the 1994 election that inaugurated the first democratic government in South Africa. What was central to the battle over curriculum content was the historical events significant to the coming of democracy in South Africa, a good story that needed to be told to the children and the world, and the celebration of the overthrow of the Afrikaner school of thinking which used to be at the heart of the South African history content taught at schools (Van Eeden, 1999). The battle between the progeny of the democratic South Africa and Afrikaner nationalist historians reached a polemical edge. The representatives of the Afrikaner school of thinking wanted a compromise curriculum which would not exclude the whites from the story that needed to be told to the South African learners. However, the progeny of the new political order influenced by the ruling party, the ANC, wanted the South African learners to be told the story of the struggle and the road to freedom, and the plot of the story should be built around the stalwarts of the struggle such as Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo and other struggle heroes (Van Eeden, 1999:13). There was also consensus that the Afrikaner nationalist perspective needed to be replaced by an Africanist perspective and this was seen by some academics as contrary to the postmodernist conception of history which supports multiple perspectives or multiple representation of reality. As a result, more Africans were included along with whites in presenting the story of the struggle against apartheid, and Africans were included for the first time both as historical actors and storytellers. Some of those who wrote history textbooks have first-hand experience of apartheid repression and the hardship of the struggle. There was migration towards an Africanist perspective which was sponsored by the Department of Education and authors were keen to satisfy the criteria set by the DBE (then the DOE) and if a textbook did not represent adequately the story of the struggle, the book was disregarded and not prescribed and therefore many authors displayed the Africanist perspectives even on the covers of their books in order to ensure that they were prescribed for use by schools (Engelbrecht, 2008).

The changes in content have resulted in the dwindling number of learners enrolling for History. Afrikaans-medium schools led the campaign for excluding History from the school curriculum and this is attributed to the choice of the storyline which is mainly in favour of the Africanist perspective (Black, 2014). Some of the Afrikaner learners and teachers interviewed believed that the story of Africans would take centre

stage and stories of whites and Afrikaners would be relegated to the periphery and this was seen as apartheid in reverse. More students were encouraged to take Mathematics and Physical Sciences and those that were cut out for social sciences took Geography (Black, 2014). The decision to drop History was located with parents who felt that History in the past had been used to elevate the Afrikaners and therefore in the current democratic era it would be used to uplift the African people, thereby making as if the Afrikaner communities were not important in South Africa (Black, 2014).

The interim syllabus was adopted in the 1990s as a transition syllabus and included the rise of Africanism, the armed struggle, the Rivonia trial, the total strategy and total onslaught in the 1980s when the apartheid government crushed the protests in the townships, the road to democracy and the TRC. This new content was included and additional material was supplied to schools to support learners in preparation for the Grade 12 examinations (Dryden, 1999). Textbooks were not written and additional materials were included. The new content was included side by side with the Afrikaner history and the implementation of apartheid laws in the 1950s such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No. 55 of 1949, Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953, Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, Suppression of Communism Act No. 44 of 1950, and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953 were included. However, the story of the struggle cannot be told without elucidating the heightened repression by the Apartheid government especially during the 1980s under PW Botha, where soldiers wreaked havoc in the townships, killing defenceless people including children, women and men. The period of internal and external resistance is clearly articulated in the interim syllabus (Dryden, 1999). This accommodation of black historical content clearly communicated the message that in the new National Curriculum Statement the African story would overshadow that of the Afrikaner story.

The desire for a balance in History content or narrative and the eagerness to include the struggle of the African people including heritage studies, was urgent, but historical thinking was not a priority in South Africa at that time. Multiple perspectivity was not respected during the Apartheid education and at the advent of democracy the priority was to reflect the Africanist perspective and this can be seen in the amount of content that accommodates the narrative on the struggle and the limited space accorded for the Afrikaner histories (DBE CAPS, 2012). The change from Afrikaner nationalist to Africanist perspective was evident in the writing of the interim syllabus.

2.2.3 Historical significance

What criteria were used in selecting the content for the new curriculum for a democratic South Africa? The second-order concept of significance was utilised by the technical curriculum committee when

selecting the content framework. In presenting the application of the second-order concept in Canadian history, Stephane Levesque frames four disciplinary criteria, namely, Importance (what was considered of primary influence by those who lived the event), Profundity (how deeply people were affected by the events), Quantity (The number of people affected by the events), and Durability (how long people were affected by the events). Some of the content selected complied with these criteria. However, Levesque argues that many content choices are driven by present-day commemoration and what is called “memory-history”. Instead of advancing historical knowledge and understanding, these “memory significance” criteria have a collective memory function, designed to tailor the collective past for present-day purposes. Levesque also provides criteria for memory significance and these include intimate interests, symbolic and contemporary lessons. As Mark Sheehan (2013) has pointed out in his New Zealand case study, there can be constructive links between national and international events in which citizens took part especially when looking at which events in the past have been significant. In South Africa many events can be located within the disciplinary, memory and international criteria of historical significance. For example, the struggle against apartheid was an important issue and the Liberation forces were supported by neighbouring countries such as Zambia, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe and by international countries such Cuba, Russia and Western countries such Britain, France and the USA. The support against apartheid was varied, with some countries providing weapons and training to the liberation forces and others applying sanctions. Some of the campaigns such as the release Mandela campaign launched in Britain and the statue of Mandela erected in Britain while he was in prison, highlight the international significance of these historical events. However, most of the history of the Afrikaners did not reflect international interest and most of it, especially because it was based on the segregation of the African communities, was more associated with evil systems such as Nazism and Fascism and it lost international popularity and significance. The Sharpeville massacre where 69 people were killed and many wounded, the 1976 Soweto Uprisings where Hector Peterson and others were killed, became international events and the photograph of Hector Peterson is located in the General Assembly, showing its international significance. The Rivonia trial where Mandela and his comrades were brought to trial, and the trial where Mandela made his famous speech, “I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination, I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society ...” became an event of international significance. The declaration of the international Mandela day makes him an international hero, including his story, the long walk to freedom. These were epoch-making events that paved the road to democracy and South Africa was an example to many countries. The narrative of the road to democracy attracted international interest and therefore had to be included in the curriculum and represented in textbooks (Battaro et al., 2013; Angier et al., 2013; Fernandez et al, 2013).

There are a number of historians who described this selection of content as being biased in favour of the Africanist perspective. According to Alta Engelbrecht (2008), the game of exclusion is still the same. What has changed is the players in the game. Her argument is supported by Colin Bandy, and a respected social historian, who warn that History should represent all the South African communities and should not reflect the ideology of the ruling party only. The two historians fail to realise that the content embodied during apartheid exclusively narrated and glorified the history of the Afrikaners by underplaying the historical roles of African people. While the history of the coming of democracy is a story that includes both the Afrikaners and Africans because collectively both communities worked together in the release of political prisoners, negotiations leading to the 1994 elections, the 1996 interim constitution and during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, during the unfolding of these events African leaders were in the driving seat and therefore the contention by the two historians is valid to this extent. What is interesting is that the majority of the textbook writers in South Africa are whites and they present history from the African perspective which reflects the ideology of the ruling party (Battaro et al., 2013; Angier et al., 2013; Fernandez et al, 2013). The commemorations in South Africa that have become significant after the advent of democracy celebrate the struggle, namely, June 16, a holiday to commemorate the Soweto Uprising; 21 March to commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre and 9 August to celebrate the struggle of women against the pass laws. 16 December, was popularly known as “Dingaan’s Day” or “the Day of the Vow”, symbolising the defeat of Dingane, king of the Amazulu, in a battle which was a retaliation for the killing of Piet Retief, one of the respected Afrikaner leaders, and the subsequent killing of women and children in the laager. The day is still celebrated but its significance has changed and it has been renamed the “Day of Reconciliation” for the purpose of nation building. These commemorative events have become a political platform for the ruling party to galvanise support and have lost their initial purpose of uniting the nation. Most white South Africans do not attend commemorative events to avoid political rhetoric from the ruling party, that is, the ANC (Dryden, 1999). It is difficult to find a historical event that can fully represent the Afrikaners and Africans, and historical events that are significant amongst Afrikaners such as the Great Trek and the South African war, the 1910 elections and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism are accommodated in the new curriculum but are obviously overshadowed by the African history (Black, 2014).

2.3.4 The National Curriculum Statement

The National Curriculum Statement was introduced in 2006 to replace the interim syllabus and the exit qualification called the Senior Certificate, with the new qualification called the National Senior Certificate which was awarded to the first cohort of candidates in 2008 (DBE NCS, 2006). The National Curriculum Statement (2006) is the all-encompassing document that conceptualises the national curriculum. It is a

policy document that outlines the learning outcomes, skills and content framework that are mandatory in the education system of the country. The learning outcomes contained critical outcomes and subject-specific learning outcomes. One of the critical outcomes of the curriculum was as follows: “To be able to solve problems and make decisions using creative and critical thinking.” There were four learning outcomes, namely, Historical Enquiry, Historical Concepts and Knowledge Construction and Communication and heritage. Each one was underpinned by assessment standards articulating more specific standards for attaining the outcomes, for example, under Knowledge construction and communication: learners must be able to plan the argument, select information, arrange information and draw a valid conclusion (DBE NCS, 2006).

The South African education system is divided into the General Education and Training band (GET) and the Further Education and Training band (FET). The GET is the compulsory phase and encompasses Grade R (pre-school) to Grade 9 and FET incorporates Grade 10 to Grade 12. Grade 12 is the exit level where learners write the examination to be awarded the National Senior Certificate. Depending on the level, the candidates may achieve the normal NSC certificate, or a college entry NSC certificate or a university entry NSC certificate (DBE National Protocol for Assessment, 2006).

The History content framework which is outlined below belongs to Grade 10 to Grade 12. In Grade 10 the content is organised under this key question: *What was the world like around 1600?* It embodies the following topics: China: a world power in the 14th and 15th centuries, Songhay: An African Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries (around 1368 to 1644), India (Mughal) (1526 to 1858), European societies, European expansion which includes America and the Spanish conquest, Africa: Portugal and the destruction of the Indian Ocean Trade: Dutch East India Company, the French Revolution. The Transformation of Southern Africa and the subthemes including the political revolution of 1820 and 1835 and this embodies the *Mfecane* associated with the rise of Shaka, the king of the AmaZulu nation and the establishment of nation states such as the Basotho, AmNdebele, and AmaZulu kingdoms. Lastly, British imperialism, the South African War between the British and the Boers, the Union of South Africa in 1910 and the Native Land Act of 1913 were also part of the curriculum. This content is extensive and it is a major constraint for the teaching of historical skills (DBE NCS, 2006).

The Grade 11 content framework was centralised under the following key question: How do the concepts imperialism, capitalism, communism, racism and nationalism define the century from 1850 to 1950? The specific content includes the rise of Russia under Lenin and Stalin, Capitalism in the USA between 1900 and 1940, the issue of race and the influence of pseudo-scientific ideas about race, Eugenics, the Nazis and the Holocaust, Nationalisms in South Africa, North Africa and East and West Africa (this includes

African nationalism in the form of the ANC and ANC youth League, the Freedom Charter, Afrikaner nationalism and case studies: Middle East and Ghana). The last theme: Apartheid in South Africa 1940 to 1960. This includes the election of 1948 which established apartheid, the banning of political parties, ANC and SACP, the Sharpeville Massacre, and the Rivonia trial (DBE NCS, 2006).

Grade 12 content is organised under the following key question: “How did the Cold War period shape international relations after the Second World War”? This theme includes the origin of the Cold War, USSR and USA, creation of spheres of interest, policy of containment, case study: Cold War in China or Vietnam; Independent Africa between 1960 and 1970. This subtheme includes the following topics: Ideas that influenced the independent states, case studies: Tanzania and Congo, a comparative study, success and challenges faced by African states, the influence of internal and external factors on Africa; civil society protests and these include the working class, women embarking on anti-pass campaigns, case study: The US Civil Rights Movement, Case study: Black power movement (Black Panther and role played by Malcom X), Civil Resistance in South Africa 1970 to 1980; Black consciousness challenges the Apartheid State; Crisis of Apartheid; Coming of Democracy and this includes the negotiation and political settlement, Truth and Reconciliation; and lastly the end of the Cold war and a new world order. A scrutiny of this content clearly shows that there is an acute reduction in Afrikaner history content and this is the reason why Afrikaner historians and communities have challenged the content and some have gone to the extent of discouraging their children from enrolling for History as a subject (DBE NCS, 2006).

The historical concepts were not included in the NSC document and they were assumed to be implicit in the Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards. However, with the introduction of the CAPS which is a reformed curriculum, elements of historical thinking were accommodated. These have, however, not been integrated into the prescribed content and teachers are unable to access it because they do not have curriculum documents and most of them depend on previous question papers and textbooks. To what extent do textbooks and examination papers reflect these aspects of historical thinking? From my experience as an examiner and a textbook writer, the setting of sources is based on the extraction of information from sources and questions are framed to assess the reliability and usefulness of information. This type of setting of papers has continued up until today (Standardised national question papers, 2014). As part of the History panel from 2003 to 2005, setting a national paper for the first time, the aim was to set a national standard. The questions we set included the comparison of sources and comparison questions, but the papers fell short of assessing the credibility of the sources, *sourcing*, *contextualisation* and some aspects of *corroboration* of evidence and therefore question papers set a poor standard (Standardised national question papers, 2003 – 2005). Textbook writers emulated the standards set by question papers and most of the textbook writers were examiners. I should admit that assessing and

displaying empathy was difficult in both question papers and textbook writing and we could not agree about sources and questions that were appropriate for assessing empathy. An analysis of the 2014 national standardised History question papers clearly shows that empathy is not assessed in the questions papers (Standardised national question paper, 2014).

2.2.5 Criticism of Outcomes-based education

The introduction of the outcomes-based approach in South Africa in 1997 provoked divergent opinions from scholars who regarded the curriculum as technical and still rooted in Tyler's rational model of curriculum development. Critics of outcomes-based education include Jansen, Meerkotter and King. Their criticism includes the technical nature of the curriculum which is outcomes driven and seeks to hold teachers accountable. The critics consider the change of the curriculum as part of the transformation agenda of the ruling party and that it has nothing to do with the classroom. Some decry the deskilling of education and barren education conditions which are unsuitable for a new education system. The details of these critiques are explained later in this section.

The rationale for the introduction of Outcomes-based education in South Africa in 1997 became a subject of debate within academic circles. Critics labelled the genesis of this new trajectory as a political tool rather than an educational solution to eradicate the last vestiges of the apartheid epoch (Jansen, 1998; Meerkotter, 1998). Jonathan Jansen viewed the transformation of education as the political symbolism of the ruling party and a project devoid of any intention to change the "modalities in the classrooms" (Jansen, 1998:322). Jansen also predicted that Outcomes-based education would fail and he gave ten reasons why it would fail. Some these are explored later in the analysis. Jansen is correct in saying that Tyler's rational approach of curriculum development is likely to worsen the current educational crisis. The single criticism that this research can level against the outcomes-based approach is that the Tyler model of teaching methodology is an obstacle to the teaching of critical thinking and problem solving demanded by outcomes-based education. The outcomes and assessment standards are not conceptualised in a way that allows learners to demonstrate reasoned intellectual judgment in the classroom. The curriculum is still content driven and there is more emphasis on the product than the process. There is too much focus on the breadth rather than the depth of content and this results in superficial learning. There is a need to balance skills and content. This curriculum has failed to do so, and therefore the mode of learning remains rote learning through banking education. Teachers struggle to cope with the huge content and when they reach the end of the year they realise that there has been no time to inculcate the required skills. These shortcomings of the curriculum were overlooked by critics who focused more on the type of

curriculum introduced and not on its usefulness in promoting the quality of thinking in teaching and learning.

Another educationalist who is sceptical about the timing of the implementation of Outcomes-based education is King (1998). He argues that unless there are special measures to address the deficit in quality, morality and student commitment, it is not possible that any single comprehensive reform will be readily accommodated in those schools directly involved in the struggle. King further asserts that the same can be said of many rural and farm schools located in the former homelands. According to him a single reform will not provide special remedies for rural schools. King also alludes to a crucial point that the national initiative intended to promote equity, access and quality, may in fact reinforce inequality because of the different capabilities and resources in schools caused by the unequal distribution of resources. This last point raised by King is critical. Curriculum implementers must ensure that rural and township schools are provided with the physical and human resources to ensure that the curriculum is implemented appropriately. However, King should note that an inferior curriculum is not an option for the poor communities because the new government has an obligation to redress the imbalances of the past and cannot be seen to perpetuate the inequalities. King does not analyse the epistemology of Outcomes-based education in terms of its ability to promote higher-order thinking.

Dirk Meerkotter (1998) is also one of the early writers on the new curriculum. He is also sceptical about the timing of the implementation of the new curriculum. He believes that the introduction of the new curriculum is an attempt by the new government to move away from the apartheid curriculum and he appears to profess the view that the new government is obsessed with the eradication of apartheid education without due consideration of the current fragile context. By “fragile context”, Meerkotter means the instability caused by the Soweto uprisings and other forms of resistance to apartheid because of which teachers had little experience of teaching in a stable and uninterrupted environment. To a certain extent Meerkotter is correct, because there was a need for the radical re-training and reorientation of teachers to ensure that they would be ready to implement the outcomes-based curriculum. However, the percentage of schools that were active in the struggle against apartheid was relatively small and the central axis for most of the protests was Johannesburg. It is therefore incorrect to infer that this was a major obstacle to the implementation of the new curriculum. It is shown in this research that all schools, whether rural or township, struggled with the implementation of the curriculum, not because of weaknesses in training, but due to the weaknesses in academic content knowledge and pedagogical strategies they had acquired during their initial teacher education. And not least is the fact that critical education requires teachers to be equipped with a different set of philosophical tools than those required by a syllabus-driven model. The poor matric pass rate, particularly at the end of 1997, warranted a

revolution in the curriculum of the country and the introduction of Outcomes-based education was a direct response to the problem of poor matric performance. Meerkotter's criticism fails to address issues relating to the technical aspects of the outcomes-based curriculum, critical thinking and teaching methodologies which promote the construction of knowledge by recognising the perceptions of the teachers and learners as well as the integration of subject matter and pedagogical practices which are currently responsible for the transmission model of teaching in South African schools.

Jonathan Jansen (1998) is one of the better-known critics of the new curriculum. In an article in the Cambridge Journal of Education entitled *Curriculum reform in South Africa: a critical analysis of outcomes-based education*, Jansen demonstrates how the current status of education in South Africa militates against sophisticated curriculum reforms such as those envisaged in outcomes-based education. He argues in his conclusion that "the origin and anticipated trajectory of Outcomes-based education are primarily a political response to apartheid education rather than one which is concerned with the modalities of change at classroom level". Jansen's thesis is that Outcomes-based education "will fail, not because politicians and bureaucrats are misinformed about conditions in South African schooling, but because this policy is being driven in the first instance by political imperatives which have little to do with the realities of classroom life". Jansen further argues that rather than spawning innovation, "Outcomes-based education will in fact undermine the already fragile learning environment in schools and classrooms of the new South Africa". The gap in Jansen's observations about the curriculum is that curriculum development in most countries in the world reflects the ideologies of the state and of market fundamentalism rather than critical pedagogy in the classroom. The state and the capitalists are afraid that if learners are taught the fundamentals of critical thinking, critical theories and critical education, these learners will emerge from the schooling system as critical thinkers who will question the social system that oppresses them and may form social movements to achieve human emancipation by overthrowing the social system created by market fundamentalism and neo-liberalism. Jansen does not identify teaching methodology as an obstacle to quality education and that the real problem of the Curriculum in South Africa is the content-based approach and the transmission model of teaching which Jansen did not indicate as a problem.

According to Jansen, "there is no shred of evidence in almost 80 years of curriculum change recorded in literature to suggest that altering the curriculum of schools leads to, or is associated with, changes in national economies". Jansen also maintains that what official documents claim is at best misleading since they offer an economic development panacea to benefit those who were alienated from education and training under apartheid in the name of a complex curriculum reform policy. Jansen sees changes as political constructs intended to benefit the politicians and not teachers in the classroom. His assertion

regarding the economic benefit is partly true, to the extent that change in the curriculum cannot be expected to bring about equality and economic development, particularly to those marginalised by apartheid. However, many scholars of critical thinking agree that a curriculum policy designed to promote critical thinking and problem solving could contribute to the economic growth of a country (Hare, 1998; Hale, 2008; Costa, 2001; Ennis, 1996; Fasko, 2003; Paul, 1995; Peticolas, 1998). The assertion by Jansen is antithetical to the theory of critical theorists who place economic underdevelopment of society at the epicentre of state and market fundamentalism, meaning that those who develop the curriculum do so in order to perpetuate poverty. The reason for the limited evidence of economic growth is that the forces of market fundamentalism, capitalism and technocracy are strong, and social systems perpetuate poverty and are reinforced by educational reforms driven by the state and capitalism. The state is not interested in the type of curriculum offered in township and rural schools but is only concerned with improving the Grade 12 results which benefit the image of politicians. This is the perspective of critical theorists and is presented in this research against the backdrop of a narrow curriculum review by South African academics.

In a nutshell, criticism of the curriculum was robust, especially in highlighting the technical nature of the curriculum and raising scepticism about the readiness of the education system for a radical transformation. However, these critics failed to identify the characteristics of an ideal curriculum which would foster not only a society capable of critical thought, but a truly educated and democratic society based on the principles of fair-mindedness, openness, empathy, humility and intellectual integrity.

2.2.6 The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement

In view of the criticisms levelled against Outcomes-based education and the National Curriculum Statement, the Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshegoa, appointed a review committee to evaluate the curriculum in order to accommodate the critics. The review process led to the introduction of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) in 2012 which replaced the National Curriculum Statement. The framework of the revised curriculum focuses on content and skills rather than on outcomes and the curriculum has been streamlined and the content load reduced. There are many extensive prescriptions which means that some the characteristics of the old curriculum have been brought back. The curriculum includes skills that must be developed by learners and also includes five substantial concepts of historical thinking such as the analysis of historical sources and evidence, cause and effect, change and continuity, multiple perspectives (empathy), time and chronology. Historical significance and ethical dimension concepts are excluded in the curriculum document. The curriculum document in South Africa does not use the concept historical thinking and does not reflect the theoretical

framework of Wineburg (2001) and Seixas and Morton (2013) especially in the analysis of primary sources. The curriculum does not place primary sources at the centre of teaching history. There are no guidelines in respect of the teaching methodology which is suitable for teaching this new curriculum.

In addition, the CAPS (2012) conceptualises History as a rigorous process of enquiry that enables learners to acquire the eight skills, namely, understand the range of the sources of information for studying the past, extract and interpret information from a number of sources, evaluate the usefulness of sources including reliability, stereotyping and subjectivity, recognise that there is often more than one perspective of a historical event, explain why there are different interpretations of historical events and people's actions, participate in constructive and focused debate through the careful evaluation of historical evidence, organise evidence to substantiate an argument in order to create an original, coherent and balanced piece of historical writing, engage critically with issues of heritage and public representations of the past, and conservation. These skills need to be internalised in the classroom but the CAPS does not provide guidelines on how these skills can be achieved. It is stipulated that a source-based approach and essay writing should form the basis of teaching and assessment. Two types of essays have been prescribed, one of which is based on a straightforward presentation of factual knowledge where learners are required to "describe" and "discuss", for example, "Discuss to what extent both the Congo and Tanzania were successful in bringing about economic development and political stability after attaining independence from colonial rule". There is also a second type of essay which requires learners to take a particular perspective. For example, "The Black Power Movement grew out of disillusionment (unhappiness) among the civil rights workers in the south, and was fuelled by uprisings by dissatisfied African Americans in the north. Is this a fair assessment of the emergence of the Black Power Movement in the United States of America in the 1960s? Discuss". Both questions appeared in the Grade 12 examination paper (2014). A statement is made and learners are required to indicate whether they agree or not. This essay has the ability to engage learners in taking a perspective and they do so by selecting relevant content in order to support their chosen line of argument. This type of essay is responsible for encouraging debates in the classroom. These types of questions exemplified by a statement where learners are required to take a particular point of view, have the propensity to engage learners in the historical argumentation and reasoning. The only constraint is the fact the argument would be supported by most information from the secondary sources or textbooks and some of the information used to support the argument may not be valid (Grade 12, Standardised National question paper, 2014).

The aspect that is missing in the curriculum document is the cognitive framework that embodies *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* developed by Wineburg (2001) for the interpretation and analysis of primary documents. Secondly, empathy is not clearly articulated in the curriculum document. There is

more emphasis on nation building and social cohesion and these values can be fostered by a display of historical empathy. Content reflecting the story of Mandela is critical and this is included at the expense of historical skills such as empathy. According to experts of historical thinking, the concept of empathy in the teaching of history has the ability to foster pluralism and tolerance amongst emotionally tormented societies such as South African society and the Germans. The cognitive analysis of sources and empathy are not included in the standardised papers and prescribed textbooks address these issues in a superficial manner and therefore, schools are not provided with guidelines to adequately engage in the analysis of sources and empathy.

2.3 CRITICAL THINKING IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS

There are very few books published in South Africa on the subject of critical education based on Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. The role of Paulo Freire's philosophy is articulated by Fhulu Nekhwevha in an article called, *The influence of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of Knowing on the South African Struggle in the 1970s and 1980s* (Nekhwevha, 2002:134-144). Nekhwevha outlines the influence of Paulo Freire on anti-apartheid activists and the struggle against apartheid education. He also alludes to its immense impact on the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the University Christian Movement (UCM). However, the total strategy in the 1980s did not allow this theory to manifest itself through alternative schools created by the activists and Freire's book was eventually banned in South Africa. When the new government took over in 1994 the curriculum designed by the new government was not influenced by Paulo Freire. Critical thinking and critical education were therefore not part of the South African Outcomes-based education and the new curriculum continues to promote the banking concept of education criticised by Paulo Freire, because it is based on Tyler's rational model of curriculum development.

According to Freire (2005), in his seminal book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, "a careful analysis of the teacher-student relationship at any level, inside or outside the school, reveals its fundamentally narrative character. This relationship involves a narrating subject (the teacher) and patient listening objects (the students). The contents, whether values or empirical dimensions of reality, tend in the process of being narrated to become lifeless and petrified" (Freire, 2005). Freire asserts further that the "teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalised and predictable; or he expounds on a topic completely alien to the existential experience of the students". Freire also indicates that the task of the teacher is to "fill" "the students with the contents of his narration; contents which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them" (Freire, 2005). The situation described by Freire is characteristic of traditional South African classrooms. History teaching entails argumentation, critical evaluation of sources, interpretation and robust group discussions from different historical

perspectives, a process-based approach to teaching. However, all these have been undermined by the technical approach to teaching.

Critical thinking has become something of a forgotten relic in South African education. It is argued in this research that a truly comprehensive model of critical thinking is yet to percolate to South African classrooms. However, the first articulation of a critical-thinking concept in South Africa was with the introduction of outcomes-based education. It is interesting that the two critical outcomes of outcomes-based education articulate elements of critical thinking and they are as follows: "Learners must be able to identify and solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking", and, "Learners must be able to collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information" (NCS, 2006). These two critical outcomes are closely related to critical thinking but are not realised by teachers and learners in the classroom because the curriculum model is structured in such a way that learners are only required to regurgitate knowledge. It is argued in this research that these two critical outcomes are not being achieved by teachers simply because they have not been integrated into specific disciplines and therefore teachers do not see any relationship among the critical outcomes, learning outcomes and assessment standards. The reality is that those who developed Outcomes-based education and textbooks that explicated the curriculum content and skills were not intellectually engaged and rigorously trained in activities that were suitable for the development of critical thinking. Activities that are utilised by various prescribed textbooks are robust in assessing medium and lower thinking at the expense of critical thinking activities and therefore are not essential resources in providing enabling knowledge for the cultivation of critical thinking. Assessment tasks in South Africa exemplify the standards set in the external examination which do not engage learners in open-ended and intellectually flexible items that promote deep thinking and intellectual virtues such as intellectual empathy, intellectual humility, intellectual integrity and fair-mindedness. Intellectual empathy unlocks individuals from the bondage of their own egocentric, ethnocentric and sociocentric ideas which are major obstacles to the development of critical thinking and fair-minded thought.

2.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Initially I wanted to use critical thinking as a conceptual framework to judge the existence of critical thinking in the history classroom, because critical thinking is a highly skilled level of thinking respected by educationalists across different academic endeavours, but experts of historical thinking and historical reasoning believe that critical thinking can be expressed through historical thinking. Because of the influence of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* which influenced the Black consciousness movement and the youth in the 1970s, and its influence on the History Commission, a branch of the National Education Crisis Committee, critical thinking was a weapon acquired from Freire (2005) as a

rallying cry against the imposition of the Afrikaner nationalist perspective in schools which was designed to promote the idea of a master race (Kallaway, 1993). The History Commission included the participation of Kallaway and Colin Bundy, two professional historians who pioneered the struggle against Afrikaner nationalist perspectives but advocated a history curriculum that recognised Africans, including heroes such as Steve Biko. Therefore, it is believed that history has the capacity to promote critical thinking. Critical thinking has also made its way into the curriculum as one of the overarching cross-curricular outcomes which reads as follows: Learners should have the ability to solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking. This outcome has survived the curriculum reforms that took place in 2012 which led to the development of the CAPS. Therefore, all subjects in the curriculum are somehow expected to embody elements of critical thinking. Experts (Wineburg, 2001; Bain, 2009) express discontent with the use of a generic thinking model to teach history. These experts' fears are well founded because a generic thinking model runs the risk of compromising the deep structural features embodied within the discipline and this would lead to superficial structural features being addressed in an attempt to comply with critical thinking. This study has benefited from the debate about the importance of historical thinking premised on the analysis of primary sources reflecting different perspectives about events of the past, reconciliation of the competing narratives of the past, display of historical perspectives, or empathy in which historical events are placed within the proper historical context. Therefore, historical thinking would be used as a lens to examine the existence of high level thinking in the history classroom and the pedagogical practices that lead to knowledge construction. Attention will be given to methodologies that are compatible with the new concept of "doing History" (Seixas & Morton, 2013; Wineburg, 2001).

Historical thinking requires the analysis of primary sources, and teacher educators at Universities are lamenting the inability of colleges to shape students' understanding of primary sources. Students, according to David Neumann (2010:490), remain philosophically naïve in their approach to documents, unable to engage their thinking in a disciplined way. Experts support a cognitive approach towards teaching History, demanding that teachers learn the nature of historical knowledge, students' thinking about History, and the context within which learning history occurs. This conviction is well articulated by Wineburg, a psychologist and historian who expresses concern about how learners are learning History, and what cognition is used by historians when analysing historical documents. He designed a method of "thinking aloud" in order to make the cognitive process of historians visible so as to ensure that it can be used as a criterion to train teachers and students to analyse and interpret primary sources in a sophisticated manner (Wineburg, 2001).

In response to the concern raised by experts of history education, the conceptual framework of this study is based on the big six concepts of historical thinking designed by Seixas and Morton (2013) which

reflects the sophisticated nature of the discipline and have proved to be useful and suitable as a lens in the conduct of this study. Seixas and Morton (2013) cannot be credited alone with the concept of historical thinking but the work of Samuel Wineburg (2001) has been a standard work in the cognitive analysis of primary sources and his work has been used as a benchmark to cultivate the habit of working with primary sources at schools, colleges and universities. It is argued in this research that aspects of historical thinking can be used to achieve elements of critical thinking that are embodied in the generic model of critical thinking developed by Richard Paul and Socrates. These critical thinking experts wanted to use the central tenets of critical thinking in order to produce a fair-minded intellectual thinker. Historical thinking contains all the intellectual tools and dispositions that have the capacity to produce a thinker of such quality.

The big six historical concepts include historical significance, evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequences, historical perspective and ethical dimension (Seixas & Morton, 2013). These concepts are used by historians to interpret primary sources by *sourcing*, *contextualising* and *corroborating* evidence in order to judge the credibility of the primary sources, select relevant and significant events and facts from the unorganised and fragmented traces, to judge what is significant and less significant, using established or agreed criteria, to identify historical events that have continued from the past to those that have changed over time, to analysing the causes of historical events and be able to weigh multiple causations and identify a significant cause of the historical events and its consequences, the ability to set aside the present standards and see the historical events from the perspective of the past in order to learn the experiences of the people of the past or those in a foreign past and refrain from using presentism to judge them. Embodied in historical perspective is a requirement that historical events be placed in time and place within the context of the period in which they occurred, and lastly, students need to deal with moral judgment and engage in a reasoned ethical judgment that is based on the context of that period and not on current standards (Seixas & Morton, 2013; Wineburg, 2001). This process demonstrates the sophisticated nature of the discipline of history that should be reflected in the classroom and therefore learners should be engaged in this rigorous process of constructing history.

Of significance to this historical thinking is the epistemological stance that is prevalent in the study of history. This is a debate that can be traced back to Ranke, about the ability of the discipline of history to present an objective account of the past and is based on the assumption that there is a knowable past that can be presented as it really was (Yilmaz, 2007). This grand narrative has been challenged throughout the development of history by Marxists, modern and post-modernist historians and later by deconstructionist historians led by White, Foucault, Derrida, Jenkins, and new imperialist historians such as those of subaltern studies led by Indian Intellectuals such as Guha, Said, Charkraborty and Spivak

(Munslow, 1997; Roberts, 2001). This objective history about the knowable past has been a terrain contested by emerging historians including socio- cultural historians such as social and feminist historians who attacked the legitimacy of textual evidence in the construction of historical events leading to exclusion of third-world communities such as workers, women and peasants as historical actors. The cultural historians and literary historians who are influenced by post-structuralism and historicism advocate a relativist representation of the past and this has resulted in a dichotomy between the realist historians (knowable past) and the relativist historians who do not believe in the knowable past (Yilmaz, 2007).

Observing the teaching of history in the classroom, there is a need to establish the epistemological belief of teachers and how these are manifested in the classroom. Given the consensus among experts that teachers need to reflect the elements of historical thinking that reveal the sophisticated nature of constructing historical narrative, or implotment by historians, the elements of historical thinking and critical thinking will be observed (Wineburg, 2001; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Bain, 2009). There is agreement among expert history teachers that it is not easy to change teacher behaviour in the classroom and some believe that traditional teaching methods are tied to their epistemological beliefs about the discipline of teaching and their pedagogical apprenticeship when they grew up within a class, observing the teacher flexing his or her authoritarian muscles and they do not want to relinquish power to the cooperative, active and dialogical learning advocated by history education experts, social constructivists and critical theorists who are united by a common advocacy for a collaborative process of generating knowledge in the classroom (Barton & Levstik, 2004). However, there are experts who have proved that in some instances teacher knowledge and beliefs run contrary to their teaching practices in the classroom. Bain (2009) asserts that thinking in the classroom needs to be externalised and learners must try to “see” all the thinking in the history classroom. For this to happen, there is a need to integrate appropriate methods and historical thinking, what Shulman (1986) calls the pedagogical content knowledge, and this requires active, cooperative learning which embodies multiple perspectives and construction of historical knowledge (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Bain, 2009). This study therefore explores the epistemological beliefs of teaching in history teaching and the pedagogical practices in the classroom. The study also attempts to establish congruency between teachers’ beliefs and their pedagogical practices in the classroom.

2.5 WHAT IS CRITICAL THINKING?

For this study to establish the relationship between critical thinking and historical thinking it is necessary to analyse the elements of critical thinking and these are embodied in various definitions provided by critical thinking experts.

Critical thinking is a complex concept which is difficult to define, especially by experts from different domains of knowledge. Some have contorted the concept with higher-order thinking and problem-solving skills within the conceptual framework of technicist models such as Bloom's taxonomy and Barrett's taxonomy. Some scholars consider critical thinking to be closely linked to lateral thinking, reflective thinking, logical thinking, analytical thinking and creative thinking. However, some intellectuals have considered the absence of a clear and single definition of critical thinking as the core reason for its absence from the teaching and learning in most classrooms. Some experts have attributed the different definitions of critical thinking to a domain-specific conception of critical thinking and advocated the existence of a baseline definition which encompasses all different subject domains.

John Dewey (1997:177) argues that high quality thinking is "the accurate and deliberate instituting of connections between what is done and its consequences". Dewey elucidates "the idea that thinking of the highest quality is intentional, based on accepted standards for evaluation, and explores the results of one's conclusions". Dewey further asserts that "thinking well is a concrete process that requires intellectual work in practical situations, but not an abstraction that has no applicability to one's daily life" (in Hale, 2008).

According to Edward Glaser (1941:5), "The ability to think critically... involves three things: an attitude of being disposed to consider in a thoughtful way the problems and subjects that come within the range of one's experiences, knowledge of the methods of logical inquiry and reasoning, and some skill in applying those methods". Glaser's conception, in part, introduces as a necessary condition the concept of intellectual dispositions, where one exercises a willingness to open-mindedly investigate problems and issues relevant to one's life. Like Dewey, Glaser also emphasises the need to think with well-founded reasons rather than thinking that is directed, for example, by bias, subjective opinion, and/or social conformity (in Hale, 2008).

Robert Ennis' definition (1996:xvii) is one of the most cited because, in part, it explicates the practical nature and goals of thinking critically. He writes, "Critical thinking is a process, the goal of which is to make reasonable decisions about what to believe and what to do". Ennis points out that "critical thinking is not a thing or a goal in and of itself; rather, it is a process of making informed decisions that affects the way one lives one's life, the ultimate goal of which is to live reasonably in the strong or ethical sense of the term. It is based on a practical examination of one's beliefs and actions as a guide for living an examined life" (in Hale, 2008:48).

According to Paul, Elder and Bartell (1997:4), critical thinking is “the intellectually disciplined process of actively and skilfully conceptualising, applying, synthesising, and evaluating information gathered from or generated by observation, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action”. Beyond that of explicating specific analytical processes, the idea that critical thinking is a practical endeavour, and the fact that thinking critically requires rigorous intellectual work, Paul et al. emphasise the conceptual nature of thinking. All thinking relies on ideas and the extent to which one has command of the way one is using an idea will reflect the extent to which one’s thinking is of the highest quality (Hale, 2008).

According to Paul (1987), critical thinking is that mode of thinking — about any subject, content, or problem — in which the thinker improves the quality of his or her thinking by skilfully analysing, assessing, and reconstructing it. Critical thinking is self-directed, self-disciplined, self-monitored, and self-corrective thinking. It presupposes assent to rigorous standards of excellence and mindful command of their use. It entails effective communication and problem-solving abilities, as well as a commitment to overcoming our native egocentrism and sociocentrism.

Richard Paul asserts that ‘true’ critical thinking should involve ‘multilogical’ problems, involving multiple frames of reference or argument networks with no single correct answer; only then can students reflect upon and evaluate their own beliefs (Black, 2007:12). An all-encompassing definition which all experts are likely to accept emerged from the Delphi study conducted in the United States by Facione (1990). In this study, forty-six critical-thinking experts, consisting of 24 panelists associated with philosophy (including Ennis and Paul), nine associated with the social sciences, two with physical sciences and ten with education, formed a consensus on many aspects of critical thinking, including a definition and list of critical skills. The definition, quoted in full, reads as follows:

According to the Delphi study Critical Thinking can be defined as a purposeful, self-regulatory judgment which results in interpretation, analysis, evaluation, and inference, as well as explanation of the evidential, conceptual, methodological, criteriological, or contextual considerations upon which that judgment is based. Critical Thinking is essential as a tool of inquiry and it is a liberating force in education and a powerful resource in one’s personal and civic life. While not synonymous with good thinking, Critical Thinking is a pervasive and self-rectifying human phenomenon. The ideal critical thinker is habitually inquisitive, well-informed, trustful of reason, open-minded, flexible, fair-minded in evaluation, honest in facing personal biases, prudent in making judgments, willing to reconsider, clear about issues, orderly in complex matters, diligent in seeking relevant information, reasonable in the selection of criteria, focused in inquiry, and persistent in seeking results which are as precise as the subject and the

circumstances of inquiry permit. Thus, educating good critical thinkers means working toward this ideal. It combines developing Critical Thinking skills with nurturing those dispositions which consistently yield useful insights and which are the basis of a rational and democratic society (Black, 2007:12).

These critical thinking skills are not mutually exclusive from other academic disciplines but they are engendered in the epistemology of what is considered an academic subject. In the context of this research, History is a case in point and all these intellectual attributes of a critical thinker are similar to the intellectual traits that are required of a truly academic historian and certain characteristics of a truly educated person.

Although the definition is complex, it attempts to establish the intellectual characteristics of a person who is described as a critical thinker. There are other definitions and conceptions of critical thinking by different experts where a baseline definition can be developed. The only challenge regarding the definition of the Delphi experts is that it is too long and complicated. Sumner (in Paul, Elder and Bartell, 1997) provides another definition which is also helpful. According to him, the critical habit of thought, if used in society, will pervade its entire mores, because it is a way of taking up the problems of life. Men educated in it cannot be stampeded by stump orators. They are slow to believe. They can hold things as possible or probable in all degrees, without certainty and without pain. They can wait for evidence and weigh evidence, uninfluenced by the emphasis or confidence with which assertions are made on one side or the other. They can resist appeals to their dearest prejudices and all kinds of cajolery. Education in the critical faculty is the only education of which it can be truly said that it makes good citizens (Paul, Elder & Bartell, 1997).

The idea of critical thinking derives from its roots in ancient Greek: “kriticos” (meaning discerning judgment) and “kriterion” (meaning standards). In Webster’s New World Dictionary, the relevant entry reads “characterized by careful analysis and judgment” and is followed by: “critical, in its strictest sense, implies an attempt at objective judgment so as to determine both merits and faults” (www.criticalthinking.com). Critical thinking may be defined as a fair-minded intellectual judgment or a reasoned intellectual judgment based on standards and evidence to determine strengths and weaknesses of thinking. The intellectual processes are guided by the elements of reasoning that are considered to be parts of thinking that need to be improved and these elements are gauged against the intellectual standards. There are intellectual dispositions such as intellectual humility, intellectual integrity, intellectual curiosity, intellectual courage and intellectual perseverance. The components of critical thinking have been exemplified throughout intellectual history since Socrates. Socrates displayed intellectual elements

such as clarity in the meaning of argument, intellectual integrity which he defined as the ability to accept faults in one's standpoint and recognise one's ignorance as a first step towards developing thinking.

Russell is a great intellectual who has contributed immensely to the concept of critical thinking. According to Russell, the mere possession of critical skills is insufficient to make one a critical thinker. Russell translates skills into actual behaviour which he calls habits (Hare, 1999). According to him, education is a process of forming mental habits such as the habit of impartial inquiry, the habit of weighing evidence, the habit of attempting to see things truly, and the habit of living from one's own centre. He asserts that, a critical-thinking person must acquire a critical habit of mind which is necessary to ensure that one-sided opinions are not taken at face value, and the practice of merely collecting whatever reinforces existing prejudice is avoided (Hare, 1999). Russell maintains that education is excellent as long as it produces a well-developed critical faculty. A teacher who enhances accuracy, precision and rational control of all methods and processes and who is open-minded to review, revision and unlimited verification, is cultivating that method as a habit in the learners (Hare, 1999).

Hare (1999) asserts that "research reflects the common perception that human thinking, left to itself, often gravitates toward prejudice, over-generalisation, common fallacies, self-deception, rigidity and narrowness". Hare explicates the view that "the critical-thinking tradition seeks ways of understanding the mind and then training the intellect so that such 'errors', 'blunders', and 'distortions' of thought are minimized" (Hare, 1999). This is a long-term training of the mind which should begin when learners are still at elementary level to ensure that when they reach higher levels they are already grounded in the epistemology of critical thinking in various subjects.

2.6 HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF CRITICAL THINKING

The critical thinking experts that have been selected have contributed immensely to critical thinking and critical education. The foundation of critical thinking is attributed to Socrates during the golden age of Greece and his critical thinking discipline has, in the long run, become embedded in the mode of thinking of the discipline of history and the mode of thinking of many other disciplines. The critical-thinking framework has been shaped and refined by philosophers such as Barren, Russell Bertrand, Spiegel, Henry Newman, Elder and Rousseau, who established an intellectual framework which was conceptualised and integrated into a comprehensive model of critical thinking by Richard Paul. This model is used by Richard Paul in the United States to train and develop teachers to transform their teaching methodologies and the epistemologies of various disciplines in order to promote the central tenets of critical thinking. This model is utilised in this research as conceptual framework. The following

philosophers and great thinkers have been selected because they articulate elements, intellectual traits and intellectual standards that are embodied in the comprehensive model of critical thinking.

2.6.1 Socrates

The history of critical thinking began effectively in Athens circa 430 BC when Socrates, challenged by the intellectually shrewd but arrogant Sophists, established a dialectical method of inquiry in which he evaluated his opponents with probing questions designed to disentangle their epistemological foundations (Scanlan, 2006:5). Socrates' method of enquiry was called the Socratic method of questioning which he used to challenge those who laid claim to knowledge. Socrates' most fundamental intellectual virtue was humility, which he exemplified in his relationship with those with whom he engaged in conversation and dialogue. He claimed "to have no knowledge of even the most fundamental principles such as justice, holiness, friendship or virtue". In his conversation he became a student and made those that he questioned the teachers. Since Socrates was very knowledgeable, his claim of ignorance struck many as ironic (Maxwell, 2009:1).

In Socrates' dialogue, he wanted only "short answers that addressed specific points and refused to move on to more advanced or complicated topics until an adequate understanding of basic principles was achieved". The classical Socratic method of enquiry "uses creative questioning to dismantle and discard pre-existing ideas and thereby allows the respondent to rethink the primary question under discussion" (Maxwell, 2009). This is called Socrates' deconstruction style. The "result of the classical Socratic method of enquiry is a failure to find a satisfactory answer to the primary question in a conversation". This failure, accordingly, "produces a realisation of ignorance in the respondent (Socratic effect) which can, it is hoped, inspire the respondent to dig deeper and think about the question with a new freedom that is obtained from discarding a previously-held belief" (Maxwell, 2009). The ultimate aim of the Socratic method of enquiry is to enhance comprehension through inquiry. According to Socrates, "the person who cannot think is the one who thinks he or she already knows" (Maxwell, 2009:2). The Socratic method of enquiry has had "a valuable influence on the development of critical thinking, to the extent that it makes people comfortable with questioning their own ideas".

Socrates laid the foundation for critical thinking by advocating intellectual skills, disposition and intellectual standards. In most of the questions he posed he wanted clarity, relevance and precision, and he also demonstrated virtues such as humility, empathy and ethical thinking. In terms of intellectual skills, he ensured that his learners mastered the basics before going on to complex theories. He regarded himself

as a midwife and his duty was not to give knowledge but to assist his learners to deliver (give birth to) powerful, innovative and original ideas.

In Plato's *Republic*, Book VII, *Allegory of the Cave*, Socrates tells a "parable to illustrate the degrees in which our nature may be enlightened or unenlightened" (in Riley, 1991:15:). People are chained in a cave and can only see shadows of objects on the wall. They cannot see themselves or one another. They only see reflections on the wall and hear echoes off the wall. Then, they are freed and rise out of the cave into the light. The movement is not only physically painful but also intellectually painful as they move from "unwisdom", the world of illusion, to the real world (Riley, 1991:16).

This parable by Socrates summarises his philosophy of critical thinking, particularly the Socratic method of inquiry because it is indeed painful to discard one's previously held views to produce newly creative and original ideas which are a product of deep thinking because of being subjected to a rigorous system of questioning. The progress of students depends on their intellectual empathy, intellectual humility, intellectual courage, intellectual curiosity and intellectual integrity (the ability to acknowledge one's ignorance in order to reach the light).

In the parable of Meno, Socrates again demonstrates the elements of critical thinking. The parable is a dialogue between Socrates and Meno, a young intellectual who was brought up within a family of intellectuals. He was fortunate to be inculcated with the elements of critical thinking. In the conversation with Meno, Socrates congratulates him on being a good student and on emulating the intellectual tradition of his parents. Meno responds to Socrates by indicating that he is just trying to uphold good virtues. Socrates takes advantage of that response to challenge him (Maxwell, 2009:5). Socrates asks a question: What is a virtue? Meno attempts to explain what a virtue is but his explication of the concept is not clear and precise, and in the end Socrates passes the judgment that Meno is not only ignorant about the concept of virtue, but he does not have the necessary intellectual tools to judge whether a virtue is good or bad. In response to Socrates, Meno says, "O Socrates, I used to be told, before I knew you, they said you were always doubting others and making them doubt themselves and now you are casting your spell over me and I am simply getting bewitched and enchanted. I do not know how to answer you. I have delivered an infinite variety of speeches about virtue before many persons and very good ones they were, I thought. At this moment I cannot even say what virtue is" (Maxwell, 2009:5). Meno has been moved and unsettled from a "sense of security over his knowledge about virtue" to a sense of discomfort about the realisation "that he cannot even say what virtue is". This effect has two possibilities. Either students would be encouraged to dig deep and improve, or they would be discouraged by having their perspectives challenged (Maxwell, 2009:5).

Hatcher (in Hale, 2008) argues that some of the intellectual dispositions embodied by Socrates in Plato's *Meno*, embody intellectual humility, the search for clarity and rejection of unclear language, confidence in fair-minded thinking that will shed light on the reality of the situation, humbling oneself in order to accept criticism, a sense of justice and foresight, and the ability to "separate persons from the beliefs they hold so as to be as fair-minded as possible" (Hale, 2008:21). This dialogue is a lesson to all teachers, examiners and markers who are attempting to teach or judge the concept of content knowledge or learner evidence without proper epistemological grounding. For Meno to understand the concept of virtue he has to take the first step, that is intellectual integrity which in this context means the ability to accept one's own ignorance and acknowledge the fact that one's currently-held view about the virtue is faulty. This will encourage Meno to dig deep into his own thinking and bring to light a new dimension which is an accurate representation of the concept of virtue. This is a demonstration of Socrates' mid-wife role and stone shattering which resemble the role of his mother and father.

Socrates was strongly challenged by the Sophists, a group of shrewd philosophers and their interaction was characterised by selfishness, sociocentricity and egocentricity, and propaganda. They were known for their cynicism and used their knowledge to cause political instability in Athens. According to Hale (2008):

The Sophists were harsh skeptics of universal truth, advocating subjective relativism as the only truth; whereas, thinkers like Socrates and Plato propagated the importance of common ethical values. However, due to the political climate in Athens during the 4th and 5th centuries B.C., Sophists moved into a specialised niche that focused on instructing upper-class men (the only group that could afford their services) in the art of rhetoric and persuasion (Hale, 2008).

In his book, *Socrates to Sartre: A History of Philosophy*, Samuel Stumpf (1993:31) asserts:

The power of persuasion had become a political necessity in the democratic Athens for anyone who hoped to rise to the level of leadership. Because of their extensive knowledge of grammar and their fund of information about various cultures as well as their wide experience derived from their travels and teaching in many places, the Sophists possessed all that was needed to train the emerging new Athenian citizen (Stumpf, 1993:31).

The Athenian political climate recognised the power of persuasion as an important strategy for distinguishing between the just and the unjust. Skilled orators could easily point out errors and inconsistencies in their opponents' arguments. However, such skills were "employed for good or for ill" (in Hale, 2008). When partially and prejudicially applied, rhetorical skills can work against justice by promoting selfish interests, the art of which is called sophistry. Socrates recognised the unjust

implications of skilled, but selfish rhetoric and used similar skills to deconstruct sophistic claims and agendas (Hale, 2008). Sophistry can be equated with scientists who develop nuclear weapons to destroy the world instead of developing nuclear capabilities for peaceful purposes such as developing electricity and medicines in order to improve the living conditions of impoverished communities. Historians can also use history to promote a certain sociocentric disposition by indoctrinating the nation to believe that they are superior to others. This happened to the Afrikaners (master race), Germans (Aryan race) and the British (jingoism). Negative academic repercussions resulted from the teaching of domain for its own sake rather than for the sake of conserving nature and for the wellbeing of society. This is a case of the abuse of historical knowledge by those who are in power in order to indoctrinate other communities to accept an inferior status. However, the critical judgment approach, which is based on the rigorous analysis of sources, would protect the discipline from being used to indoctrinate, socialise and domesticate nations to be selfish, egocentric, sociocentric, ethnocentric, and biased against other communities.

2.6.2 Francis Bacon

Another philosopher who contributed immensely to critical thinking is Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Bacon lived during the Renaissance period prior to the scientific revolution and enlightenment, when European scholars were excited about discovering the philosophy of Aristotle which had been preserved by Moslem philosophers during the Dark Ages after the collapse of the Greek and Roman empires. Bacon believed that people had to question their assumptions, both personal and cultural. He identified obstacles to critical thinking and developed a framework to monitor these obstacles when thinking through a problem (Hale, 2008:22). According to Bacon, to know an ideal well is to know its opposite well. He advocates four idols which expose the natural limitations of human thinking. The first obstacle is the idol of the tribe. The tribe represents the human race and the traits that characterise it as such. Fallacious thinking is often the result of the human tendency to presuppose one's own senses and thinking as correct, and thus ignore evidence when it does not conform to one's preconceived notion of reality, values and interest. The second obstacle is the idol of the cave. Human beings have the tendency to act selfishly. They do not consider the problems that affect the whole society but focus only on those that affect their personal life. People see the world from a particular point of view. One has to be mindful of this human tendency that promotes poor thinking (Hale, 2008:24). The third obstacle is the idol of the market place which represents a language issue. According to Bacon, "unclear language is the primary cause of unclear thinking". Bacon further elaborates that "to use language clearly helps one to think more clearly. Because words govern reason [and] reason governs words", inaccurate, unclear and generally undisciplined language reveals unclear reasoning (Green, 1966:126). Bacon further asserts that "the fourth obstacle to thinking is the idol of the theatre where one's mind is guided by irrational traditions". To uncritically accept

the authority and legitimacy of an established hegemony is to accept its flaws and shortcomings (Hale, 2008).

Bacon contributed to critical thinking and added some building blocks to the theory of critical thinking developed by Socrates. His main contribution was the identification of obstacles to thinking (also identified by Socrates) because the opposite of humility is selfishness, geocentrism and sociocentrism which the two philosophers have attempted to outline. However, these intellectual skills, virtues and standards are not adequate for the development of critical thinking.

2.6.3 Jean Jacques Rousseau

In the book *Emile for Today* published in 1975, Rousseau articulates the story of a fictitious boy whose name is Emile. The boy is brought up in a social environment that is designed to embody intellectual virtues and dispositions of the society that will support his intellectual development from infancy, through childhood and adolescence to adulthood (Boyd, 1975:21). In his long and turbulent journey, Emile is well mentored, monitored and schooled by his father, Rousseau, in order to shape his senses of taste, touch, sight and smell, to enable him to distinguish between what is acceptable and what is not acceptable. In this process he is allowed to discover things on his own and to learn from his mistakes. His development is systematically marshalled by the standards set by the father.

According to Rousseau, all children have the capacity to learn, but know nothing and distinguish nothing (Boyd, 1975:21). He further asserts that the child should be prepared in time to take control of his freedom and to exercise his power, “by allowing his body in its natural habits and accustoming him always to be his own master and follow the dictates of his will as soon as he has a will of his own”. Accordingly, when the child begins to distinguish objects, a careful choice must be made of only those objects to be brought to his notice, and objects that are designed to build him should be chosen (Boyd, 1975). Everything new is naturally interesting (Boyd, 1975:22). Rousseau indicates that man feels himself so feeble that he dreads anything unfamiliar and the habit of seeing new things without emotions destroys this dread. To emphasise this point, Rousseau gives an example of children brought up in well-kept houses where spiders are not tolerated and they are therefore afraid of spiders. This fear often remains when they grow up. Rousseau maintains that “since the mere choice of the objects put before a child can make him timid or brave, why not begin his education before he can talk and understand?”

Rousseau feels strongly that “a child must be brought up within a natural environment which seeks to develop him within the conventions and ideals that are suitable to his own age” (Boyd, 1975:38). He discourages adults from reasoning with children and does not want children to be elevated to the status of

adults before they have grown up. Rousseau asserts that “for my part I do not see any children more stupid than those who have been much reasoned with” (Boyd, 1975:38). He continues that “children cannot be allowed to be dictators and should not be allowed to get everything they want because they will end up wanting things that are impossible and when they are unable to receive they would be annoyed”. Of all human faculties, Rousseau argues that reason, which may be said to be compounded of all the rest, develops most slowly and with greatest difficulty. Rousseau (Boyd, 1975:38) argues, “yet it is reason that people want to use in the development of the first faculties and they pretend to be educating children by means of reason”.

At a certain stage of development Emile is portrayed as seeing the world in a single striking dimension, demonstrating egocentrism and selfishness where everything seems to be perceived from his point of view with no regard for other people. According to Rousseau, this egocentric behaviour is not wrong at this stage of development and it can be remedied in the future (Boyd, 1975). Rousseau’s approach to education is relevant to the current education system where teachers tend to develop content frameworks and teaching methodologies which are beyond the learners’ comprehension and learners struggle to adjust. This leads to disengagement, failure and low esteem. Children are hastened and are taught complex skills that are ahead of their ages. The education of Emile can be a suitable blueprint for curriculum development in many countries and can establish the necessary scaffolding for the academic socialisation of learners within the education cycle.

Rousseau believes that children need to be restrained from coming into contact with information that is beyond their age and that has the ability to corrupt them. This withholding of information, Rousseau warns, is not tantamount to lying to children. Questions may not be answered because children should learn to restrain themselves and not to command their parents because they are not yet developed enough to take decisions or make good judgment calls, and so there is a need to restrict them (Boyd, 1975). He also stipulates the importance of the environment in shaping the character of the child. According to him a child may be removed from a poisonous environment because his skills and knowledge are not yet developed to enable him to handle such a delicate situation.

According to Rousseau, “the first idea a child should have given him is not that of liberty but of property” (Boyd, 1975). Rousseau asserts that the child should possess something of his own and he should be told that he possesses his clothes, furniture and toys, otherwise they mean nothing to him. The child, Rousseau argues, must be taken back to the original property. Accordingly, the easiest way for him to learn about property is through the work he does in the garden in imitation of the gardener. He plants beans and when they come up they belong to him. Rousseau emphasises the point that “to explain what that term means I make him feel that he has put his time, his work, his effort, himself into them”. This is

likely to educate the learners so well that they realise that for them to survive in this world they have to work tirelessly, with perseverance and courage, to own and achieve something in an orthodox manner. According to Rousseau, when the child finds out that his beans have been dug up by Robert the gardener, he will realise that the ground belongs to the gardener and he must come to an arrangement with the man before he can raise beans again (Boyd, 1975). This is a strong education that is instilled in Emile, to shed his selfish disposition and arrogance to acquire empathy and humility by approaching the gardener and negotiating for a piece of land.

According to Rousseau, geometry is beyond the capacity of children, but that is the teachers' fault (Boyd, 1975:59). Teachers do not realise that children's methods are different from those of adults, and that what is the art of reasoning for the adults, is for children the art of seeing. Rousseau stresses the point that "instead of teaching them our methods it is better to employ theirs ... for our way of learning geometry is a matter of imagination than of reasoning". Rousseau criticises the current teaching methodology of geometry, and he maintains that "instead of making the children to find the proof for a proportion, the teacher dictates it to the children, instead of teaching them to reason the teacher reasons for the children and only exercises the memory of the children" (Boyd, 1975). Rousseau provides a practical method of teaching young children geometry, which is devoid of indoctrination. He infers that "it is the teachers that make geometry difficult for learners", and make it too complex to be acquired by learners.

Rousseau contributes to the development of critical thinking by instilling the appropriate dispositions such as humility, perseverance and empathy. He believes in teaching methodologies that are pitched at the intellectual levels of learners. According to Rousseau, there is a need to develop curiosity, but the teacher should not be in a hurry to satisfy it (Boyd, 1975). This is a strategy to develop intellectual or epistemological curiosity that will encourage a learner to search for knowledge and evidence in order to support his viewpoint. He criticises a teacher who brings globes and maps to the classroom in order to teach the child geography. According to him, the child should be allowed to experience the geography which is around him before he can be introduced to the geography of the world. In terms of history, he criticises historians who provide interpretation for children. According to him, a good historian or teacher is the one who provides the facts and allows learners to interpret them and draw their own conclusions (Boyd, 1975). This is a suitable method that will promote critical thinking because the learner will acquire the skills of discovering knowledge.

2.6.4 Bertrand Russell

A few great thinkers acknowledge Russell's contribution to critical thinking. In *A Journal of Thought*, Hare asserts that:

Chomsky, for example, reminds us of Russell's humanistic conception of education, which views the student as an independent person whose development is threatened by indoctrination. Woodhouse, also appealing to the concept of growth, points out Russell's concern to protect the child's freedom to exercise individual judgment on intellectual and moral questions. Stander discusses Russell's claim that schooling all too often encourages the herd mentality, with its fanaticism and bigotry, failing to develop what Russell calls a "critical habit of mind". The threat of indoctrination, the importance of individual judgment, and the prevalence of fanatical opinions all point to the need for what nowadays is called critical thinking (Hare, 1999).

Bertrand Russell has been selected for explicating the intellectual traits, intellectual elements and intellectual standards that are essential in the cultivation of critical thinking. He emphasises the importance of evidence and the habit of weighing evidence and impartial enquiry which are some of the elements of critical thinking that empower learners to question assumptions and to postpone their judgment until sufficient evidence has been unravelled. He advocates the critical habit of mind which is a process of engaging learners in a reasoned intellectual judgment on a habitual basis in order to ensure that critical judgment becomes part of their lives. This distinguishes him from his peers (Hare, 1999).

Russell "attaches considerable importance to forming one's own opinions, and this might seem to betray an unwarranted confidence in an individual's ability to avoid dependence on expert knowledge". Russell's concern is that, "with modern methods of education and propaganda, it has become possible to indoctrinate a whole population with a philosophy which there is no rational ground to suppose true," hence his persistence on the issue of thinking for oneself (Hare, 1999). This assertion by Russell is evident in the establishment of the Afrikaner master race, the German Aryan Race, Communist society and capitalist sources which are the constructs of intellectual experts. He is not, however, blind to the value of expert knowledge. He maintains that expert opinion, when unanimous, must be accepted by non-experts as *more likely* to be right than the opposite opinion (Hare, 1999). One of his famous principles is that, "when the experts are agreed, the opposite opinion cannot be regarded as certain. It cannot be regarded as *certain*, but it *may* prove to be correct since the experts, despite their agreement, may be mistaken. There remains some scope, however, for one's own critical judgment even in respect of expert, or supposed expert pronouncements" (Hare, 1999).

According to Russell, there is a danger in passionate belief which is a feature of nationalistic knowledge. He holds the view that the passion of a belief is inversely proportional to the evidence in its favour (Hare, 1999). Russell's viewpoint is correct because people are swayed by the enthusiasm with which views are being presented without substantive evidence. Although Russell supports a sceptical attitude, he does not advocate an attitude of complete detachment because he believes that detachment will lead to inaction (Hare, 1999). The kind of detachment he favours is from those emotions (hatred, envy, anger, etc.) that interfere with intellectual honesty and prevent the emergence of kindly feelings. According to Russell, "the person who has no feelings does nothing and achieves nothing. We need, Russell says, to learn to live without certainty, yet without being paralysed by hesitation" (Hare, 1999). He advocates "living from one's own centre, but warns against subjective *certainty*. Many have gone to war with the certainty that they will survive, Russell observes, but death has paid no heed to their certainty" (Hare, 1999).

According to Russell, "critical thinking skills are grounded in knowledge and these include *the ability to find an impartial solution*, which involves learning to recognise and control our own biases, judging issues on their merits, trying to ascertain the relevant facts, and the power of weighing arguments; *the ability to identify and question assumptions*, which involves learning not to be credulous, applying what Russell calls constructive doubt in order to test unexamined beliefs, and resisting the notion that some authority, a great philosopher perhaps, has captured the whole truth" (Hare, 1999). Russell encourages learners to question established traditions and hegemonies and he is supported in this epistemology by historians and critical theorists. Russell's articulation of expert critical thinking is a demonstration of skills that can be used to describe an excellent historian, scientist, mathematician, etc. All the aspects of critical thinking articulated by Russell are embodied in the procedures, skills, and conceptual knowledge which are critical to the reconstruction of past historical events. For the historian's reconstruction to be considered valid, his or her interpretation, opinion and assumptions must be supported by evidence. The historian should use empathy and historical imagination to see the past from the point of view of the people of the past and also accept the points of view of others as a demonstration of intellectual empathy.

Russell articulates various habits which are necessary in promoting a critical habit of mind. He describes education as the formation, by means of instruction, of certain mental habits (Hare, 1999). He mentions, in particular, "*the habit of impartial inquiry*, which is necessary if one-sided opinions are not to be taken at face value, and if people are to arrive at conclusions which do not depend solely on the time and place of their education; *the habit of weighing evidence*, coupled with the practice of not giving full assent to propositions which there is no reason to believe true; *the habit of attempting to see things truly*, which contrasts with the practice of merely collecting whatever reinforces existing prejudice; and *the habit of living from one's own centre*, which Russell describes as a kind of self-direction, a certain independence

in the will” (Hare, 1999). Russell recognises the problem which critical thinking should address, where one becomes a victim of habit if the habitual beliefs of one’s own age constitute a prison of prejudice (Hare, 1999). A continuous, habitual engagement of the mind in the elements of reasoning, intellectual standards and dispositions would assist in developing a *critical* habit of mind.

2.7 GAPS IN THE LITERATURE TO BE FILLED BY THIS RESEARCH

2.7.1 Studies demonstrating the display of empathy

This section explores the studies that are an attempt to cultivate elements of historical thinking in the classroom. Studies undertaken by Wineburg on empathy are analysed. This is followed by analysis of the model designed by Sarah Brookes and Jason Endacott to foster empathy in the classroom.

In his book *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, Wineburg (2001: 89) explains a research that involved students, Tedy and Ellen, in the study of primary documents where students were required to display empathy. The primary sources that contain the story of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth president of the United States, were used. Lincoln is known for producing one of the most important documents in American history - the Emancipation Proclamation. According to Wineburg, Lincoln was considered the “Great Emancipator” but this part of his speech during the election campaign caused a row and he said to the electorates:

I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which in my judgment will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I ... am in favour of the race to which I belong, having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary (Wineburg, 2001:90).

Wineburg (2001:90) in this study required students to contextualise these words of Lincoln before passing moral judgment. Wineburg wonders whether Lincoln should be viewed as the “Great Emancipator” or a “White Supremacist”. Wineburg (2001) stresses the point that Lincoln’s words cannot be separated from the occasion on which they were uttered. He maintains that the context needs to be analysed and this includes a debate with Stephen Douglas, Lincoln’s rival for a fiercely-contested senatorial seat; the kind of people who witnessed the debate who were largely supportive of Douglas and suspicious of Lincoln; and the fact that both Lincoln and Douglas addressed the same people, not as prophets or moralists, but as candidates courting votes; what Douglas said to spark Lincoln’s response (Wineburg, 2001:96). According to Wineburg the election speeches in Havana, Illinois a week earlier and in Freeport, Illinois a

week later should also be considered when judging Lincoln's words. Wineburg (2001) elucidates the fact that when analysing the words, students should also remember that Lincoln supported the franchise for slaves and their right to run for public office and serve on juries. In making these claims, Douglas established his own position as one "in favour of confining citizenship to white men" and opposed Negro citizenship "in any and every form." Douglas then went on to claim that Lincoln believed the "Negro was born equal" and is endowed with equality by the Almighty". Wineburg insists that this context is critical to ensure that the speech is seen within the context in which it occurred.

According to Wineburg (2001:102), Tedy and Ellen interpreted the words differently. Ellen, who did not have much information about Douglas, commented on the document by Douglas and said that it looked as if Lincoln was much more on the side of the Negro. Tedy focused on the words "he was in favour of the race to which he belonged" and ignored the context under which they were uttered and did not consider Lincoln as a "Great Emancipator" but as providing evidence of bigotry. Ellen, on other hand, said that politicians, when they wanted to be elected said anything. Ellen recognised that her belief and those held in 1858 were different. What was acceptable in 1858 is not acceptable now. Ellen attempted to understand the world in which such views were explained, not by thugs or fringe elements, but by future senators and the voters who elected them. Wineburg explicates the fact that Ellen has created the foreignness in her relation to the past, not the creation of continuity (Wineburg, 2001).

Wineburg (2001) cautions against presentism - judging past actors by present standards which wrestle them from their own context and subject them to ways of thinking that we, not they, have developed. Presentism, the act of viewing the past through the lens of the present, is a psychological default state that must be overcome before one can achieve mature historical understanding. According to Wineburg, words are not disembodied symbols transcending time and space. In another study, Wineburg demonstrated how students use their present belief and world view to judge the actions of the past. In yet another study, Wineburg (1999) articulates research on high-school students who were engaged in reading primary sources in order to display empathy. Derek, a 17-year-old student in an Advanced Placement history course participated in the study. The high-school students were required to read a series of primary sources about the Battle of Lexington. Wineburg (1999:491) observed that Derek was an intelligent student and his reading was fluent. However, when requested to select a picture that best reflected the written evidence he had reviewed, Derek did not choose the picture that showed colonists in disarray, which would have been the logical choice given his earlier observations. Instead, he chose the picture that showed the colonists hiding behind walls, reloading their muskets, and taking aim at the redcoats. Derek believed this depiction was most accurate. Derek selected this picture because he believed that the Minutemen wanted to be in a strategic position or hiding-place to avoid the bullets from

the British troops. When analysing the 18th century document, Derek wanted to impose his present belief about warfare (Wineburg, 1999:491). Wineburg stresses the point that Derek's reconstruction holds true only if these people shared his own modern notions of battlefield propriety: that in the face of a stronger adversary you take cover behind walls and wage a kind of guerrilla warfare. Wineburg's assessment is that Derek's view of this event was guided by a set of assumptions about how normal people behave. These assumptions, in turn, overshadowed his own observations, made during the review of the written testimony. By the 16th century, according to Wineburg (1999), battlefield engagements conformed to an elaborate etiquette, in part a result of the cumbersome sequence of actions - up to 42 separate steps - involved in firing and reloading a musket. Derek did not consider the context and battlefield engagement of the 16th century and he wanted to use his own standards of modern warfare and guerrilla tactics used by weaker opponents to explain the actions of the people in war during the 18th century (Wineburg, 1999).

According to Wineburg (2001), "the past becomes clay in our hands". "We are not called upon to stretch our understanding in order to learn from the past. Instead, we contort the past to fit the predetermined meaning we have already assigned to it". The two case studies have offered insights into the obstacles that can constrain teachers and learners from achieving empathy. This study has learned from these two case studies and elements from this experience will be used to judge the presence of empathy in the classroom and the ability of teachers and students to put aside their needs, beliefs and presents and see the past events through the eyes of the people of the past and this is considered by Wineburg as history's contribution to a humanising experience.

In an article entitled, "An Updated Theoretical and Practical Model for Promoting Historical Empathy", Sarah Brookes and Jason Endacott conceptualise dual-dimensional, cognitive-affective constructs and differentiate historical empathy from exclusively cognitive or affective modes of historical inquiry. According to Brookes and Endacott (2013), the development of dual-dimensional historical empathy has the potential to promote both proximate goals (i.e. those that are related to immediate curricular objectives in the classroom) and ultimate goals (i.e. those that deal with understandings, skills, and dispositions that an individual might benefit from for a lifetime). Sarah Brookes and Jason Endacott (2013) emphasise that exercises in historical empathy can help students learn to establish connections between the past and the present, a skill that could benefit them for a lifetime. In her study on the use of lectures to foster historical empathy, Sarah Brookes (2011) found that students who were encouraged by their teacher to draw parallels between historic events and present-day affairs, were able to see aspects of the past and present as analogous and thereby better understand their current world. In other cases, historical empathy helps students find antecedents to present-day perspectives and practices. In Brookes' study, a teacher invited her students to empathise with notions about the middle class that were

beginning to form in 19th-century Western Europe. She wanted her students to see the roots of current beliefs about the middle class in these ideas. Here again, historical empathy enabled students to connect the past and the present and thereby better understand the context that influences their thoughts and actions (Brookes & Endacott, 2013). This approach may assist learners to identify change and continuity but they may focus on events that support their current practices and ignore what is ironical to their contemporary world.

Sarah Brookes and Endacott (2013) see historical empathy as being able to encourage dispositional appreciation for the complexity of situations faced by people in the past and the need to act for the good of others. Unlike some historians who discourage the use of moral judgment, Brookes and Endacott believe students should be invited to make moral judgments about the past when teachers expect students to learn something from the past that helps them face the ethical issues of today (Levstik & Barton, 2004). For students, notions of justice are often partisan concerns that are based upon contemporary positions and concerns (Levstik & Barton, 2004), which makes temporal considerations of historical empathy all the more important. Students who attempt to empathise with the lived experiences of women at the Seneca Falls Convention or Jamestown settlers or victims of the Holocaust are invited to form their own opinions about historic perspectives and actions. The ultimate purpose in promoting such moral responses is to foster a desire to prevent similar wrongs or to perpetuate similar rights in the present. As a cognitive and affective endeavour, historical empathy can help students develop a stronger awareness of the needs around them and a sense of urgency to respond to these needs. This issue relates to Apartheid and the Holocaust which are horrendous actions of the past which cannot escape condemnation by both learners and historians. However, the issue raised by Levstik and Barton (2004) and supported by Brookes and Endacott (Sarah Brookes, 2011) has been a subject of contestation. Wineburg believes that students should not use the past as arsenal to advance current agenda and the use of moral judgment leads to the imposition of presentism on the people of the past because what was acceptable during the rise of nationalism in Germany and other countries leading to the absorption of minorities was an activity which according to today's standards would be considered to be against human rights.

2.7.2 Analysis of primary sources

Wineburg (2001) has contributed immensely in developing a framework for engaging young learners in the cognitive process of analysing sources. He, along with other experts such as Seixas and Morton (2013) and Reisman (2012), advocates the use of primary sources in the classroom in order to engage learners in the sophisticated process of producing historical knowledge. In responding to this new approach, Wineburg (1999) identifies in historians an epistemological orientation toward texts that regard

them as human constructions, whose probity can and should be interrogated (Reisman, 2012). He distills three discrete heuristics that historians apply while reading historical texts: *sourcing* (considering the document's source and purpose), *contextualisation* (placing the document in a temporal and spatial context), and *corroboration* (comparing the accounts of multiple sources against each other). This framework by Wineburg is designed to engage learners in the epistemological analysis of text to enable them to think critically and historically about primary sources. Learners are therefore encouraged to "read like historians". Wineburg (2001) also notes that the historians, in the study he conducted with eight historians and high-school students, identified a document's subtext or hidden message by considering it as both a rhetorical artefact and a human instrument. Wineburg (2001) explains the meaning of the subtext by indicating that the subtext is not the literal text but the text of hidden and latent meaning. When an historian uses the text as a rhetorical artefact he or she tries to reconstruct authors' purposes, intentions and goals. But the subtext goes beyond a reconstruction of the authors' intentions, beyond the use of language as a linguistic technology for persuasion. In fact, many subtexts include elements that work at cross-purposes with authors' intentions, bringing to the surface convictions the authors may have been unaware of or may have concealed (Wineburg, 2001). This falls within the second sphere. The text as human artefact frames reality and discloses information about its authors' assumptions, world view and belief. For a historian to be able to identify the subtext, he needs the background knowledge or factual knowledge of the period outlined by the source. However, Wineburg (2001) argues that experienced historians are able to identify the subtext even if they do not have factual knowledge of the period. In his research about eight historians and eight students, both historians who had the factual knowledge of the event and those who had less factual knowledge about the event were able to identify the subtext but the historian with the background was more advanced in supporting the subtext.

In reflecting on the study conducted by Wineburg (2001), Jannet van Drie and Carla van Boxtel (2007) emphasise that the differences between historians and students were attributed to different belief systems. Firstly, historians and students had different beliefs about the task. The central question was, "Which painting most accurately depicts what happened in Lexington?" Students, according to Wineburg, approached the task as if one answer was correct and they had to find it. Historians, on the other hand, opposed the question with comments like "What did actually happen? What was actually going on there?" Their final result was more a suggestion than an answer. Secondly, in the reconstruction of the event, historians were better able to take into account the matter of where and when things happened. A third difference was related to beliefs about the texts, the conception of the primary documents. Whereas historians considered information about the text, such as who wrote the text and at what time, to be very important, students focused on the information in the text. Reading texts seemed to be a process of gathering information for students, with texts serving as bearers of this information. On the other hand,

historians seemed to view texts as social exchanges to be understood, puzzled about the intentions of the author, and situated in a social context. All this means that to historians what is said is inseparable from who says it. As a consequence, historians more often made use of the sourcing heuristic (Van Boxtel et al., 2007). A fourth difference was found in the corroboration heuristic, or in the beliefs about the nature of historical evidence (Van Boxtel et al., 2007). For historians, corroboration was indispensable because every account was seen as reflecting a particular point of view. They were mainly concerned with the question of how a source's bias influenced the quality of the report. Students seemed to view bias as an attribute of some texts but not of others. In addition, the students gave more importance to textbooks, whereas the experts ranked primary sources higher (Van Boxtel et al., 2007; Wineburg, 2001).

Peter Seixas is another pioneer in history education and in his book entitled *The big six historical thinking concepts*, in which he wrote with Morton, an extensive experienced history teacher, he articulates six historical concepts that would enable teachers and learners to cultivate critical elements of historical thinking. In chapter two of this book entitled "Evidence", Seixas and Morton (2013) also provide guideposts for the analysis of primary sources. According to them, constructing history using primary sources involves three interrelated tasks, namely, asking good questions to propel a study, analysing available sources and taking the context into consideration. Seixas and Morton (2013) criticise the superficial engagement of sources in many classrooms where the focus of sources is on extraction of the information on sources, for example asking questions such as: What does it say? What facts does it give me? Seixas and Morton (2013) believe that students need to be taught in order to think like historians, a fact which has been vigorously articulated by Wineburg (2001). Seixas and Morton (2013) also emphasise the use of the three heuristics advocated by Wineburg (2001), namely: sourcing: starting an analysis, taking the context into account and corroboration as the final step. According to Seixas and Morton (2013), sourcing often begins before a source is read, with questions about who created the source and when it was created. It involves inferring information about the source and the creator's purposes, values and world view, either conscious or unconscious. Students contextualise sources when they bear in mind the conditions and world view prevalent at the time when the source was created. Students, according to Seixas and Morton (2013), corroborate inferences from a single source with information from other sources (primary or secondary sources). Seixas and Morton (2013) provide criteria to judge whether students have achieved these heuristics and this guidepost is useful to teachers.

In contrast to the findings of Wineburg, Rouet et al. (1996) found evidence that college students have some ability to use sourcing strategies when they are provided with a supportive environment. Rouet et al. found that students who had access to primary documents rated them as more useful and trustworthy than other document types (e.g. historical essays and textbooks) and their justifications of their rankings

focused on essential features of the author (e.g., author's credentials, motivations, or participation in the events) and document type (e.g. when it was written). Compared with students who did not read primary documents, students who did included more citations in their essays, and most of the citations were from the primary documents. Most (65%) of the essays written from memory, by the primary-source group included references to other documents, and most of the citations were accurate, indicating that the college students were attending to sources during their analysis of the documents. Additional evidence that novices have at least limited ability to source comes from Kushner, who found that both undergraduate and graduate students spontaneously referred to characteristics of a document's author during a think-aloud reading (Cited in Britt & Anglinskias, 2002).

M. Anne Britt and Cindy Aglinskias (2002) examine the extent to which high school and college students attend to source information when they are provided with a supportive environment. This study was in line with studies of Rouet and Wineburg. The source information was presented at the end of each excerpt, not all documents were trustworthy, and the documents were randomly ordered. All the high-school students and half of the college students were given comprehension instructions, whereas the other half of the college students were given sourcing instructions. The topic of the document set was the events that led to the United States building a canal in Panama. Students were provided with excerpts from six authentic texts that included historian analyses, participant accounts, and a novel. The documents also varied in respect of their credibility, for example, authors included the U.S. president at the time, historians, and a novelist. According to Britt and Anglinskias (2002), the novelist clearly had no obligation to historical accuracy, and controversy exists about President Theodore Roosevelt's intentions. Britt and Anglinskias (2002) empathises that although college students demonstrated greater sourcing skills than high-school students, neither group performed at a level one would consider ideal. There is an admission from Britt and Aglinskias that sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation are sophisticated and can ideally be fully demonstrated by historians.

A close analysis of the new textbooks, namely, *In Search of History*, *Viva History* and *Focus History* (Battaro et al., 2013; Angier et al., 2013; Fernandez et al, 2013) which are used by teachers in South Africa for teaching of the CAPS curriculum, reveal that these prescribed textbooks do not provide adequate opportunities for interpretation and analysis of primary sources. Instead these textbooks reflect the standard set by previous standardised national question papers which test comprehension and require learners to extract information from the sources. These textbooks were designed to support a source-based approach and the nature of the sources includes the cartoons, photographs, speeches and text extracted from the secondary sources. Given that sources are used for extraction of information and analysis, interpretation sources are not properly cited and acknowledged, most of the sources are either

internet sources and taken from secondary sources, the generator or creator of the primary sources is not mentioned, and at times the period in which the source is produced is not mentioned, the lack of this information is a constraint to the cognitive analysis of sources. It is therefore difficult for teachers who rely on these textbooks to engage learners in the cognitive process of *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* of sources during the examination. What gets tested is mostly what gets taught in a teaching for testing regime. Due to the emphasis on comprehension, there are no questions about the text, purpose and the intention of the author because of the missing information about sources. In the absence of critical features about the primary sources, it becomes difficult to distinguish secondary sources from primary sources and this makes *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* difficult to implement.

One of the text books, *Viva History* (Angier et al., 2013:230) uses a cartoon depicting the tricameral parliament. This cartoon has been taken from another textbook (Battaro et al., 1999: *In Search of History*). *In Search of History* is another textbook that is widely circulated in South Africa and is used extensively by teachers including those who are part of the study. In the chapter on Vietnam, there is photograph “of a burning monk who set himself alight in protest against Diem’s rule”. One question is posed on this source: Examine Source A. How do you think viewers of this photograph might view the South Vietnamese government? Explain your answer fully. There are no questions for learners to scrutinise features of the photograph which may be useful in capturing the message that the photographer wanted to communicate. Nothing is mentioned about the photographer and the date on which photograph was taken. Candidates are not able to explore the intention of the photographer in taking this photograph. No information is provided about whether the photographer was a witness or a participant or whether he was taking the photograph because he or she was against Diem’s rule or perhaps he wanted to expose the USA. This error of not fully acknowledging sources is a common shortcoming across the three prescribed textbooks and the main focus of textbook writers is the construction of narrative that should be assimilated by teachers and learners (Battaro et al., 2013; Angier et al., 2013; Fernandez et al, 2013).

Jennifer Reed (1998), another doctoral scholar of critical thinking who graduated from the University of South Florida in 1998, explores the implication of using Paul’s model of critical thinking in analysing primary resources in USA History. Her research is focused on the college student. Her seminal thesis explores the students’ ability to think critically about the USA History course and about everyday issues. She also delves into how history courses can be used to develop students’ critical thinking skills by assessing the effectiveness of Richard Paul’s model of critical thinking. According to her, “the demands of employment in a global economy, the survival of a democratic way of life and personal decision in a

complex and rapidly-changing world require people who can think well and make good judgments”. Reed is supported by critical-thinking scholars, particularly Hale (2008) and Paul (1996), who believe that the rapidly-changing world requires skills and virtues such as open-mindedness, intellectual flexibility, intellectual credibility and fair-minded thought. Hale also supports Reed in that he believes that these virtues will create a true citizen in a democratic country.

Reed explains the critical thinking model and uses Action Research to demonstrate the effect of using such a model in the classroom. She divided students into experiment and control groups and taught the same topics to both groups. In the experiment group, elements of reasoning and universal standards of critical thinking from Paul’s model were integrated in the lesson as well as in the assessment tasks. The outcome of the research was that learners’ ability to think critically in the experiment was better than learners’ ability in the control group. However, there was insufficient evidence to demonstrate the achievement of the intellectual virtues of critical thinking by students and this can probably be attributed to the fact that the study was conducted in a relatively limited period of time, that is, three weeks. A complex skill such as critical thinking requires years of quality teaching to be effectively cultivated, and it is argued that the responses by learners that were considered to demonstrate critical thinking were minimal but provided a little evidence that if the elements and standards of critical thinking are incorporated in everyday teaching, they are likely to promote fair-minded thinking skills. Reeds failed to reflect on the elements of historical thinking and it became extremely difficult to demonstrate critical thinking within the history classroom without using elements of historical thinking.

2.8 THE SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE ON HISTORICAL THINKING

There is a limited number of published books and scholarly theses on history education in South Africa and a few historians, including Peter Kallaway (1993) and Rob Siebörger (2005), Elice, and Colin Bandy, have focused their attention on the development of the curriculum and not necessarily on historical thinking and the use of primary sources. These experts have provided guidelines for the teaching of history and have participated in the committees such as the National Education Crisis Committee in the History committee and some have produced materials such as *History Alive* which were intended to provide alternative interpretations of the South African history (Kallaway, 1993). Their main focus was the dominance of Afrikaner nationalist perspectives and the exclusion of the history of the African people. They did not focus on elements of historical thinking as articulated by Seixas and Morton (2013) and Wineburg (2001).

South African scholars who focused on history education were also involved in issues relating to the challenges faced by the discipline during the transition, and also how the horrors of apartheid could be used to inculcate empathy and their studies were based mainly on ideological critique or in-depth interviews to explore the perceptions of history teaching in a democratic South Africa (Black, 2007). Some focused on the perceptions of Afrikaans-medium schools that had dropped the teaching of the discipline of history because they felt that it was promoting the stories of African communities and the Afrikaners were only mentioned in relation to the implementation of the evil system of apartheid and therefore parents discouraged their children from studying history (Dryden 1999). The shortcomings of the South African literature are that there is articulation of the importance of primary sources in the teaching of history, issues of cause and effects are mentioned superficially in textbooks and curriculum documents, but empathy is largely ignored in the literature (Battaro et al., 2013; Angier et al., 2013; Fernandez et al).

Another master's degree scholar, Mtshali (2005) of this new generation of scholars, has explored the teaching of History in isiZulu (local language spoken by the community in Kwazulu-Natal province) and his findings are that learners responded more effectively when taught in isiZulu than when taught in English. Mtshali used one school as a sample and used two different topics in one class. The first topic was the mineral revolution or the discovery of diamonds in which the issue of migrant labour was explored, and the second topic which was taught in isiZulu was the Great Trek, to which learners responded effectively when taught in isiZulu. Although presented in a scholarly manner and with the use of qualitative action research design, the research was undermined by the sample size and the teaching of different topics in different languages, instead of choosing two classes and teaching the same topic but in different languages. The finding that learners responded positively during the isiZulu lesson is misleading and may be encouraged by the topic itself. Many teachers find the topic based on mineral revolution to be boring and the topic on the Great Trek exciting because it deals with the dynamics of power relations between Africans and Afrikaners. Despite teaching in the first language, Mtshali did not indicate the type of methodology used by the teachers and he did not reflect elements of historical thinking such as empathy, cause and effect and historical significance, and his teaching was not based on the use of primary sources.

Another doctoral scholar, Thobekile Gumede, investigated "*The Biography of 'Access' as an expression of human rights in South African education policies*" (2005). This scholar also uses the History discipline to assess the accessibility of knowledge and skills in two schools with different historical backgrounds. He explores physical and epistemological access with his field studies centred on two schools, namely a Soweto school (township school) and a Gauteng school (an ex-model C school). What makes his research relevant to this thesis is his exploration of epistemological access. He explores the accessibility

of historical events such as the Soweto uprisings and the Sharpeville massacre. He reaches the obvious conclusion that the Sharpeville and Soweto uprisings are more accessible to Soweto schools than to the white schools. However, the Soweto school did not access creative and analytical skills associated with epistemological access, but instead they acquired the body of knowledge about the Soweto uprisings. Epistemological access is not about accessing the content about Soweto, but the learners should be able to display historical thinking skills such as empathy and cause and effect. Primary sources were not used to enforce empathy and this is the reason why the topic was not accessible to white students because of the transmission method which was used in teaching the topics. The students should have used sources that present the Sharpeville massacre from different perspectives, from both white and black communities but he used a textbook that was based on the Africanist perspective and it is clear that white students did not find this interesting. However, if an opposite perspective had been presented it would have made the teaching interesting. He appears, however, to have been dazzled by Soweto learners who had accessed the body of knowledge about what happened in the Soweto Uprisings of 1976.

Sarah Dryden (1999), a doctoral graduate from the University of Cape Town, in her thesis entitled "Mirror of a Nation in Transition", explored the concerns and uncertainties of history teachers about the future of History during the period of transition to democracy. She asserts that South Africa faced a period of reconciliation, and divergent opinions existed about the future of History and its capacity to foster nation building, especially during the period of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, where the atrocities of the apartheid government were shared with the South African public. Some teachers advanced the view that history would remind some Africans of the hardship and oppression and others felt that it was an appropriate tool to foster social cohesion and reconciliation, especially the teaching of empathy. In her study, Dryden (1999) interviewed history teachers from eight schools in Cape Town representing African, Coloured, Indian and white communities. According to Dryden (1999), the collapse of Afrikaner nationalist perspectives caused uncertainties in teachers, especially in Afrikaans-medium schools. The Afrikaner nationalist perspective was challenged by Marxist historians which was accommodated by some schools, that as a result of the democracy leading to the opening of schools, African, Indian and Coloured learners were admitted to white schools and these schools were uncertain how history could be taught because of its potential to cause conflict between the white and African learners; some believed that empathy was the solution to enforce social cohesion and nation building (Dryden, 1999).

Dryden (1999) reveals that some white teachers used events that led to the death of Hector Peterson to engage some of the white learners in empathy, especially those who had regarded apartheid as good. The teacher tried to put his students into Hector Petersen's shoes, to show them what their own reactions would be to his situation in Soweto schools. In her study Dryden (1999) demonstrates the fact that

schools were not always content with the transmission of content and the Afrikaner nationalist perspective, and extended the content to include African history without departmental approval. She shows evidence that some White English-medium schools defied the department and extended the curriculum to include the stories of Hector Peterson and Steve Biko in order to engage students in empathy. As indicated by Peter Kallaway (1993), it was easy for the white schools to manipulate the space to teach balanced history because they were not rigorously monitored by the department's inspectors. This research includes lesson observations and interviews and it is based on the experience of teachers. However, there was no evidence of the use of primary sources in the teaching of history and no adequate evidence to demonstrate the fact that empathy was effectively cultivated in the learners. Finally, there was no evidence of teaching methodology which was suitable for the teaching of historical thinking and knowledge construction.

Wineburg (2001), in his study of expert-novice approaches to reading documents, demonstrates a "breach between the school and the academy." Wineburg reveals the multiple strategies - corroboration, sourcing, and contextualising - that historians employ as they read documents, strategies that are absent from students' reading. These descriptions of situated historical thinking fill in the cognitive details of such classroom activities as "working with documents" or "analysing primary sources." They help the teacher construct a more complex and, ultimately, more satisfying understanding of historical thinking, yielding richer goals for our courses (Bain, 2009; Wineburg, 2001; Seixas, 2013). This approach to analysis of documents is in line with the constructivist model of learning in which learners are engaged in the construction of knowledge with the social and cultural environment and within a community of enquiry. This framework developed by Wineburg (2001) was not reflected by the three students during their conduct of empirical research in the classroom.

2.9 SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE ON CRITICAL THINKING

Many South African scholars are preoccupied with criticism of outcomes-based education. Few writers have focused on critical-thinking skills or demonstrated through empirical research how the outcomes-based approach has undermined the teaching of critical-thinking skills. This research explores this and offers a framework of historical thinking that could assist South Africa to overcome obstacles to the integration of critical-thinking skills in everyday classroom techniques. A new generation of scholars in South Africa has also failed to recognise the importance of critical thinking, historical thinking and problem solving and their research is not only generic but also based on assumptions which cannot be scientifically proved correct. A student cannot critically assess the implementation of the curriculum if he or she does not understand Outcomes-based education. This is the intellectual cul de sac that has

characterised the new brand of education scholars in South Africa. Instead of taking a different, independent perspective, some of them have followed in the footsteps of the critics of the curriculum.

One such scholar is Lawrence Masondo (2004), a master's degree graduate, who explored all facets of the curriculum in his investigation of the attitudes of teachers to Outcomes-based education. His focus was on the lack of sufficient training as the cause of the poor implementation of Outcomes-based education in the rural areas. He outlined the cross-curricula critical outcomes and attached value to them. The flaw identified in his research is that he has not demonstrated an understanding of the outcomes-based approach and cannot, therefore, engage in the intellectual debate advanced by critics. However, by implication, Masondo means that Outcomes-based education was implemented well in the urban and township schools and if this is an inference or assumption, it is not founded on the basis of logical evidence. He has ignored the debate of scholars about the technical approach of the curriculum which may be an impediment to implementation not only in the rural areas but also across the whole spectrum of South African society. It is true that rural schools struggle with curriculum implementation, whether new or old, but a generalisation that rural schools are experiencing problems with the implementation is basically flawed because there are many rural schools in this country that are performing better than township and urban schools. His research falls short of the teaching of critical-thinking skills. This research exposes teachers' lack of knowledge of critical thinking which is seen as an institutional problem across domains and across schools, regardless of differences in geographical landscape. It is naïve to infer that rural schools are the only schools that experience problems in the teaching of thinking skills and this study shows that various schools experience this problem.

Ronel Swart is another Master's Degree student who has explored South African environmental education in the classroom in terms of the construction of meaning and the prospects for Freirean critical education. The thesis explores the central tenets of Freire's philosophy of critical education and analyses the negative impact of the banking concept of education on teaching and learning in the classroom. The approach which is supported in this philosophy is a dialogical approach in which the teacher and learner enter into a dialogue in order to construct knowledge (Swart, 2009:16). The philosophy emphasises the principle of humility, where teachers learn from their learners without relinquishing their authority to direct learning so as to ensure that human values become an integral part of classroom discourse. The research acknowledges the significance of dispositions or intrinsic qualities such as humility, love, encouragement and so on that are articulated by experts of critical thinking and these dispositions are essential in ensuring that elements of critical thinking are cultivated in the classrooms. This is one of the few intellectual scholarly works that are grounded on empirical evidence in the classroom and should go a long way towards assisting teachers and learners to cultivate the concept of critical thinking.

Swart locates the research within the qualitative research design and uses ethnography to collect data which is used in enabling the researcher to interact with people who are affected by the phenomena that are being investigated. It is one of the methodologies that have been recommended by social scientists and historians since the Cultural Revolution. This approach requires a sense of humility for the researcher to create rapport with the participants so as to ensure that the researcher is able to solicit useful information from the participants. The researcher conducted four lessons presented by four participants and used the Freirean praxis dialogical model to observe and judge lessons in the classroom. In judging the quality of lessons, the researcher is elevated to an outsider or to the authoritarian status of being an expert in the field of teaching. As advised by Foucault in terms of the relationship between power and knowledge, the participants should be elevated to the status of subjects rather than objects and therefore they should be given the opportunity for self-reflection on their teaching and making judgments on their own ability and that of their colleagues. The researcher can then make an inference based on their own judgment. The researcher should have opted for a participatory research design such as action research as recommended by Habermas in order to experiment with the Freirean model of problem posing to ensure that classroom pedagogy is transformed from banking education which is so endemic in the system. It does not help to lament the absence of higher-level thinking in the classroom without exposing teachers to progressive models of critical thinking so as to ensure that classroom pedagogy is transformed from the pedagogy of the oppressed to the pedagogy of hope. This research is nevertheless a scholarly contribution towards critical education in South African schools and the ethnographic methodology used has unravelled the depths of the problem that needs to be solved.

2.10 THE CHANGING CONCEPTION OF TEACHING AND LEARNING

Teachers influenced by the behaviourist model of teaching see teaching as a transmission of perfect ideas by adults to children, a learning approach based on the reproduction of knowledge and regurgitation of memorised facts. Teaching is mostly teacher-centred and learners are passive recipients of knowledge transmitted by the teacher. This is the banking concept of learning as defined by Paulo Freire (2005).

The transmission model was based on findings by behaviourist psychologists such as Pavlov, Watson, Thorndike, and Skinner in the early twentieth century (cited in Yilmaz, 2006; Wineburg, 2001). It was John B. Watson who coined the term behaviourism and laid the foundations of the behaviourist view of learning by proclaiming that the only legitimate object of study in human psychology was objectively observable, quantifiable and measurable behaviour. Watson is considered to be the founder of the behaviourist

model of learning (cited in Yilmaz, 2006). Watson was influenced by Pavlov who defined learning as a change in behaviour stemming from the response actions of an organism to a stimulus present in the environment. The core of his argument was that instead of studying the mind or the “black box” that he thought cannot be accessed scientifically, social scientists should study only overt behaviour because inner states such as motives and mental processes can be neither objectively observed nor quantitatively measured (cited in Yilmaz, 2006). Thorndike on the other hand developed the *law of effects* that connects the stimulus to a response. According to him in order to reinforce or discourage a response there is need for reward and punishment. Skinner, another behaviourist, developed operant conditioning and strengthened behaviourist epistemological beliefs about learning. The learning principle behind operant conditioning is that positive reinforcement leads to new learning and repeated actions (Cited in Yilmaz, 2006). Depending on whether an immediate reward or punishment is present, voluntary behaviours are either weakened or strengthened and become rooted in human behaviour (Cited in Yilmaz, 2006).

The behaviourist perspective views learning as a passive process of absorbing knowledge and as a change in either the form or frequency of behaviour. Learning is believed to occur when the learner gives a proper response to a specific environmental stimulus or adapts to the environment by responding correctly to its demands (cited in Yilmaz, 2006). The learner is assumed to be reactive to conditions in the environment rather than taking an active role in the learning process.

2.10.1 Teaching, learning and construction of knowledge

The advent of the cognitive revolution in education in the late 1960s resulted in a paradigm shift from observable behaviour to non-observable mental activity or the act of meaning-making (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Research studies identified with the cognitive approach began to investigate what is called the cognitive process that shapes individuals’ thoughts, and epistemological belief about teaching and the nature of the disciplines. As a result, more research attention in the area of teacher education is directed at investigating those topics related to teachers’ thought patterns, orientations, beliefs, perspectives, conceptions, and values that teachers hold (Yilmaz, 2006). As a result of the emergence of the constructive learning theory, the epistemological stance of teachers has come under scrutiny and has been considered critical in the new teaching where learning is viewed as an active process of constructing knowledge.

Constructivism is the philosophical and scientific position that knowledge arises through a process of active construction. It has emerged as an epistemological belief or a theory of knowledge and knowing, and it has come to inform different bodies of knowledge or disciplines ranging from philosophy to

psychology, anthropology and sociology (Yilmaz, 2006). It has multiple roots in psychology and philosophy. It was influenced by the developmental perspectives of Jean Piaget, Jerome Bruner, Ulric Neisser, Vygotsky and the constructivist philosophers such as Nelson Goodman. This has influenced teachers' efforts to develop constructive pedagogy in the classroom.

The social constructivist model of learning is based on students' active participation in problem solving and critical thinking regarding a learning activity that they find relevant and engaging. Learners construct their knowledge by testing ideas and approaches based on their prior knowledge and experience, applying these to a new situation, and integrating the new knowledge gained with pre-existing intellectual constructs. The process of learning should take into consideration the epistemological belief of learners because it is this belief that inhibits the dialogical process of knowledge construction. Osborne and Freyberg (1985) support this notion of the existence of the epistemological belief that cannot be ignored in the process of knowledge construction. According to Osborne and Freyberg (1985), the acknowledgment of alternative conceptions held by students has led to deeper understanding of the process necessary to deal with student constructions. Teachers need to surface students' prior knowledge, connect to it or challenge it, and allow students to build from and onto their prior knowledge. Often the results of teaching produce unintended learning outcomes, as students combine existing ideas with the new ideas presented by teachers (Osborne & Freyberg, 1985). The two experts stress the point that "in order for students to make use of ideas taught by teachers in the ways teachers intend, knowledge must present itself as intelligible, fruitful, and plausible". As demonstrated by Socrates in his dialogue with Meno, teachers challenge students' conceptions or misconceptions in order to invite them to abandon their beliefs and consider the new conception of the discipline. This approach can assist in moving students and teachers away from conceiving history as a catalogue of dead historical facts, a mere list of chronological events, towards an understanding of it as a narrative and representation of multiple realities and as historical thinking.

Jonassen (1991) proposes that there are eight characteristics that differentiate constructivist learning environments:

1. They provide multiple representations of reality.
2. Multiple representations avoid oversimplification and represent the complexity of the real world.
3. They emphasise knowledge construction instead of knowledge reproduction.
4. They emphasise authentic tasks in a meaningful context rather than abstract instruction out of context.
5. They provide learning environments such as real-world settings or case-based learning instead of predetermined sequences of instruction.

6. They encourage thoughtful reflection on experience.
7. They enable context and content-dependent knowledge construction.
8. They support collaborative construction of knowledge through social negotiation, not competition among learners for recognition.

Piaget (Jonassen, 1991) rejects the idea that learning is the passive assimilation of given knowledge. Instead, he proposes that learning is a dynamic process of successive stages of adaptation to reality during which learners actively construct knowledge by creating and testing their own theories of the world. Piaget's learning theory assumes that all knowledge is constructed from the learner's previous knowledge and it recognises the role played by teaching methodology. Accordingly, lecturing involves active attempts to construct new knowledge. This is contrary to the theory of pedagogy as conceptualised by both Bruner (1986) and Vygotsky (1978). Bruner (1986) conceptualises learning as the process of discovery where learners build their own knowledge, with the active dialogue of teachers, building on their existing knowledge. He embraces the dialogical approach of Socrates who asked direct questions that led his students to realise for themselves the weaknesses in their thinking. Bruner (1986) believes that students should enlighten themselves through reflection and social interaction. According to him this lies at the root of good learning. He supports the view that learning takes place within a community of learners (Seixas, 2013).

Social constructivism was developed by Vygotsky (1978). He focuses on the dialectic between the individual and society and the effect of social interaction, language and the culture of learning. He rejects the assumption made by Piaget that it is possible to separate learning from its social context. The basic tenets of constructivism are that learners learn by doing rather than by observing and therefore the lecturing methods or a transmission model turns learners into passive recipients of knowledge, which is against the constructivist belief of learning. Vygotsky (1978) was disappointed with the overwhelming control of environment over human behaviour that is represented in Behaviourism. He criticises the comparison of animals and human beings on the basis of innate and conditional reflexes. He acknowledges the higher psychological functioning of humans, especially the distinguishing mental process of signification by which humans assign meaning to arbitrary stimuli and by which human learning is determined by the social and historical context. According to Tharp and Gallimore (1993:29), "Vygotsky's insights have the most profound implications for how we think about teaching". In his theory, the development level of a child is identified by what the child can do alone. What the child can do with the assistance of another person is called the Zone of Proximal Development. The development level achieved by constructing assisted versus unassisted performance has profound implications for

educational practices. Vygotsky (1978) believes that learning is a continual movement from the current intellectual level to a higher level which more closely approximates the learner's potential.

There are several ways of assisting performance such as modelling, contingency management, feeding back, directing, questioning and explanation. Many properly conducted classrooms provide assistance: lectures, demonstrations, cooperative learning, teaching, learning and schooling in social context and textbooks can all assist learning. But for the development of thinking skills, in particular the ability to form, express and exchange ideas in speech and writing, the critical form of assisting learners is through dialogue, through the questioning and sharing of ideas and knowledge that happens in a conversation. This framework of assisting thinking is rooted in the classical Socratic thinking framework used to produce high-level thinkers (Tharp and Gallimore, 1993:29). In the theory of internalisation of a higher psychological function, Vygotsky believes that performance must be assisted until internalisation has taken place and quite often teachers do not focus on the cultivation of critical and historical skills and ensure that they are internalised, but instead they focus on the completion of huge content in order to prepare for standardised tests. The short-cut strategy to complete content is through the transmission model (Vygotsky, 1978).

Learning involves combining what you know with what was taught, continually connecting prior knowledge with new information (Cited in Housfather, 2002). This prior knowledge can facilitate, inhibit, or transform learning. In reading, comprehension has been shown to depend on what you already know or want to know (Smith & Terence, 2003). Research into the nature of "children's science," the ideas and experiences students bring into class with them, shows that students hold tenaciously to their prior ideas. These alternative conceptions or misconceptions grow out of students' prior experiences with the world around them, and can interfere considerably with teachers' attempts to foster learning. Changing the epistemological belief of learners is critical in mediating between the new knowledge and the learners' misconceptions in order to engage learners in a meaningful process of knowledge construction.

2.10.2 From transmission of factual knowledge to the concept of doing history

The social constructivist conception of learning as an active process of constructing knowledge and making meaning has resulted in the changing conception of History education and the teaching methodology in order to engage learners in a collaborative process of constructing historical knowledge. Traditionally history teachers and learners receive textbooks which are the end products of a historical process of constructing knowledge. According to Seixas and Morton (2013), educators have been content to tell stories about the past and to have students tell them back in essays. Seixas and Morton (2013)

stress that a Science curriculum does not work this way. Students learn about the scientific methods and carry out increasingly complex experiments so that they can understand the basis of scientific claims. The Mathematics curriculum does not work this way. Students learn to solve Mathematics problems at a young age and over the course of their schooling, they are expected to be increasingly sophisticated at doing so. “Why shouldn’t the History classroom have comparably high goals?” (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Seixas and Morton (2013) insist that how successfully students grapple with the tensions, complexities and problems embedded in historical thinking concepts is a basis for measuring their progress towards competency in historical thinking.

The historian establishes historical significance. We cannot record all past events as it is simply too much (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Seixas and Morton (2013) explain a critical factor in history writing and assert that historians use primary sources as evidence and ultimately the foundation for all claims in history are the traces left over from the times in which past events occurred; if we rely on the work of earlier historians we do so knowing that these historians went back to primary sources. Making a historical claim that others can justifiably believe, requires finding, selecting, contextualising, interpreting and corroborating sources for an historical argument. Engaging learners in the sophisticated knowledge of historical thinking would result in ensuring that they develop the type of critical thinking which is complex and comparable to the epistemological complexity experienced in science and mathematics classrooms (Seixas & Morton, 2013). However, doing history requires a teaching methodology that encourages learners to participate in a collaborative process of constructing historical knowledge and the transmission model is antithetical to the teaching of historical thinking and reasoning. Under the influence of educational, cultural and social development theorists that reject learning as knowledge reception, “historical thinking” emerges as a term used by history educators to reject history education as simply a function of memorisation and regurgitation (Parkes, 2007).

Historical education experts believe that students have the capacity to demonstrate the sophisticated knowledge of the discipline at an early age. What is needed is a pedagogical process that enhances historical thinking in the classroom, what Lee Shulman (1986) calls the pedagogical content knowledge. Currently, according to Peter Seixas, what learners are assimilating is the end product cognitive process producing historical narrative in the form of textbooks and as a result they do not possess the cognitive tools to question the authority, authenticity and validity of the textbook’s narrative. Experts therefore believe that teachers must be involved in the historical process of sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation of primary sources in order to identify the subtext, author’s purpose, intention and motivations, and to read between the lines in order to use contextualisation to reconcile competing narratives (Wineburg, 2001; Seixas, 2013).

According to Peter Seixas (1993), knowledge of the discipline is located within the community of experts and there is a need to bring both the community of experts and the community of practice together. Wineburg, the historian and psychologist, is concerned about the cognitive process of analysing and interpreting primary sources. He embarked on the study of eight historians and high-school students in order to assess the differences in their abilities to analyse primary sources. He wanted historians to externalise or think aloud their process of cognition to ensure that the process was documented and was used to assist in engaging learners in the sophisticated process of constructing historical knowledge. This has resulted in Wineburg (2001) developing three heuristics of *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation*. These heuristics provide teachers with the tools to internalise aspects of historical thinking in the classroom activities and therefore learning will be active and learners will participate in the process of knowledge construction. Historians, in a thinking-aloud exercise, managed to identify the subtext, or the hidden message of the documents and they also managed to identify the most trustworthy sources while high-school students failed to identify the subtext and also failed to recognise the validity of primary sources by identifying the text from the textbook as the most reliable source. Peter Seixas (1993) believes that teachers, by virtue of being excluded from the community of enquiry of historians where new knowledge is generated, are excluded from the knowledge construction process and the only action is to acquire the historical narratives from textbooks and transmit them to learners. Peter Seixas (1993) advances the view that because teachers serve as the bridge between the communities of experts at universities and the community of learners at the school, it is necessary for them to participate with historians in the process of generating historical knowledge.

Seixas (1993) cautions that activities taken from a community of experts may not automatically be transplanted to a body of novices. Bain (2009) supports Seixas and stresses that learners of history do not yet share the assumptions of historians. They think differently about text, sources, argument, and the structure of historical knowledge. The frames of meaning that sustain the disciplinary task within the community of historians may not exist within the classroom. Hence, the students may reject the transplanted activity. Or, the culture of the classroom will assimilate the "authentic" activity, using it to sustain novices' naïve or scholastic views (Bain, 2009). Engaging students in some legitimate disciplinary activity without restructuring the social interaction or challenging students' presuppositions may yield only ritualistic understanding. The problem for practitioners is to design activities that engage students in historical cognition without yielding to the tempting assumption that disciplinary tasks mechanically develop students' higher functions (Bain, 2009).

2.10.3 Historical thinking, critical thinking and knowledge construction

Seixas (1993) defines historical thinking as organising collective experiences of the past, so that they form a meaningful way to think about the present. He suggests that there are three elements to students' understanding of history, first the ability to assign importance to historical information and to establish criteria by which to judge the significance of various and often competing narratives of the past (Parkes, 2007). The second is an epistemological approach whereby historical interpretations are revised through the inclusion of new evidence or opinion. This element includes skills of analysing sources, integration of secondary opinion and the application of frameworks that are used to judge the cacophony of voices that speak of the past to the present (this includes sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation). The third element incorporates contextualised thinking or empathy and ethical judgment. Empathy is the ability to see beyond one's own time, culture and value system and appreciate the ways of thinking of the people of the past (Parkes, 2007). These elements of historical thinking should be resurrected in the classroom through a process of knowledge production.

Socrates (Maxwell, 2009) is considered the father of critical thinking and he demonstrated the dialectical and dialogical process of assisting his students to develop new knowledge by discarding previously-held conceptions. The beliefs students bring to the discourse are subjected to Socratic questioning and the student in the process recognises his ignorance and he is compelled to think afresh and produce new knowledge. Socrates (Maxwell, 2009) notes that for as long as students do not discard previously-held views, it is difficult to engage them in the process of knowledge production. Russell emphasises the importance of evidence in critical thinking, the habit of weighing evidence and the ability to find an impartial solution, ability to identify bias, distortions and propaganda, to move away from displaying sociocentrism and ethnocentrism in order to achieve a fair-minded intellectual judgment, and lastly, the ability to engage in constructive doubt or scepticism in the case of limited judgment or postponed judgment. These elements relate to history because the historians would make a reasoned judgment based on sufficient evidence and in the case of competing narratives and in the absence of a corresponding source that can be used to corroborate a historical account, the evidence would be considered tentative until it could be corroborated. There is also a strong element of scepticism and relativism in the study of history and this position has been assumed by feminist and social historians, and literary theorists who do not believe in the ability of the past to produce the truth about the past. A past which excludes the activities and perspectives of ordinary people cannot be considered to be representing the knowable past. For historians to establish what really happened, they scrutinise evidence, and arrange relevant facts logically in order to support their conclusion with valid evidence. The elements that connect historical thinking and critical thinking include involving learners in a process of

knowledge construction, because in engaging his student in an intellectual discourse Socrates used direct questions to dismantle the epistemological foundation as historians use questions to challenge the credibility of evidence or misconceptions held by teachers about the discipline. The intellectual standards embodied in the model of critical thinking such as clarity, accuracy, precision, fairness, accuracy, relevance, logic, depth and breadth, are all embodied in the process of historical thinking, reasoning and argumentation. Students are required to use the three heuristics, namely *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation*, and these enable the students to assess the validity of sources and generate evidence which is authentic and trustworthy.

Social constructivists conceptualise learning as an active process of knowledge construction and sense making. Beyond that, knowledge is understood as a cultural artifact of people. It is created and transformed by each individual and by groups of people (Vygotsky, 1978). As a result, learning should involve talk, public reasoning, and shared problem solving. Too often the social environment of schools is counterproductive to learning (Vigosky, 1978). Instead of a focus on individual achievement, learning involves social interaction that supports thinking, surfaces prior knowledge, and allows skills to be used in the context of content knowledge. Participating in communities of discourse allows students to clarify, defend, elaborate, evaluate, and argue over the knowledge constructed (Brown & Harvey, 2006). Many teachers use cooperative learning as a route to building communities of discourse in their classrooms. Cooperative learning has been shown to be a powerful vehicle to improve learning outcomes for students. This approach is appropriate in the cultivation of elements of historical thinking, reasoning and critical thinking which need to be cultivated in the classroom through a dialogical approach of meaning making and knowledge construction.

2.10.4 Pedagogical content knowledge

The concept of pedagogical content knowledge has been conceptualised by Lee Shulman (1986). According to Shulman (1986), teaching is a matter of content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and most importantly, pedagogical content knowledge as a bridge between content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. A teacher of history lands in an area of knowledge within and between the subject of history and pedagogy. This field of knowledge that Lee Shulman (1986) identifies as a “missing paradigm”, contains both historical content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge, but also, most importantly, knowledge beyond and in between the two, so-called Pedagogical Content Knowledge. According to Ball and McDiarmid (1990), what teachers need to know about the subject matter they teach extends beyond the specific topics of their curriculum. Shulman (1986) argues that “teachers must not only be capable of defining for students the accepted truths in a domain. They must also be able to

explain why a particular proposition is deemed warranted, why it is worth knowing, and how it relates to other propositions" (Cited in Ball & McDiarmid, 1990).

Experts have considered subject matter in the teaching of history to be critical if teaching is to be considered meaningful. However, possession of historical thinking knowledge has been seen to be inadequate if a teacher is not able to engage learners in the process of historical thinking by organising activities that involve learners in *sourcing*, *corroboration*, *contextualisation* of sources. Some teachers are able to organise meaningful teaching activities without the disciplinary knowledge and this type of teaching is counter-productive. Others are able to display disciplinary knowledge but their weak pedagogical practices inhibit learners from engaging in the cognitive process used by historians to construct historical knowledge (Barton & Levstik, 2004). In South Africa students that acquire their teacher training at the universities are considered to be capacitated with academic content knowledge but deficient in the teaching methodology, and those that graduate from the colleges are thin on disciplinary knowledge. These teachers are unable to integrate disciplinary teaching with appropriate teaching practices that enhance historical thinking. Those with disciplinary knowledge use transmission models as a method to prepare learners for the standardised test and those who are also not grounded in the epistemology use the same methods, but they are unconscious that they are under-developing learners. Those from universities are aware that they are not engaging learners in activities that enhance disciplinary knowledge (interviews, Modise and Moemi).

2.11 THE PERSPECTIVE OF CRITICAL THEORY ON CRITICAL THINKING

Critical theory and its contemporary educational implications such as critical pedagogy are grounded in an active desire to fight oppression, injustice and bigotry and create a fairer, more companionate world (Brookfield, 2005:10). The experts who are pioneers of this school of thinking include Henry Giroux, Michael Apple, Peter McLaren, Horkheimer, Adorno and Habermas. A brief sketch of critical theorists and theorists of critical pedagogy is provided. Critical theory, critical pedagogy and critical education were influenced by Karl Marx's philosophy of dialectical materialism articulated in the German ideology. However, some are heavily influenced by Gramsci, who developed the term *Subaltern* to describe the subordinate social groups in third-world countries that are voiceless because they lack organised political autonomy (Eley, 2005:142). Paulo Freire's revolutionary book, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which was also influenced by the German ideology, had an immense influence on both critical pedagogy and critical theory to the extent that the critics of Giroux branded him a disciple of Freire (2005).

The emergence of the critical theorists was a response to capitalism, market fundamentalism, neo-liberalism and postmodernism that advocated the liberal view that capitalism is the only system suitable

for the world and that this is evidenced by the collapse of the Soviet Union, symbolising the end of socialism and communism. However, the critical theorists used dialectical materialism as a rallying cry to strengthen opposition against capitalism. The relevance of the critical theorists to this chapter is that they consider the curriculum that is taught at school level to be part of the capitalist agenda to promote the indoctrination of impoverished communities to accept the hegemony. This is achieved through the regurgitation of memorised facts which is a demonstration of what Freire (2005) calls the banking concept of education. The work done on critical thinking reveals that learners are taught through a rote-learning methodology to regurgitate factual knowledge of an established hegemony and are not empowered with the central tenets of critical thinking which enable learners to analyse the world, using fair-minded intellectual thought by engaging in reasoned intellectual judgment based on evidence.

Critical thinking is considered by critical theorists to be the ability of individuals to disengage themselves from the tacit assumptions of discursive practices and power relations in order to exert more conscious control over their everyday lives. An important element in the ideology critique tradition is the concern of the hegemony, which explains the way in which people are persuaded to embrace dominant ideologies as always being in their own best interests. One of the theorists of hegemonic values and ideas plays a major role in presenting these ideas as the natural order of things; hegemony must always be understood as an educational phenomenon (Brookfield, 2005:13). From the perspective of the critical theorist, critical thinking is a form of enlightenment that empowers the learners with the dialectical skills of questioning established traditions and practices, as well as the dominant hegemony. The critical theorists consider the discipline of History to be an essential tool to empower learners to understand that they are currently at the mercy of the capitalist system and should understand the socio-economic conditions in which they find themselves. This enlightenment would create the hope that the dialectical materialism of Marx which predicted that capitalism would eventually die, would become a reality. According to this school of thinking, a school should be an institution where learners are empowered to develop independent thinking as opposed to indoctrination.

Critical Theory, in a narrow sense, designates several generations of German philosophers and social theorists in the Western European Marxist tradition known as the Frankfurt school. According to the theorists of this school of thinking, a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation, “to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002). The institute of social research was founded in 1929 and was managed by Max Horkheimer, and supported by Theodor Adorno, who is considered to be the first generation of this school of thought (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002). This theory is critical of liberal democracy, market fundamentalism, capitalism, national science and technology. In the book called *The Dialectics of Enlightenment*, Adorno and

Horkheimer criticise the emphasis of the enlightenment on human rights, democracy and free institutions leading to mass politics and democracy which did not emancipate the individuals from the oppression created by market fundamentalism, capitalism and the technocrats. According to the theorists, these forces, including the state, determine the curriculum agenda for the poor which ultimately pushes the majority of people to the margin of poverty and ensures continued domination by the capitalists (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002).

Habermas, one of the pioneers of this school of thinking, applied this critical theory to the development of the curriculum. According to Habermas (Smith, 2003:88), the technical approach to curriculum development has led to technical control focused on “facts” or a body of knowledge, and has ignored the hermeneutic and critical self-reflective types of knowledge. This has resulted in subjects being taught factually, which has undermined the epistemology of many disciplines and domains of knowledge. The strengths of critical theory in the analysis of the society and democracy has brought to light the fact that any system of government, including curriculum policy, should be evaluated with the principle of human emancipation in mind. The development of the critical reflective aspects of the curriculum empowers learners with the skill of critical thinking to be able to critique the state and the forces of capitalism that have engulfed them. Therefore, the teaching of subjects based on factual knowledge is designed, according to Habermas, to ensure that learners assimilate and regurgitate factual knowledge. This approach is responsible for paralysing the production of knowledge at school level.

Critical pedagogy, on the other hand, has been associated with great philosophers in the United States including Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren. This school of thought was highly influenced by Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and by Marxism, and their theories focused mainly on enlightening the oppressed, including the working class, civil society and the unemployed, to resist any rationality imposed by the oppressors, including the curriculum and regional standards. These, according to the theories, are activities of the state backed by market fundamentalism and capitalism, driven by a few capitalists and technocrats. Peter McLaren, one of the theorists of critical pedagogy at the University of California, raises questions about the effects of globalisation on public schools and public education. He raises issues about the extent to which the content of teaching and the curriculum are under the perilous influence of the shifting social, economic and political relations within global capitalism (McLaren, 2001:147). According to Spring (in McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001), education under globalisation is viewed as a vehicle that assists the growing market economy. For many developing countries, an educated and skilled workforce would ostensibly mean a higher level of productivity and economic development. According to McLaren (2001:147), “a classroom business course teaches students to value work by exploring how McDonald’s restaurants are operated and what skills are needed to become a successful McDonald’s

manager”. This example is an indication that the school curriculum is structured in a manner that promotes capitalism and aggravates the poverty of the working class and unemployed communities.

Henry Giroux, who is one of the greatest thinkers from the school of critical pedagogy, asserts that the current economic, political and education policies in the USA threaten the future in multiple ways by undermining learners’ opportunities for realising the promise of a critically educated and socially active youth. Envisioning and providing the conditions and experiences for the realisation of these promises of youth and democracy are crucially linked to the possibilities and hopes for and actions toward a better future, a future currently being disabled by increasing war, militarism and violence; the ever-expanding pursuit of neoliberal markets and concomitant exploitation of labour and resources (Giroux, 2008). According to Giroux (2008), schools are modelled on boot camps, prisons or malls while teachers play the role of drill-instructors. He also asserts that under such conditions, accompanied by the deadening neoliberal mantra of “there is no alternative”, a cruel set of zero tolerance politics in schools, and an increasing criminalisation of young people’s behaviour, a culture of fatalism, resignation and cynicism appears. He feels that schools have become the dumping grounds for parents who are not able to take care of their children. He maintains that education has failed at all levels to develop concepts and mechanisms directed towards creating egalitarian, peaceful and needs-fulfilling alternatives to the dominant ideologies and institutions founded in commercialism, militarism and profiteering (Giroux, 2008).

2.12 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, a body of literature that is focused on the elements, traits and standards of critical thinking and historical thinking has been thoroughly analysed, including the origin and definitions of the concept of critical thinking. The new generation of scholars and critics of the education system are only interested in the challenges facing Outcomes-Based Education and on issues that relate to the teaching of history that focus more on content than on historical thinking. The curriculum focus in history has been analysed and the refinement of the curriculum in the CAPS has revealed that the curriculum policy in South Africa embodies the elements of historical thinking. This chapter has presented the conceptual framework based on the models created by Seixas and Morton (2013) and Wineburg (2001). Embodied in this model are the big six concepts of analysis of primary sources, cause and effects, empathy, ethical dimension, change and continuity, and historical significance, and these have been used as criteria to analyse the literature pertaining to the teaching of history. Using these criteria, no South African student or literature has reflected these elements and most of the research that embodies the elements are those undertaken by international experts. The literature that has been explored includes the cognitive analysis of sources where experts such as Wineburg (2001), Bain (2009), Reisman (2012) and others engage novices and

experienced historians in the *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* of the sources. It has been revealed that historians and some students managed to identify the subtext but most failed and they just engaged in the comprehension reading of the sources. They also failed to engage in corroboration of the sources. Some literature reviews include exploring teachers' conceptions of the disciplines and how this impacts on their teaching methodology. Finally, the review focuses on the studies that reflect the display of empathy. In all these elements of historical thinking, including the exploration of the teachers' conceptions, South African material such as textbooks and standardised question papers lack empathy and the cognitive analysis of sources in accordance with the framework developed by Wineburg (2001). It is notable that few South African students are willing to engage in the empirical research that is based on classroom observation and most are preoccupied with the problems relating to the place of History in the curriculum during apartheid and during a democratic era where the subject History is considered to be an obstacle to the building of a rainbow nation because it reminds South Africans of the atrocities of the past.

The next chapter articulates the historical development of the discipline of history, historical thinking and the historiography of South Africa.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISCIPLINE AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I briefly explore the development of the discipline History up to the 20th century and its impact on school history education. In unpacking the historical development, I draw on the pioneering epistemological works of scholars such as Ranke, Carr and Marx, and how they influenced the discipline of History in the 1800s and 1900s. In the battle waged by historians against the empiricist approach and the achievement of “objectivity” by scientific historiography, I elucidate how textuality was castigated by Marxists, non-Marxists and social historians in support of the oral tradition, oral sources and memory as legitimate sources of evidence to reconstruct the histories of ordinary people. I also discuss the role played by Marxists and social historians in the battle for the expansion of the parameters of the discipline which led to the establishment of new fields such as social history and women’s history. I articulate the role played by *Annales*, Marxists, social scientists and social historians, postmodernist and literary theorists in various areas of historiography which include changes over time in the epistemology of the discipline, the emergence of paradoxes - realism versus relativism, quantitative versus qualitative, top-down versus bottom-up histories and literary aspects of historicism versus presentism which have influenced the modern conceptions of the discipline of history. I also explore debates about the aspects of school history education such as heritage and historical thinking and explicate how these aspects influence the teaching of history. Finally, I outline the historiography of South Africa and elaborate on the contribution of British, Afrikaner, Marxist and Africanist schools of thinking to the writing of the history of South Africa from different political, economic and social perspectives.

This chapter addresses the following question:

- a) To what extent does development in academic history impact on the nature of historical thinking in the classroom?

3.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY AS A DISCIPLINE

Historians have always told stories. From Thucydides and Tacitus to Gibbon and Macaulay, the composition of narrative in lively and elegant prose has always been accounted their higher ambition (Roberts, 2001). History has been regarded as a branch of rhetoric (Roberts, 2001). According to

Lawrence Stone (Cited in Roberts, 2001), over the past fifty years the story-telling mode of representation has been challenged by those who regard themselves as the new vanguard of the discipline. The constitution of the discipline and its conceptions have been the subject of contestation over decades and centuries since its inception in Ancient Greece by Herodotus. Argument has centred on the relationship between the past and history, and the ability of history as a mode of thinking and a rational means of studying the past to produce “objectively” the past as it really was (Roberts, 2001). This objective history perspective was established by Leopold Von Ranke, the scientific historian who believed in scientific history. This conception of history in its pursuit of using documentation and critical methods of analysis led to the exclusion of ordinary people, including women, and brought analytical historiography into being. It resulted in the dichotomy between the narrative and analytical modes of representation. This paradox intensified during the enlightenment, modernity and postmodernist area.

3.2.1 Epistemology: Realism versus Relativism

Realism is a perspective that was established by Ranke which is premised on the theoretical framework of the possibility of presenting the past as it really was or objective representation of past historical events. Relativism on the other hand is a modern corollary to scepticism and is the belief that the truth of a statement is relative to the position of the person making the statement. This position is a direct challenge to scientific history which is designed to achieve objectivity (Jenkins, 1997:213). Those that were excluded from the study of history as historical actors and writers such as women, workers and peasants, felt that objectivity could be to establish in official records that which was incomplete and excluded other members of the society. According to Joyce Appelby, Lyrin Hunt and Margaret Jacobs (in Jenkins, 1997:213), feminist historians, women used scepticism and relativism as tools in fashioning the past and these tools were also used to challenge the objectivity of the past because the story was told and excluded others, and could therefore not be objective. Which mode of representation can best represent the past to accommodate the dichotomy between realism and relativism?

The narrative mode of presentation was considered as inadequate in producing objective representation of the past historical events. Ranke was perceived by traditional historians such as Marwick as the father of modern historiography (Cannon, 1982; Marwick, 1982) who developed scientific history. He is credited with turning history into an academic discipline. He propounded a science of history, based upon the critical study of its sources and upon the organisation of these resources into a hierarchy with its apex in the original document contemporary with the historicised event, as close as possible to an historical actor and as distant as possible from the historian. He established the epistemological perspective based on the ability of the historian to achieve objectivity, to “present the past as it really was”. Ranke, supported

by Wilhelm von Humboldt, rejected the Enlightenment view that human history followed a rational plan according to natural principles, which philosophy could supply when documentation did not exist. Rather than paint missing historical episodes using their literary imagination, Humboldt and Ranke argue that philosophical conjecture should be replaced by an empirical examination of authentic historical documents (Budd, 2009:159). In responding to the conception of history as a science, Iggers (1975:10) argues that every tradition of historical scholarship reflects the conditions under which it emerged and developed, and that the Rankean “scientific” model of inquiry with its narrow conception of political history was narrowly concerned with the foreign affairs of the great European state. It was a heavy rebalance of documents of state to the neglect of other sources.

EH Carr (1964) is one of the respected historical philosophers who challenged the scientific historiography conceptualised by Ranke. In his seminal book, *What is history?* Carr presents the procedure and standards of reconstructing past historical events. He questions the historical traditions presented by Herodotus, Marx, Ranke and other philosophers who contributed to the study of History. He also questioned the scientific history advocated by Ranke, supported by French and English-speaking philosophers who believed in empiricism. Carr (1964) challenged the notion that “facts speak for themselves” or “*wie es eigentlich gewesen*” - meaning presenting the past as it really was and advanced an argument that facts are interpreted by a historian. Carr (1964) insists that empiricism is inadequate in the study of history. He conceptualises History as a particular conception of what constitutes human rationality (Carr, 1964). In the same vein, Carr maintains that not all facts about the past are historical facts and therefore, facts cannot speak for themselves. They require a historian to decide which fact to give the floor (Carr, 1964:5). The belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the historian is a preposterous fallacy, but one which is hard to eradicate, according to Carr (1964:6). However, Carr believes that historians should strive for objectivity and it means that objectivity is achievable.

According to Stone (Cited in Roberts, 2001:283), the old Marxist economic model was based on scientific history which obviously supports a realist perspective. According to the old Marxist model, history moves in a dialectical process of thesis and antithesis, through a clash of classes which are themselves created by changes in control over the means of production. The Old Marxist historians were optimistic about the social revolution, classless society and the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to Stone, the notion of Scientific History was defended by Marxists up to the late 1950s. Stone acknowledges that the current neo-Marxist has abandoned most of the basic tenets of the traditional Marxist historians of the 1930s (Roberts, 2001).

The optimistic and sometimes realist or scientific perspective of Marxists was used by the old imperialist British historians in the writing of the history of India. According to Chakrabarty (in Howie, 2010:58), one of the new imperialist historians, Marx has introduced transitional narrative which is based on the system of dialect that seeks to use social laws in order to predict the future. This transitional narrative has predicted the collapse of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a classless society after the social revolution. This has been used by the colonialist historians to describe the history of third-world countries such as India. The story of India has been described by British historians as inadequate and incomplete (Howie, 2010). This is caused by the prediction about the transformation of the bourgeoisie which never materialised and this was the weakness of the old Marxist realist perspective. It was legitimised by the scientific model of Marxist or transitional narratives (Howie, 2010).

The realist stance was attacked by the feminist historians because it was based on textual evidence which in the past excluded women and ordinary people. For women to reclaim their past stories that had been neglected, they had to rely on oral traditions and testimonies and beliefs in telling their stories and using their own methodologies (Eley, 2005). They have accepted multiple perspectives. The postmodernist conception of history and subjectivity has been accepted as a mode of presenting the past from the perspective of the powerless, including women. History has always been presented from the point of view of the bourgeois and male political point of view and the perspectives of women, slaves, and the working class were excluded. As a result of the cultural turn, the ordinary people were not only considered as historical actors but also as storytellers and therefore a notion of histories has been embodied in the discipline of history to cater for multiple realities. Women do not believe in the reality of the men's world presented in the past by male historians and, instead, they deconstructed these male-dominated histories in order to write histories from women's point of view (Eley, 2005).

The challenge to institutions as centres of power was launched by Gayatri Spivak and Guha who were experts of *Subaltern* historiography. Spivak is a feminist critic and activist who has struggled against all forms of gender oppression and sexual discrimination and her experience as a colonial woman lends her credibility as a representative of third-world women. She challenges imperialist text that seeks to represent reality about the past and the problem of textuality which excludes women. Most of the women's studies have included other women as objects of study, and as subjects of the story (Eley, 2005).

According to Steadman (in Eley, 2005), historical writing is based on "recognition of temporariness and impermanence". Historical enquiry is constructed around an understanding that things are not over, that

the story is not finished, that there is no end. The desire for exhaustiveness and finality notwithstanding, new evidence and arguments will always be found, and new accounts can always be made. These histories allow for change. The telling of a life story is a confirmation of that self that stands there telling the story (Eley, 2005:176). The story of the past that excluded the role played by women, workers, slaves and peasants in the economic and political development of many countries cannot be accepted by social historians and feminist historians as an objective story but it is subjective in favour of those who were in power, including men.

Michel Foucault is one of the historians and literary theorists who are considered pioneers of the relativist stance in history because, for Foucault, past history cannot be considered objectively because it was written from the point of view of those in power. He redirected thinking about power away from conventional, institutionally-centred conceptions of class domination, toward a dispersed and decentred understanding of power and its “microphysics” (Eley, 2005). His work on prisons, hospitals, asylums and other places of confinement, social policy and public health, and all forms of government works became shot through with Foucauldian arguments about power, knowledge and the “regime of truth.” The relation of power and knowledge brought a new paradigm in social sciences research. It was traditionally acceptable that those who were powerful by virtue of economic power had the justification to impose their own knowledge upon the powerless (Eley, 2005). This theory by Foucault resulted in the shifting of legitimacy for established institutions such as universities as embodiments of legitimate knowledge, to the emergence of non-academic intellectuals and the new history or cultural turn accommodating the voices of ordinary people or submerged groups that Antonio Gramsci calls the *Subaltern*.

Foucault encouraged a rethinking of what historians understood by “the archive”, which is considered a maze of evidence to support the existence of reality out there to be discovered by the historian. He sought to break history out of its desire for the exclusive specificity of the origin and the sequential linearity of progressive time, aiming to reconstitute, instead, the forgotten places where new ways of understanding the world came to be imagined (Eley, 2005). His “genealogical investigations” helped historians review their given attitudes towards evidence and the empirical. In Foucault, distinctive usage of genealogies retrieved the marginal, the disadvantaged and the lowly from the suppressed and occluded “ahistorical” corners where conventional historians tended to banish them, demanding a different kind of archive for the story to be told (Eley, 2005:128).

With the advent of the literary turn, contestations against the ability of historians to construct the knowable past intensified. The literary theorists, White and Mink, led the assault against the traditional realist historians such as Zagorine, Marwick and Elton (Roberts, 2001). White speaks about the figurative nature

of the language which is used in presenting the narrative about past historical events. He is supported by Derrida in this regard about the multiple meaning of words (Munslow, 1997). Historians are seen as literary artists imposing a plot structure onto the chaotic facts in the form of meaningless sequences in order to develop the storyline which might be comical or tragic, depending on the political agenda and the careful selection of words chosen by the historians to persuade the readers. The literary theorists strongly challenge the claims by traditional historians about the use of neutral language in order to reconstruct the knowable past (Yilmaz, 2007). They also object to the misconceptions about their positions and reiterate the fact that they do not dismiss the existence of reality but are of the view that there are multiple realities that can be supported by evidence. The literary theorists also classify evidence as a form of construction which is the only reliable material that the historian is using to represent the past (Roberts, 2001).

In an attempt to rebut the anti-realist stance represented by White and Mink (who are considered relativists), who deny a realistic interpretation of historical narratives, Carr (Cited in Roberts, 2001:158) argues that even in the most elementary perceptions and actions, an embryonic narrative-type structure can be discerned, such a structure therefore being about as natural, humanly speaking, as anything can be. Carr challenges the imposition of a plot narrative structure by historians and believes that the story of the past is primarily arranged in a narrative form and this is part of the experiences of the people of the past. It is part of their plot structure of preserving and representing their stories and not the imposition by an historian. Carr (Cited in Roberts, 2001) insists that there cannot be narrative without the narrator, someone who keeps it "on plot". Carr is one of the disciples of narrative perspective but believes that narratives are not imposed by historians but are part of the society and are capable of presenting some form of reality about the past. This position is supported by Norman (Cited in Roberts, 2001) who argues that the perceptions and actions of the people of the past are organised in a narrative format which has the ability to represent some form of reality because as narrators the communities narrate their experiences. Historical narrative, according to Carr, is an extension by other means, and to some extent with different attitudes, of historical existence itself. Carr (Cited in Roberts, 2001:165) insists that "to tell the story of a community is simply to continue at a somewhat more reflective and usually more retrospective level, the storytelling process through which the community constitutes itself and its actions". Carr rejects the implotment perspective held by White and Mink (Cited in Roberts, 2001).

Collingwood (Cited in Roberts, 2001:223), another traditional historian, considers the role of the historian as constructive imagination manifested in their ability to make a plausible story. He appears to agree with White and Mink that the past historical records are fragmented and always incomplete and appear in facts that are unprocessed. Collingwood suggests that historians come to their evidence endowed with a sense of the possible forms that different kinds of recognisably human situations can take. Collingwood to a

certain extent agrees with the emplotment structure suggested by Mink and White (Roberts, 2001). He does not agree with Carr about the inherence of a plot structure within the primary sources but believes that it is the historian that brings about the possibility of creating a storyline. This is supported by Elton (Cited in Roberts, 2001) who believes that the interpretation of the historians should be supported by the evidence. The area of contest between these historians is the ability of history to produce the knowable past and this is contested by White and Mink who believe in the multiple realities of the past and not in a single interpretation that represents reality (Roberts, 2001).

According to Joyce Appelby, Lyrin Hunt and Margaret Jacobs (Jenkins, 1997), who consider themselves outsiders who have just joined the university with its established epistemology which excludes women's conceptions, they perceive themselves as "barbarians" who are no longer at the gates but who are at the heart of the committees that decide on the trajectory of disciplines. The three feminist historians from the United States are concerned about the division between realists and relativists and propose a unifying framework that seeks to encapsulate elements from both paradigms. According to these feminists:

The democratic practice of history, we will argue, encourages skepticism about dominant views, but at the same time trusts in the reality of the past and its knowability. To collapse this tension in favour of one side or another is to give up the struggle for enlightened openness to the interplay between certainty and doubt which keeps faith with the expansive quality of democracy. This openness depends on a version of scientific model of knowledge based on the belief in the reality of the past and human ability to make contact with it, which helps discipline the understanding by requiring reference to something outside the mind (Jenkins, 1997).

Although this perspective is intended to reconcile the two irreconcilable positions, the articulation of multiple voices to attain the truth appears to be closely linked with the relativist approach. Relativist or literary theorists such as White do not necessarily reject the existence of reality as held by their critics such as Marwick and Zagorine, but they believe in multiple voices which are in line with the democratic practice of history proposed by these American feminists (Yilmaz, 2007). The feminists who had been excluded when old theoretical frameworks were formed, appear to be in favour of an approach that includes all forms of evidences or voices in order to achieve the knowable past and therefore belief in multiple realities and not in grand narratives.

3.2.2 Methodology: Qualitative and quantitative

History writing has vacillated between the qualitative and quantitative modes of enquiry. The method of enquiry proposed by Ranke was not located within the positivist mode. It was the advent of social history and social sciences in the discipline that brought the elements of quantification. This was an attempt to include the history of the ordinary people and it was justified as a scientific method (Roberts, 2001). The move from one paradigm to another was motivated by an attempt to ensure that the discipline accommodates the ordinary people such as women, peasants and workers but there is disagreement as to which method is appropriate to represent the ordinary people.

Ranke developed a method of enquiry or critical study using all possible knowledge of the source to discredit distortions of it and to isolate its true content (Krieger, 1977:2). He insisted on the critical evaluation of original documents and he set a standard in centralising the study of primary sources which are the raw materials used for the construction of historical knowledge. In his modern application and under his guidance, the combination of original sources and critical approach serves the novel and positive method of reconstructing the life of the immediate past. Ranke looked to documents not only for their veracity but for their vitality (Krieger, 1977:3). Ranke contributed to a new substantive component of historical criticism. The four principles developed by Ranke that contributed to the canon of scientific history, were historical objectivity or historical truth, the priority of facts over concepts, the equivalent uniqueness of all historical events, and the centrality of politics. As an enlightenment scholar he was obviously influenced by the dialectics of the enlightenment which embodied empiricism and its insistence on the existence of rationality that is absolute and perfect.

The move towards quantification

The *Annales* introduced quantification as an effective method of representing micro-history as opposed to macro-history. Micro-history was based on smallness and the mundane activities of the ordinary people, while macro-history was focused on the political heroes. According to Sewell (2005), the *Annales* became an international centre for social history and interdisciplinary studies and made a huge contribution to the methodology of social history, especially its quantification methods. The Sixth Section of the *Ecole Pratique des hautes Etudes* led by Lucien Febvre and Ferdinand Braudel contributed immensely to the transformation of history into social history. The *Annales* established protocols of historical method and understanding and endowed a cumulative tradition of collective discussion, research, training and publication. In the 1950s, quantification was cultivated into the intellectual culture of social history. It

emerged into the 1960s with several hallmarks: history as a social science; quantitative methodology; trade and population; structural history; and a materialistic model of causation (Eley, 2005).

Sewell (2005) began his career fully equipped with a positivist vision of science. He participated in the development of theoretical, methodological and rhetorical practices of several social science fields. Sewell's first publication was to explicate Marc Bloch's use of comparative history according to the positivist notion of hypothesis testing, and he undertook a dissertation involving a massive amount of quantitative research (Sewell, 2005:24). He was imbued with more positivist views than most of his contemporary social historians. He began increasingly to engage in quantitative work with a cultural bent.

The new social history uses quantitative methods (Sewell, 2005). The nature of the data that has been outlined requires quantification methodology to disentangle them and quantification is associated with the radical expansion of social history. The social historians borrowed the quantitative methods from the social sciences. According to Sewell (2005), "this method came with a distinct theoretical and epistemological outlook". The social sciences in the United States were financially supported and "had high prestige with the academy and seemed far more methodologically rigorous and theoretically sophisticated than history". Sewell (2005) emphasises the fact that social history focused on the "social structures which were considered to be transpersonal patterns or forces of which actors were at best incompletely aware and that tightly constrained their actions and thoughts" (Sewell, 2005). The social structures, according to him, "include occupational distribution, business cycles, demographic patterns, inheritance systems, hierarchies of wealth, urban settlement patterns, and systems of land tenure" (Sewell, 2005:28). There has been a distinction between the hard facts and soft facts which denote underlying ontological distinctions between determining social structure and determined political and cultural structures (Sewell, 2005:28).

Oral history was also a critical method in assisting ordinary people to tell their stories and their collection of oral information. Interviews were popularised by social historians and later by the cultural turn. They were used vigorously by the proponents of the *Subaltern* projects who used dogmatic scepticism to dismiss textual evidence as telling nothing. These historians questioned the validity of primary sources and the authority of storytellers (Eley, 2005). As a result, the feminists adopted a first-person approach to storytelling because it is the conviction of the feminist historians that women and ordinary people such as the underclass and the disenfranchised should speak their own stories (Eley, 2005). This has resulted in history written from the perspective of the writer and in most instances the writer is part of the history she is presenting because some of these social historians are not only historians but activists as members of

the communist party, centres of interdisciplinary discourses, and they contribute to expansion of the discipline as well as the use of information other than textual sources (Sakhkhane, 2012).

The cultural turn and migration to the qualitative method

The advent of the cultural turn elicited a conflict in the methodology between the advocates of quantification in social sciences led by Charl Tilly and other social historians and the progeny of cultural studies led by Sewell and Scott (Sewell, 2005). The cause of internal battles among historians of different orientations was the migration towards an applied anthropology which embodied an ethnography as a method of constructing knowledge of ordinary people and their activities. This new development has unsettled the positivist epistemology and objectivist ontological approach to social sciences. Unlike the new social history's presumption that social structures were analytically prior to social action, cultural anthropology implied that the social world was constituted by the interpretive practices of the actors that made it up (Sewell, 2005). It was therefore difficult to combine the quantitative methods of social history with the interpretive methods of anthropology. Most historians, including Sewell, made the cultural turn from positivist ontological theoretical methods to the interpretive cultural approach of anthropology. Sewell had to leave data-sets, graphs and statistical tables behind and this was a radical turn for him, given that he was brought up intellectually as a positivist. Some social historians made the turn via literary studies in the 1970s due to the influence of the post-structuralism associated with Derrida, Lacan and Foucault (Sewell, 2005:44).

Stone (cited in Roberts, 2001:285) articulates three reasons for the migration of social history from quantification to the qualitative or narrative mode of presenting the past. The first cause of the current revival of narrative is a widespread disillusionment with the economic determinist model of historical explanation; the second aspect is the separation between social history and intellectual history resulting in intellectual history losing ground and social history losing popularity as a result of its positivist model of representation. The analytic history was undermined by its method of quantification. The highly sophisticated mathematical procedures required many assistants who could be trusted to apply coding procedures to large quantities of widely diverse and ambitious documents which baffled many historians and some questioned the reliability of the procedures and the results. Some historians have been disturbed by the impossibility of checking the reliability of the final results (cited in Roberts, 2001:287). It was agreed that this method failed to solve the problems of history, for example, the causes of the English, French and American revolutions are as ever, despite the efforts put into elucidating their social and economic origins. Some historians believe that quantification has told a lot about *what* and little about *why*. The major questions about American slavery remain as elusive as ever despite the massive and

sophisticated studies mounted. Urban histories are cluttered with statistics and no one knows whether English society was more open and mobile than the French (Cited Roberts, 2001:287). Therefore quantification was considered inadequate as a mode of representing past historical events. According to Stone, the first cause of the revival of the narrative mode of presenting the past among “new historians” was the replacement of sociology and economics with anthropology as the most influential of social sciences (Roberts, 2001).

Linguistic turn and the revival of the narrative

Linked with the cultural turn which was influenced by anthropology is the linguistic turn which was influenced by literary theorists associated with structuralism and post-structuralism. This development was by new literary theorists such as Derrida, Foucault and White (Munslow, 1997). These literary theorists consider narrative as the most effective mode of representing the past. They consider language as a vehicle of representation and that language use is relative because it contains literal and figurative meaning and has no capacity to present the past historical events as they really happened, as advocated by Ranke. As a historian and literary theorist, White was instrumental in the linguistic turn by vigorously leading the struggle for the revival of narrative as an effective mode of representing the past (Yilmaz, 2007). This conception of history through language with its figurative dimensions and plot structure support the relative conception of the discipline about the impossibility of reconstructing the knowable past. Derrida brought in the aspect of *difference* in the meaning of the words as well as the *deferred* meaning of words which makes it impossible for historians to represent the reality about the past historical actors because the implotment used as a product of modern language development and usage has nothing to do with the perspective of the historical actors. The implotment makes it difficult to distinguish history from literature and from fiction (Munslow, 1997:29).

As a revolutionary or deconstructive perspective to the study of history, the linguistic turn has placed emphasis on the roles of rhetoric, the topics of narrative, and the poetics of history in historical writing or representation (Yilmaz, 2007). Since historical studies are based primarily on written sources that are the product of verbal portrayal and human communication, they are deemed to be linguistic documents. As a result, the linguistic turn has been concerned with the consequences of this aspect of historical sources. The semiotics of text production, how meaning is made in text, and how readers take meaning from text, are what the linguistic-oriented historians reflect on and take into account in their historical writings (cited in Yilmaz, 2007).

Munslow (1997:2) argues that the genuine nature of history can be understood only when it is viewed not solely and simply as an objectivised empiricist enterprise, but as a creation and imposition by historians of a particular narrative form on the past. Historical storytelling, like all other kinds, employs the four primary figurative devices known as tropes. These are more commonly known as the four primary figures of speech: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony, and their use constitutes what is called the troping process. Troping means turning or steering the description of an object, event or person away from one meaning, so as to wring out further different, and possibly even multiple, meanings. “When we use these four master tropes we describe objects, events, persons or intentions” (Munslow, 1997:12).

The performative function of elements of language in the historical narrative is outlined by Cohen (Cited in Yilmaz, 2007). According to Cohen, histories have a performative function because historians intentionally attempt to persuade as well as to inform their audiences with some sociopolitical or ideological aim in mind. Historians, Cohen (Cited in Yilmaz, 2007) insists, use rhetorical conventions and strategies to persuade readers that their accounts of the past are truer, more objective, and worthier than another version and this in turn leads readers to develop a particular attitude toward the past and the present and to take a particular course of action in the present. The form itself or the plot structure of an historical account shapes content and allows the historian to pinpoint the system of thought that authorises the terms of the debate (Cited Yilmaz, 2007).

Emplotment, used in literature and other literary artifacts, is conceptualised by White as “encodation of the facts contained in a chronicle as components of specific kinds of plot structures”. This “encodation” assisted historians to make sense of historical events by enabling them to arrange selected facts and events into a particular narrative plot structure, that is, a story. It was emplotment that produced an interpretation of the facts (Cited Yilmaz, 200&). In supporting White, Roth emphasises the fact that emplotment had a crucial role in endowing the past with meaning because it had none in itself (Cited in Yilmaz, 2007). According to Mink, the events are made into a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others, by characterisation, motific repetition, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies and the like – in short, all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in the emplotment of a novel or a play (Cited in Roberts, 2001:223).

The contestation between the narrative and analytic methods

According to Norman, who is opposed to emplotment by the historian of his narrative structure on the experiences of the past historical actors, “several forms of interpretive violence or imposition structure are commonly pointed out as endemic to story construction”. This is a view supported by White and Mink who

believe that constructing a narrative involves “projecting onto the facts of the plot structure of one or another of genres of literary figuration”. The real past is devoid of meaning and order. The process of emplotment is described by Norman (Cited Roberts, 2001:183) as follows:

To begin with the historian must always select the facts he or she will use, often on the basis of some identifiable criterion, interest or bias. This is commonly held to ensure a story’s radical incompleteness, if not guaranteeing its falsehood. Artificial closure is created by the choice of beginning and end. The facts must then be integrated or configured in a way that creates a unity and coherence that are, strictly speaking, foreign to the past itself. “Imposition” then signifies the activity wherein criteria of relevance are applied, closure is attained, and coherence and unity are created – a process in short, that generates an *emplotted* account of the past.

Norman (Cited in Roberts, 2001:183) asks critical questions: do we impose a narrative order on the past, or do we read off an order that is already there? What he calls historical realism, is an idea that history exists as a determinate, untold story until discovered and told by the historian. Norman articulates a phenomenological understanding that is already structured in certain definite ways. It is argued that narratives do not impose order or intelligibility where there is none, but instead merely give voice to a past that is already narratively structured. Some have criticised the narrative as inadequate in representing reality and this position is termed by Norman as moderated realism (Roberts, 2001).

Frederick Olafson (Cited in Roberts, 2001) is opposed to narrative being considered the all-encompassing mode of representing the past historical events and put forward the perspective that there are some historical events that cannot be presented in a narrative format. According to Olafson, if a historian is writing the history of the Middle Ages, and the historian is concerned with the Papal government and in his conclusion one has to define a certain relation between ecclesiastical and secular authority, the presentation would take the form of statements which would normally be described as “analytical” (Cited Roberts, 2001:72). This has resulted in the paradox between the narrative history and analytical history. According to Olafson, the narrative mode has been criticised for its shallowness and superficiality in comparison with the deeper insights that are accessible to the analytical mode of interpreting the past. Olafson rejects the notion that History is a “linear sequence of intelligible human actions – actions that follow each other in time and that are performed for a reason” (Cited in Roberts, 2001:76).

Geoffrey Elton (Cited in Roberts, 2001:130) is considered to be the defender of the traditional and narrative history, history as the reconstruction and telling of tales about past experiences, actions, thoughts and endeavours. He argues that history was not as a result of social structures, objective forces or linguistic discourses, but of autonomous human agents and that to explain and comprehend the past

historians must provide an account of those agents' actions in their own terms, as they were lived and played out at the time (Cited in Roberts, 2001:130).

Elton (Cited in Roberts, 2001:132) called his approach to evidence the “empirical or thesis-free” method, meaning that historians must be committed to allowing interpretation of the past to emerge from the evidence. Elton argues that the intrusion of human subjectivity and selection of facts vitiated what were claimed to be true accounts of past. Historians are human and there is biased and subjective history as well as balanced and objective history. Elton acknowledges that evidence about the past historical events is incomplete and fragmented and at times it is necessary to speculate and make inferences and fill the gaps (Cited in Roberts, 2001:132). Elton favours the writing of history in the form of “narrative thickened by analysis” stories of human actions and reactions over time, punctuated by in-depth discussions and explanations of direct and situational causes (Cited in Roberts, 2001:133). But no narrative, composed of a linear sequence of sentences, could adequately capture the simultaneity of thoughts and actions, the complexity and multiplicity of causes and interconnectedness of events. Life was a mess on which historians imposed order, shape, pattern and intelligibility. “In every real sense history cannot be correctly written” (Roberts, 2001:133).

In a nutshell, historians agree about the appropriateness of the qualitative approach in the reconstruction of the past but differ on the mode of representation such as narrative and analytic history.

3.2.3 Content: Bottom-up versus political history

The content framework in the scientific historiography developed by Ranke was based on great men and strong political figures and it has reflected its original format from Greece where it was used to glorify heroes and great men. The focus on the power of textual evidence has become a subject of intense contestation since it was developed by Ranke and for this reason he is considered as the father of academic history (Cannon, 1982). Critics of Ranke focused on this scientific approach and the limitations of this methodology, especially the absence of ordinary people and women in official documents. Ranke wrote about the state, nations and kings and about the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals. He is therefore criticised for making history a subject of great men (Cannon, 1982:38).

The struggle for the participation of ordinary people as historical characters and storytellers was championed by the *Annales*. Ferdinand Braudel's monumental thesis, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, which appeared in 1949, denoted a transition from an emphasis on the history of the mentalities to an emphasis on structures as quantities which were

relatively independent of human action (Iggers, 1975:59). Braudel distinguishes between different historical times, an almost stationary geological time, “the long duration” of social institutions and “the short time” of events. Braudel regards political history as uninteresting and irrelevant and this is contrary to the approach used by his mentors. He was fascinated by concrete, most everyday, most industrial and humanly most anonymous forms. In the 1960s he encouraged extensive research led by the Sixth Section on the material and biological bases of the daily life of the broad masses, of nutrition, health, clothing, fashions, production and class distinctions (Iggers, 1975:58). In another pioneering work published in 1979 entitled *Civilization and Capitalism*, he criticised his mentors’ complex historical practices and introduced three temporalities or levels of analysis that functioned as a materialist grand design, shrinking great men and big events into the sovereign casualties of economics, population and environment. The ground floor contained landscape, climate, demography, deep patterns of economic life, long-run norms and habits, the reproduction of social structures, stabilities of popular understanding, and repetitions of everyday life. At the second level the rise and fall of economies, social systems and states became visible (Eley, 2005:37).

Social history was another discipline that focused on the histories of ordinary people, women, peasants, and children. This focus resulted in the intellectual transformation of the discipline of history represented by a change in subject matter, methods and intellectual style (Sewell, 2005). The lasting achievement of this intellectual shift was the enlargement of the scope of history study. Social historians studied people who were previously marginalised by historical scholarship. Rather than focusing on great leaders and thinkers, social historians focused on the obscure and downtrodden: servants, workers, criminals, women, slaves, shopkeepers, peasants and children. Rather than focusing on narrowly defined politics, social historians attempted to “capture the whole range of ordinary people’s experiences: work, child rearing, disease, recreation, deviant behaviour, kingship, popular religion, sociability, procreation and consumption” (Sewell, 2005). Sewell argues that:

Social history also asked new questions about new categories and it used the new evidence. All sorts of records previously not thought to contain information relevant to historical research suddenly became goldmines of documentation. Old census manuscripts, tax registers, wills, advice books, inventories of estates, popular songs, city directories, statutes of mutual aid societies, building permits, records of marriages, baptism and deaths: all these and many other kinds of documents yielded evidence about the social structures, institutions and life experiences of millions of ordinary people (Sewell, 2005).

In Britain, the transformation to social history was led by Marxist historians including E.J. Hobsbawm, E.P. Thompson, George Rude, Christopher Hill and Rodney Hilton. All were members of the communist party

and participated in the Communist Party Historian Group until 1956 when most of them resigned from the party. The historians took an interest in what has been called “history from below” or “History from the bottom up” (Sewell, 2005:33). This was an attempt to write history from the point of view of poor people. The British Marxists regarded ordinary people as the agents of their own history (Sewell, 2005:33). British Marxists launched *Past and Present* in the early 1950s. The involvement in *Past and Present* of Philip Abram, Peter Worsley and the anthropologist Jack Goody, played a critical role in bringing disciplines together to produce a social history. Eric Hobsbawm produced an essay called “Primitive Rebels”, which demonstrated the move towards the interdisciplinary approach by some of the Marxist historians such as Hobsbawm and Thompson (Sowell, 2005).

The existence of the relatively new field of social history provided an important vehicle for women’s history and the association of new topics with a new approach strengthened the claim for the importance and legitimacy of women’s history (in Burke, 2001:54). Along with the women’s history, social history has granted status as historical subjects to peasants, workers, teachers and slaves. This new development has enhanced women’s history, especially the history of ordinary women. Historians have reconstructed the reality of lived experiences of women, women in political organisations, households and family histories, similarities between male and female agency. Social historians have documented the effects of the industrialisation of women as a fixed social category (Burke, 2001).

Mikell, who was instrumental in recording the history of women in Africa, presented stories of women which focused on the failure of male-dominated, multi-party politics and state socialism, the onset of coups and military regimes, and economic instability leading to the economic collapse of national economies. The women suffered during the periods of independence and this is evident in the low level of education of women across the continent. She indicates that African women are demanding increased participation in politics and this is perceived by the males as the influence of Eurocentrism. African women struggle against gender asymmetry and inequality (Mikell, 1997).

In one of the articles, *Changing the meaning of marriage: Women and Family Law Cote d'Ivoire* by Jeanne Maddox Toungara, Mikell outlines the struggle of women in Francophone countries who are attempting to mobilise their forces to play a role in determining laws that control women as wives (Mikell, 1997:53). Women are questioning the unified legal system that regulates women’s marital status and their rights and privileges against those of husbands. Under customary law, a woman can be transferred to the family of the husband after the payment of bride wealth, without the consent of the woman. This law was highly contested by women. In another article, *Wives, children and intestate succession in Ghana*, Takyiwaa Manuh describes the Intestate Succession Law of 1985 which deals with inheritance of property

and the status and rights of women and children that are considered to have caused hardship and injustice to women and children in Ghana. This law has been challenged by churches, women and traditional authorities. Another article entitled *Swazi women workers in cottage industries and factories* was written by Betty Harris. In this article she articulates the conditions of employment of Swazi women in the textile industries. The women are paid low wages and they find it difficult to support their families (Mikell, 1997:53). These are a few of the stories told by women in various parts of Africa. Their struggle is different from that of their European counterparts who are engaged in scholarly battles with traditional historians for the recognition of their stories with their peculiar epistemological methods of reconstruction and presentation.

In South Africa, Belinda Bozzoli, professor and head of Sociology at the University of Witwatersrand, reconstructed the memories of the women of Phokeng. She interviewed twenty-two women. She was assisted by Mmabatho Nkotsoe who is a Setswana-speaking student of history (Perks & Thompson, 1998). The conversations between the researcher and interviewees were recorded and thousands of oral histories were collected. The conversations threw some light on the way of life of early peasants and sharecropping households, the standard of living attained, the division of labour along sexual lines that prevailed, the history of schooling, family relations, ethnic divisions and particular Bafokeng struggles. The stories also included conditions of labour in domestic service, wages, networks of support and social relations as well as the nature of life in freehold townships such as Sophiatown and Alexandra (Perks & Thompson, 1998). This work has laid the foundation for social history in South Africa.

With the advent of the cultural turn, a range of topics pioneered in cultural studies reads like an inventory of the new areas gradually opened up by historians. Cultures and economies of consumption and entertainment, whether approached in mass or luxury terms, became of the first of these, generating elaborative projects from the eighteenth century to the present (Eley, 2005; Sewell, 2005). Feminist scholars explored the relationship of women to popular reading genres, to television soap operas and sitcoms, and popular cinema through film, melodrama, science fiction and horror. This approach bespoke the growing appeal of smallness of setting, a moving away from large-scale structural histories of whole society. During the earlier social history wave, the desire for an integrated account of society as a whole, was sometimes voiced through a concept of “total history” (Eley, 2005; Sewell, 2005).

3.2.4 Historicism and Presentism

Historicism and Presentism emerged from the literary theory as an attempt to prevent the writing of literary text from committing the error of presentism. Historicism has always been preoccupied with revealing the time in which historical events have taken place and it did not take historical events out of

their context. The new historicism went further to reflect not only the historical period but also the background of the author (Munslow, 1997). The Presentism movement emerged as an attempt to take historical events out of their context and demonstrate them in a different era. The aim of presentism was to use the past in order to solve the problems of the present (DiPietro & Grady, 2012).

The new historicism is a concept of the 20th century that not only acknowledges, like the formalists, the importance of literary text, but also stresses the viewing of literary text with an eye to history. According to White, New Historicism is an attempt to restore historical dimensions in literary studies (Cited in Munslow, 1997:31), to relocate literary works within the historical context – to understand poems, novels and plays as text not simply in their structuralist relations with each other but also in their association and connection with institutions of society and historical events that influenced their production, the relationship of text to context (Munslow, 1997:31). As a cultural analysis, Historicism was yet another twist in the continuing exploration of the socially-constructed relationship between the knower and the known, between evidence, proof and the truth. Historicism challenges that traditional belief in the objectivity of history that has accommodated the relativism and scepticism embodied in post modernism. Historicism deals with political and social activities as cultural scripts and the language system as an adversary to the realism perspective. This is a realisation that literary text cannot represent reality, but can present multiple realities through the embodiment of different voices (Munslow, 1997).

The founder of the new historicism is by and large considered to be Stephen Greenblatt, an American literary critic. He conceptualises historicism as monological, its goal being to detect a singular political vision held by the literate class or total population. New historicism is a break from this method of historical interpretation as well as from earlier formalist criticism. Literature, Greenblatt claims, “mirrors” the era’s beliefs but from a safe distance. New Historicism as explicated by Greenblatt, is based on historical content and evaluates it by analysing the interplay between text and historical context that includes the influence of the author’s life and his intentions in writing a particular piece of work.

New Historicism is a theory of literary criticism that suggests that literature must be studied and interpreted within the context of both the history of the author and the history of the critic. Michael Foucault is concerned with role of the author in the text. Unlike the previous historicism which limited itself to how the work reflected its time, New Historicism evaluates how the work is influenced by the time in which the author wrote it. It also examines the social sphere in which the author moved in the past, the psychological background of the writer, and books and theorists that may have influenced him or her. Beyond that, authors look at the impact a piece of work may have had on others and consider how it influenced others. New historicism believes that any criticism is coloured by the critic’s beliefs, social

status and other factors. At the same time the new historicism seeks to understand the work through its historical context and to understand cultural and intellectual history through the literature, which documents the history of ideas. This is an attack on empiricism and an acknowledgement of the relative nature of knowledge in the past as indicated by Munslow (1997), that our description of real historical events, like fictional ones, can at best be representations or events under description, because there is no direct way in which historians can acquire first-hand historical knowledge. Munslow (1997) emphasises that historians should recognise the overlapping of historical events and their interpretations. Historicism has led to the disappearance between cultural history and literary disciplines of conventions underpinning the representation of factual as well as fictional texts.

Bakhtin (1981), one of the literary critics, contributed elements that formed the basis for New Historicism. According to Bakhtin the foundation basis of the author serves as a non-autonomous subject. Bakhtin outlines underlying foundations to the methodology of historicism. It approaches a literary work as a discourse consisting of “ideological products”. These ideological products from the author’s historical period were employed by the ruling class to reinforce ideology and power structures. The precursor of new historicism derives from the Bakhtinian postulation of ideological constructs within a novel. Bakhtin explains how a novel is riddled with *heroglossia*, that is, an array of dialogical voices indicative of the numerous class structures in a society. Dialogical voices have been historically suppressed by a monologic language of the upper class, which is non-evolving. It is believed that by studying these dialogical voices we can identify specific elements of class struggle and dominant-ideological imposition. Bakhtin (1981) emphasises the non-static nature of the author in relation to the language, giving away a new form of *stylisation* that is periodic. Bakhtin (1981) criticises Dickens’ novels for the use of the language of the bourgeoisie, formal voices associated with the nineteenth century novel, which does not reveal the language used in society. This use of formal bougeois language overshadows the dialogical voices.

Presentism is a literary concept which is the opposite of Historicism. Cary DiPietro and Hugh Grady in the article entitled “Presentism, Anachronism and the Case of Titus Andronicus” elucidates that Presentism is a literary concept which is perceived by DiPietro and Grady (2012:45) as “an illegitimate reading of the past that imposes upon it our own preoccupations, attitudes and understandings”. The term “presentism” was developed within German historicism as a pejorative, indicating the fallacy of not taking into account the profound differences in mental outlook between one era’s “world view” and another’s. The two literary theorists dispel misconceptions that all self-conscious presentist critics understand that the cultures of the past differed significantly from our own in the present, and that these cultural-historical differences have to be taken into account in our readings of past writers like Shakespeare. The imposition of the standards

and attitudes of the present on past historical events is deliberate and it emerges from those that believe that the past experience is essential in providing guidance to the present. The dichotomy between presentists and traditional historicists is primarily based on the presentist persistence “on the very constructions of the past as others depend on our situation in the present, the understanding that knowledge of the past may be partially attained but not completely reproduced”. The concept is summed up by DiPietro and Grady as an approach to the past based on a self-conscious positioning of the perceiver in the present, aware of historical difference but aware as well of the approachable but real epistemological barrier between ourselves and the past, and deliberately choosing to highlight our presentness.

The past is used as an arsenal where weapons are selected to fight battles in the present and at times the past is misused to justify evil systems such as apartheid, fascism and communism. According to Hayden White (2005:311), the public use of history in many ethnic and nationalistic conflicts can provide theoretical arguments that justify the instrumentalisation of historical memory by nationalist elites in their sometimes genocidal struggles with their opponents. There was oscillation between two poles of English studies that kept reasserting themselves in different forms throughout the twentieth century and an oscillation that has to do with two competing missions for the field and for two different emphases between the original meanings of the texts at their moment of origin and their meaning for us in our present. DiPietro and Grady (2012:49) emphasise the importance of the presentist perspective by emphasising the fact that “without a firm understanding that the meaning of the past is rooted in our reconstruction of it in the present, we are in danger of immersing ourselves in an empty search for facts and differences for their own sake”.

Literary works are vehicles for complex “iteration” as Jacques Derrida described. Walter Benjamin, another critic, explicates the complexity of presentism which can be represented in the form of an “allegorical” approach. According to Benjamin, “Allegory has to do, precisely in its destructive furor, with dispelling the illusion that proceeds from all ‘given order’, whether of art or of life: the illusion of totality or of organic wholeness which transfigures that order and makes it seem enduring. And this is the progressive tendency of allegory.” In the seventeenth-century baroque *Trauerspiele* from which Benjamin derived much of his theory of allegory, the plays are always set in a specific historical time, different from the historical era in which they were written. History in these plays, Benjamin wrote, is thus revealed to be in ruins, and the plays are built from these ruins, and thus “history has physically merged into the setting” in the form of “ruins” (DiPietro & Grady, 2012).

3.3 NEW IMPERIAL HISTORIES

According to Seven Howie (2009), imperial history is experiencing a new-found vigour, diversity and is even fashionable. New journals are founded, conferences and online discussion lists proliferate, as do popular books and television documentaries as well as more heavyweight academic productions. Howie (2009) views this as a remarkable reversal of long-standing trends. Studying formerly colonised countries or regions, their peoples and cultures, this usually meant doing so within national and regional frameworks and often taking anticolonial nationalism as one's main object of study. Obviously the historiography of the world, including that of Africa and India, has been written from the European point of view. The history has been written from the theoretical frameworks of Europe, be it scientific historiography, Marxist history, social history, Intellectual history or later social and feminist history. Studying empires most often meant studying (and identifying or sympathising with) imperialists and doing so via the procedures of top-down, old-fashioned political, diplomatic or strategic historiography (Howie, 2009).

The new imperial histories are seen as a new tradition established by those from the third world and those that support new perspectives based on the inputs of the powerless from the third world. There is, however, division between the new imperial histories and old imperial histories. The old obviously wanted to protect their grand narratives against an attempt to deconstruct them and reduce them to nothing by the progeny of the new imperial history (Howie, 2009).

Dipesh Chakrabarty, one of the postcolonialist historians, asserts that:

Europe remains the sovereign and theoretical subject of all histories, including the ones we call Indian, Chinese and Kenyan. The third-world historians see the need to refer to works in European history, while historians of Europe do not feel any need to reciprocate. The "great" models of historians' enterprise are always cultural European. They produce their works in ignorance of non-western histories and this does not seem to affect the quality of their work. The dominance of Europe as a subject of all histories is part of a much more profound theoretical condition under which historical knowledge is produced (Howie, 2009:58).

Chakrabarty (Howie, 2009) continues to advance concern about the European-centred theoretical framework. For generations now, philosophers and thinkers shaping the nature of social sciences have produced theories embracing the entirety of humanity. As we well know, those statements have been produced in relative and sometimes absolute ignorance of the majority of mankind, that is, those living in non-western cultures. Frustrated by the passivity of third-world intellectuals, Chakrabarty asserts, "we find

those theories of the inherent ignorance of ‘us’ eminently useful in understanding of our society” (Howie, 2009:58). The argument advanced here is that only “European”, is considered theoretically knowable and all other histories are matters pertaining to imperial research that fleshes out a theoretical skeleton that is substantially “European” (Howie, 2009).

According to Howie (2009), the idea of imperial history has, however, been used in varying ways. To some, it means first and foremost cultural as opposed to political or economic histories of empire, while to others the term refers to ecological history. Others again mean primarily histories informed by feminism and gender studies or by literary theories of colonial discourse and post-coloniality. The new imperial histories have increased as a result of the feminist-inspired history of gender and sexuality, partly under the influence of Michael Foucault’s successive, suggestive but often speculative writing on the topic. The role of regions and anti-colonial beliefs and mobilisations has also drawn attention (Howie, 2009).

3.3.1 Postcolonial critics

The emergence of an important body of historical work by academic and non-academic intellectuals from India, Australia and Britain, who raised questions about colonialism, has developed *Subaltern* projects to provide a platform for the voices of submerged classes in the third-world countries to tell their stories outside the confines and limits of official archives, museums and colonial literatures (Eley, 2005). This new approach which has been inspired by the cultural or linguistic turn, plunges the historiographical landscape in the era of academic defiance against established grand narratives that embody Europe as the centre of the generation of legitimate stories about the activities of the *Subaltern* in the third-world countries of Asia and Africa. These historians were influenced by Ranajit Guha, a Marxist historian of rural society in colonial Bengal who was teaching at the University of Sussex. The group challenged the established colonial hegemony in India with its celebratory national symbols and they also challenged the Cambridge school of British South Asians who preferred elite factionalism to mass-based mobilisation and finally they challenged the class-based economic determinism of the Indian Marxist tradition (Eley, 2005:142). The group took its name, *Subaltern*, from Antonio Gramsci who used the term to describe subordinate social groups lacking organised political autonomy (Eley, 2005:142).

Postcolonialism is an interdisciplinary field with a strong base in literary and cultural studies. Postcolonialism possesses problematic temporalities and seeks to undo neat chronology which is a byproduct of Marxist historical materialism (Moore-Gilbert et al.,1997). Postcolonialism is not bound by time and criticised academics for being slaves of periodisation. It is suspicious of progress made over time by grand narratives (Moore-Gilbert et al.,1997). There is a division within postcolonialism between those who are happy with the emphasis on culture, literature and theory, and those who see real politics as taking place

outside the teaching machine. According to Moore-Gilbert et al. (1997:3), one orientation to postcolonialism would be to place it between Marxism and existentialism because most of its practitioners fuse political radicalism with a fundamental reconception of the self, in what Fanon calls a stretching of Marxism.

The *Subalterns* took advantage of the cultural turn to advance their philosophy about the struggle of the ordinary people on the so-called dark continents, who had been reduced to helpless and hopeless children by the paternalistic attitude of triumphalism exhibited by protagonists of European grand narratives. This new brand of non-academic intellectuals called postcolonial critics was represented by Spivak, Said, Fanon, Ranajit Guha and Eagleton (Moore-Gilbert et al., 1997).

Edward Said (Eley, 2005) published a pioneering work on *Orientalism*, which is considered a reference work in this important body of historical work on the effect of colonialism and imperialism (Eley, 2005). Said, asserting the indispensable role of culture as the vital, enabling counterpoint to institutional practices, demonstrates how the aggrandisement of territory through military force and bureaucratic exercise of power in the colonies was sustained by the ideological invasion of cultural space (Eley, 2005:140). The European historians accordingly began to see the point raised in terms of the degree of social relations, cultural practices and axiomatically radicalised discourse of national superiority that were generated overseas in the subordinated extra-European world that became powerfully reinserted into European metropolitan frames (Eley, 2005).

There has been a focus on the colonial knowledge which is characterised by colonial forms of representation through literature, photography, museums and exhibitions, mass entertainment and commercial advertising, and all areas of popular culture became a fruitful field of enquiry for postcolonial critics (Eley, 2005). The research included images of masculine and feminine in their colonial dimension and also extended to colonial intermarriage, all manner of effective attachment to colonial settings including the management of sexuality, child-raising arrangements and the forming of friendships. These areas of intimate life were intricately related to matters of colonial governance and affairs of state. These historians accumulated huge bodies of information on gender inequality and sexual privilege, class priorities and racial superiority which in turn became rearticulated into national talk at home. In colonising the world, hegemonies of possible meanings were also created. Even the most radical and self-conscious oppositional, anticolonial, or minority movements have necessarily mounted their emancipation demands from a ground of identity that the colonial powers have laid down (Eley, 2005:141).

Postcolonialism has assumed the role of a critical idiom that seeks to scrutinise the body of textual articulation that captures the relationship between the unequal partners of colonialism. Postcolonialism

emerges from the word colonialism and attempts to encompass different phases of colonialism (Sakhkhane, 2012). Colonialism means the establishment of a settlement by a handful of people who keep in contact with their mother country. The colonists suppress any occupants of the land, the owners of the space. In this way colonialism commits what Spivak terms “epistemic violence” by ignoring the presence of the natives and portraying the encounter, “as an innocent act of occupying a vacant land, an inscription on a ‘tabula rasa’, a discovery rather than conquest” (Sakhkhane, 2012). Discovery is considered to be finding something that is brand new, as it is indicated that Christopher Columbus conquered and did not discover America, because America was the land of the Americas, the Aztecs, who invented the calendar, the Mayans who before the age of the telescope traced the orbit of Mercury about the sun, of the Incas who developed the art of irrigation and built the majestic terraces and edifices of Machu Picchu in polished stone. The word of discovery “presupposes a sense of unprecedentedness” (Sakhkhane, 2012:8).

In this way, it becomes self-evident that imperialism was not just a matter of brute force and disease, it was also a question of texts, imagination and symbolic power, means of no little significance in establishing and maintaining the empire (Sakhkhane, 2012). As a consequence of awareness of texts in establishing symbolic control, postcolonialism has developed an apparatus of reading strategies and analytical procedures whose objective is, first and foremost, a textual reshuffling and refashioning of the systems of knowledge in the West, especially in the humanities. By destabilising the dichotomies of self and other, centre and periphery, language and reality, and breaking through the departmentalised disciplines of Western academia, these postcolonial endeavours are, along with other critical practices, a kind of schism from the stuffy halls of the English literary studies (Sakhkhane, 2012).

According to Spivak, when she read Derrida, the French philosopher, she was fascinated by his deconstruction theory of dismantling the philosophical tradition from the inside rather than from outside, because she was brought up in an education system in India where the name of the hero of that philosophical system was the universal being. She was indoctrinated into believing in the invincibility of Britain in order for them to be human. She adopted a deconstructionist approach and popularised Derrida within the Western world and this earned her criticism as “early apologist for Derrida” (Sakhkhane, 2012).

Tzvetan Todorov (Cited in Sakhkhane, 2012), one of the postcolonialist critics, describes the characteristics of deconstruction. The first point, according to Todorov, is that the world is ungraspable; it is beyond access and what lies within reach is discourse that refers to each other. The second point Todorov makes is that every text is a site of conflict, contradiction and dissonance that precludes any satisfactory reading or understanding. Thirdly, Todorov intimates that all discourses are contaminated by contradictions and blank spaces. There is no logic that dictates the choice of one over the other and from

this perspective all values are relative, free-floating and unanchored and the only reality is that we are living in absurdity (Cited in Sakhkhane, 2012). The final word on deconstruction, according to Todorov, is “dogmatic scepticism”. It is scepticism to the extent of which it considers knowledge and judgment impossible, along with truth and justice. But deconstruction is also dogmatism because it decides in advance what each text means – namely, nothing (Sakhkhane, 2012).

Spivak, in a ground-breaking essay, “Can the *Subaltern* speak?” engages with the work of the *Subaltern* studies group, the collective of postcolonialist intellectuals who acknowledge the work of Foucault and other disciplines (Sakhkhane, 2012). The Indian intellectuals wrote the Indian history from the bottom up, from those whose accounts that had been marginalised by the British occupation and the post-independence era. According to Spivak (Sakhkhane, 2012), the deconstructing *Subaltern* is a *Subaltern* – is the subordinate, the underclass, the disempowered, the disenfranchised, and women have been victimised on both sides of the colonial divide, that is the British colonial archives as well as the postcolonial nationalist annals. Spivak indicates that nowhere can the *Subaltern* woman or third-world gendered other of the West, speak. Woman is condemned to a state of total voicelessness and mutism (Sakhkhane, 2012).

3.4 HISTORICAL THINKING AND HISTORY EDUCATION

History education is a distinct discipline and it has been influenced by academic history over many decades. Historians of history education attempt to create frameworks which are essential in enabling students and learners to know and do history. However, there has been a robust debate about the importance of history and its utility in building the nation (Cooper & Guyver 2013). History has been used to establish the superiority of one nation, one ethnic group over another and it has been used to justify the establishment of a master race, Aryan Race and absorption of minority communities into the large ethno-linguistic groups, for example the Afrikaner nation as superior to Africans, Germans as superior to Jews and so on (Cooper & Guyver 2013). There has been a tension between academics and politicians about which story should be taught (Wineburg, 2001). These intricacies of school history are disentangled by Guyver (Cooper & Guyver 2013) who asserts that behind the Angst reported in the paper, is the tension between two apparently irreconcilable models of the history curriculum: on the one hand an approach which promotes knowledge of national history and national values in the interests of preserving collective memory and fostering national identity, and on the other a model based on a disciplinary focus supported by historical thinking, where content is not dominated by nation but has become diversified and globalised. Barton and Levstik (2004) in teaching for the Common Good, describe these two “stances” as the identification stance and the analytic stance, while (Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000) describes

them as “enhancing collective memory” and “disciplinary knowledge”. The question is which stance would be compromised. Scholars in other countries have worked hard to convince ministries that empathy or perspective-taking or rational understanding is an integral part of learning and studying history and if we drop empathy, countries may as well drop the whole notion of teaching history and doing history.

Seixas (Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000) concedes that as historians of history education, they have accepted the dichotomy, but he seems to consider school history to be closer to heritage in that “students spent most of their time getting stories”. Only marginal attention, if any at all, is devoted to learning how to question a historical account, understand the evidentiary base upon which it rests and assess competing accounts. Seixas emphasises that teaching history rather than heritage means doing all these things and not sticking with the assimilation of the best story. According to Lowenthal, an exercise in History would be an objective, disinterested investigation. Students would be careful not to superimpose their late twentieth-century notions of racism on nineteenth century actors who lived with different assumptions. Rather, the students would be asked to see the difference and uniqueness of the past and not necessarily in relation to the present (Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000).

If the politicians advance vigorously their agenda identification stance or collective memory stance over the disciplinary stance by emphasising heritage history over the teaching of history, then it would be taught in a transmission mode because the agenda is for learners to absorb the good stories of Apartheid or the Struggle passively without questioning. In South Africa there was a replacement of the best story – the Afrikaner nationalist perspective with another best story, the Africanist perspective – leading to the reversal of history’s use, this time as a weapon of redress or vengeance against those who implemented Afrikaner nationalism (Engelbrecht, 2008). During apartheid the focus was on Afrikaner nationalism and the creation of the master race. After the advent of democracy the focus is on the history of the struggle for liberation, the story of Nelson Mandela and the road to democracy, and the history of Afrikaners has been overshadowed in the process.

Disciplinary knowledge or historical thinking is considered by scholars to be the most effective mode of history as it empowers society and deepens democracy because the current generation would appreciate the differences between the contemporary world and the past or foreign world which at times are opposite worlds. Seixas (1993) defines historical thinking as organising collective experiences of the past, so that they form a meaningful way of thinking about the present. He suggests that there are three elements to a student’s understanding of history, first the ability to assign importance to historical information and to establish criteria by which to judge the significance of various and often competing narratives of the past (Parkes, 2007). The second is an epistemological approach whereby historical interpretations are revised

through the inclusion of new evidence or opinions. This element includes skills of analysing sources, integration of secondary opinion and the application of frameworks that are used to judge a cacophony of voices that speak of the past to the present. The framework for analysing sources include the three heuristics distilled by Wineburg (2001), namely, sourcing, contextualisation and corroboration where sources are evaluated as both rhetorical artefact and as human artefact. The third element incorporates contextualised thinking or empathy and ethical judgment. Empathy is the ability to see beyond one's own time, culture and value system and appreciate the ways of thinking of the people of the past (Parkes, 2007). Empathy has been defined as a process of understanding people in the past by contextualising their actions (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Ethical judgment or moral judgment is involved where the learners use their current moral standards to apportion blame to the people of the past without contextualising their activities in terms of the perspective, environment, ideologies and laws that were operational at the time in order to appreciate the differences between now and then.

The section unpacks the elements of historical thinking as articulated by Seixas and Morton, 2013, Wineburg (2001), Reisman (2012), Barton & Levstik (2004), Stearns, Seixas and Wineburg, (2000).

3.4.1 Historical significance

Events, people or developments have historical significance if they have resulted in change. That is, they have deep consequences, for many people, over a long period of time (impact) (Seixas & Morton, 2013). The events or people and development must be revealing, shed light on enduring, emerging issues in history or contemporary life. According to Seixas and Morton (2013), Historical significance is constructed, that is, events, people and developments meet the criteria for historical significance when they occupy a meaningful place in a narrative. Historical significance varies over time and from group to group. Some of these criteria were used by many governments, including Britain, Canada, Australia and South Africa, to construct narratives of historical significance. According to Guyver (Cooper & Guyver, 2013), behind the *Angst* reported in the paper, is the tension between two apparently irreconcilable models of the history curriculum: on the one hand an approach which promotes knowledge of national history and national values in the interests of preserving collective memory and fostering national identity, and on the other a model based on a disciplinary focus supported by historical thinking, where content is not dominated by nation but has become diversified and globalised. Barton and Levstik, in *Teaching for the Common Good*, describe these two "stances": the identification stance and the analytic stance. In the middle of these criteria lies the concept of historical significance.

What is in the textbooks must be significant and it renders candidates helpless in the face of the textbook. According to Seixas and Morton (2013:14), when learners are taught to think critically they not only learn the results of the work of historians (dates, names and places deemed to be significant), but more importantly, how to make reasoned decisions about historical significance, as an historian would. Seixas and Morton (2013) emphasise that the “resulting change” does not explain the whole story and does not reveal a motive for historians to devote much time to the study of women and ordinary people. This relates to the criterion of revealing. It reveals what is of interest to the period and to the contemporary period. Narrative can be considered significant because it is the choice of the historian to tell a particular story and not another story (Seixas & Morton, 2013).

This is a subject of international debate at a time when countries are facing curriculum reforms. There has been a debate all over the world, across many countries, about which story must be told or learned by the students and learners in the curriculum (Cooper & Guyver 2013; Wineburg, 2001). Some people prefer political history as opposed to the social history of ordinary people because countries want to promote citizen education through the teaching of heritage. For example, in South Africa, the history of the struggle against apartheid and the road of democracy was significant and an embodiment of Mandela as a historical character with values that need to be inculcated in the society. History is based on how Africans were united against Apartheid, and how Mandela built a united, multiracial nation in South Africa through negotiation and reconciliation. Historical significance changes over time (Seixas & Morton, 2013). In the past great leaders were considered significant historical characters but that has changed and now women and ordinary people are also considered historical characters and their perspectives need to be recorded. Historical significance has changed over time, for example in South Africa, where the focus is no longer on the Afrikaner nationalist perspective but the narrative reflects the Africanist perspective because of the move from Apartheid to democracy. The histories of all South African communities and their collective memories that united South Africans are placed at the centre of the curriculum (CAPS, 2012).

Every author of history, whether student, teacher or historian, will bring his or her perspective, knowledge and concerns to the table. An Afrikaner historian who was an ardent supporter of the apartheid philosophy would have a different perspective about the historical importance of the 1994 election in South Africa that brought about democracy. Historians also differ with regard to the significance of a particular historical narrative and this causes controversy. After Julian Cobin (Hamilton, 2001) brought new evidence about the important roles played by the slave trade during the *Difaqane* wars of the 1820s and 1830s associated with the rise of Shaka and the AmaZulu Kingdom, historians have argued about the role of Shaka, the king of the Amazulu nation during the *Difaqane* wars. Some attribute the wars to slave trade

and undermine the role played by Shaka, while others defend the role played by Shaka. In this instance it is the new evidence that makes some historians perceive the role played by Shaka and wars of 1820s and 1830s to be residual. Others have attacked this perspective as designed to undermine the role played by Shaka in the history of Southern Africa during the Difaqane. This is a narrative that has caused controversy amongst historians (Hamilton, 2001).

3.4.2 The analysis and interpretation of primary sources

In the big six concepts of historical thinking, Seixas and Morton (2013) conceptualise History as an interpretation based on inferences made from primary sources. Seixas and Morton (2013) explain primary sources as accounts, traces, relics or records. Questions that are asked by teachers and historians generate evidence and by asking good questions, according to, Seixas and Morton (2013), they turn sources into evidence. They should always be corroborated – checked against other sources (primary or secondary sources).

It can be revealing to students when they start to understand the difference between history and the past. The past is everything that has ever happened. Histories are the meaningful stories that we tell about what happened, that is, interpretations (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Primary sources, the leftovers from the past, provide the link between the past that is gone and the histories that we write and tell today. Documents, emails, photographs, videos, databases, restaurant menus, toothpaste advertisements – these are all the raw material of history. To create history one must select relevant sources, ask questions and make inferences about them and, most importantly, interpret them (Seixas & Morton, 2013).

According to experts of historical thinking, the teaching of history reflects the cognitive process embarked upon by historians in reconstructing the past historical events. In the article entitled “Reading like a historian”, Avishag Reisman (2012) of the University of California, indicates that the enthusiasm about the instructional potential of primary sources dates to the late nineteenth century, when history first became a standard subject in the school curriculum. In 1899, the American Historical Association’s Committee of Seven maintained that sources could show “the nature of the historical process and at the same time may make the people and events of bygone times more real” (cited in Reisman, 2012:86). According to Reisman, “three years later, the New England Teachers’ Association insisted that engaging with primary sources was not as plain as reading; inquisitiveness, patience, imagination, must all be invoked” (cited in Reisman, 2012:86). History teachers, then and now, have relied predominantly on recitation and lecture.

Reisman (2012) stresses the point that today scholars have been advocating again for the inclusion of primary sources. Facing a growing crisis in adolescent literacy, a spate of national reports have recommended that literacy instruction in middle and secondary schools be tied to content and involve domain-specific reading skills. In this article Reisman (2012), attempts to demonstrate the fact that the reading for comprehension of the sources is inadequate in the analysis of sources. He advocates domain-specific reading of sources which is an intellectual process that is engaged upon by historians (Reisman, 2012).

Wineburg (1999) has developed a standard to assist learners to read like historians by reflecting the sophisticated knowledge of analysing and interpreting primary sources in order to ascertain their trustworthiness. Wineburg (1999) identifies in historians an epistemological orientation toward texts that regard them as human constructions, whose probity can and should be interrogated (Reisman, 2012; Wineburg, 2001). He distills three discrete heuristics that historians apply while reading historical texts: *sourcing* (considering the document's source and purpose), *contextualisation* (placing the document in a temporal and spatial context), and *corroboration* (comparing the accounts of multiple sources against each other). This guidepost by Wineburg (2001) is designed to engage learners in the epistemological analysis of text to enable them to think critically and historically about primary sources. Wineburg (2001) also notes that the historians in his study explore a document's subtext or hidden message by considering it as both a rhetorical artefact and a human instrument. The subtext is not the literal text but the text of hidden and latent meaning. Using the text as a rhetorical artefact the historian tries to reconstruct authors' purposes, intentions and goals. But the subtext goes beyond a reconstruction of the author's intentions, beyond the use of language as a linguistic technology for persuasion. In fact, many subtexts include elements that work at cross-purposes with authors' intentions, bringing to the surface convictions the authors may have been unaware of or may have concealed (Reisman, 2012; Wineburg, 2001). This falls in the second sphere, the text as human artefact that frames reality and discloses information regarding its author's assumptions, world view and belief. For a historian to be able to identify the subtext he needs the background knowledge or factual knowledge of the period outlined by the source. Seixas and Morton (2013) emphasise that sourcing often begins before a source is read, with questions about who created it and when it was created. It involves inferring from the source the author's or creator's purpose, values and world view, either conscious or unconscious. However, Wineburg (2001) argues that experienced historians are able to identify the subtext even if they do not have factual knowledge of the period. In his research involving eight historians and eight students, both historians who had the factual knowledge of the event and those who had less factual knowledge about the event were able to identify the subtext, but the historian with the background was more advanced in supporting the subtext (Reisman, 2012; Wineburg, 2001).

Wineburg (2001) perceives primary documents as rhetorical artefacts and he is supported by David J. Neumann (2010) in his conceptualisation of an epistemology of text. According to Wineburg, the text as a human artefact is doing something. What is the text doing? This question offers a key insight into the reading of documents. Texts are purposive, intentional, and are "doing something." Neumann (2010) explores the subtypes of rhetoric used by ancient authors in particular situations. He outlines the broad characteristics of rhetoric found in all the subtypes. He asserts that high-school students are exposed to the basic ideas of rhetoric in their English classes and there, they learn that rhetoric is the "art of persuasion" (Neumann, 2010:494). According to Aristotle (cited in Neumann, 2010:494), rhetoric is "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion." It is "the power of observing the means of persuasion on almost any subject presented to us; and that is why we say that, in its technical character, it is not concerned with any special or definite class of subjects. Authors use the rhetorical techniques of ethos, pathos, and logos to persuade an audience of the subject of their address. Ethos is the speaker's appeal to her or his own character or knowledge as a means of legitimating her or his speech. Pathos is the use of particular techniques to move the audience emotionally. According to Aristotle (cited in Neumann, 2010:494), though ancient writers warned against the use of pathos to manipulate audiences, they recognised it as a legitimate tool when it led audiences to appropriate reactions. The logos is defined as "persuasion". Persuasion is effected through the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of the persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question. In short, logos is the use of rational argument to convince an audience. Central to this logical strategy is the use of deductive reasoning in the form of syllogism (Neumann, 2010). The creation of narrative, according to historians, shapes the manner in which past events are structured and communicated. The use of language to produce narrative has resurfaced with the literary turn in which elements of structuralism are identified with the narrative of historiography. Therefore, it is necessary for students to analyse the bias by considering strongly the use of the language of persuasion, especially the use of speeches (Neumann, 2010).

According to Seixas and Morton (2013), a source should be analysed in relation to the context of its historical setting: the conditions and worldviews prevalent at the time in question. Inferences made from a source can never stand alone. This is what Wineburg (2001) calls *corroboration*. This is a comparison between different sources in order to establish similarities and differences. *Corroboration* is used to compare documents and pull out impressions of the era reinforced across the sources. Mayer (1999) asks the questions: What do historians do when documents present differing perspectives? What should our students do? To make sense of differing perspectives contained in primary documents, historians employ a third heuristic: *contextualising*. That is, they place documents within the frame of a particular

time. The contextual knowledge students bring to the documents will aid them in reconciling differences between the two reports and ultimately aid in generating an overall account. The differences in the documents demonstrate different perspectives from primary sources which could reveal issues of bias and different political affiliations by the authors of documents (Wineburg, 2001).

Seixas and Morton (2013) are pioneers in the history education and in their book entitled *The big six historical thinking concepts* they articulate six historical concepts that will enable teachers and learners to cultivate critical elements of historical thinking. In chapter two of this book entitled "Evidence", they also provide guideposts for the analysis of primary sources. According to them, constructing history using primary sources involves three interrelated tasks, namely, asking good questions to propel a study, analysing available sources and taking the context into consideration. Seixas and Morton (2013) criticise the superficial engagement of sources in many classrooms where the focus of sources is on extraction of the information on sources, for example asking questions such as: What does it say? What facts does it give me? Seixas and Morton (2013) believe that students need to be taught to think like historians, a fact which has been vigorously articulated by Wineburg (2001). They also emphasise the use of the three heuristics advocated by Wineburg, namely *sourcing*, starting an analysis, taking the *context* into account and *corroboration* as the final step. According to Seixas and Morton (2013), *sourcing* often begins before a source is read, with questions about who created the source it and when it was created. It involves inferring about the source the author or creators' purposes, values and world views either conscious or unconscious. Students contextualise sources when they keep in mind the conditions and worldviews prevalent at the time when the source was created. Students corroborate inferences from a single source with information from other sources (primary or secondary sources). Seixas and Morton (2013) provide criteria to judge whether students have achieved these heuristics and this guidepost is useful to teachers.

3.4.3 Empathy, perspective taking or rational understanding

Over the past two decades, the fostering and display of historical empathy has received significant attention from scholars who raise concerns regarding the inability of schools to teach empathy. Some scholars and government officials have discouraged the use of empathy and confused it with sympathy. In the context of the United States there was confusion about the meaning of empathy and some decried the aspect that requires American students to empathise with the Cuban communist nation (Davis, Elizabeth Anne Yeager & Foster, 2001). It is this misunderstanding and confusion that has impeded the teaching of historical empathy in schools in many countries. This confusion is also evident in the South African context because some Afrikaners believe that their children would sympathise with the history of

the characters of the struggle and condemn the historical actors of the apartheid regime who were romanticised for years by these parents as the true heroes of Afrikaner nationalism. To protect their children from this they have discouraged them from studying history (Black, 2014). Some governments have suggested that learners must be taught “collective memories” or “the best narratives” that represent the collective memory of the community and this, according to them, would foster nation building. However, this approach has the tendency to divide the nation as the stories that dominate the curriculum would be related to the dominant groups rather than a balanced perspective in which learners are exposed to competing narratives and given the opportunity to select a valid account of the past. This is a belief that historical thinking judgment can foster the elements of critical thinking in the classroom. However, the current approach of transmitting the best stories has compromised the teaching of empathy in many schools around the world and in South Africa (Wineburg, 2001; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Kallaway, 1993).

Davis, in the chapter entitled “Pursuit of Historical Empathy”, articulates the fact that the national standards that have been published recently in the United States and other countries recognise empathy as an important goal of history teaching. This recognition is evidenced in the Curriculum and Policy Statements (DBE, CAPS, 2012), the refined curriculum in South Africa which is currently being implemented. According to Davis, teachers and textbook writers are not ready for this emphasis and this is an accurate assessment by Davis because in South Africa, the three textbooks already analysed have limited examples of empathy, and while standardised national question papers assess empathy, this does not provide teachers with adequate guidelines and motivation for the teaching of empathy in the classroom. Some historians have objected to the teaching of empathy and have advocated an increased focus on the official narratives (Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001). Davis emphasises the importance of empathy in the study of history.

Davis cautions against the misapplication of empathy which in some contexts is confused with sympathy or a positive attitude towards an individual, event or situation and such meaning wreaks violence not just against empathy, but against history (Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001:3). For Davis (Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001), empathy characterises historical thinking that yields enriched understanding within the context. It is intellectual in nature but certainly it may include emotional dimensions. It arises or develops from active engagement in thinking about people, events and situations in their context. Frequently empathy springs from consideration of more than one, even several different points of view or perspectives. It is based upon the available evidence (Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001:3).

According to Davis, Yeager and Foster (2001), the central aim of History is to understand and interpret past events. Historians are hindered by the fact that the past is an incomplete entity and thus they must use the best available evidence to construct a reasonable portrayal. Davis, Yeager and Foster (2001:14) provide an example about Truman as follows:

When trying to understand the decision to use the atomic bomb in Japan, it is necessary to draw together material that helps explain the context in which Truman was operating. What were the social political pressures on him? Did public opinion play a role? What were the customs, values and conventions of the era? What kind of information did Truman have access to when making the decision? What strategic consideration was at play? Having established the context, historians may use hindsight because it enables them to see the consequences of a particular set of questions.

Downey's study (Cited in Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001:15) uses the term 'perspective taking' instead of empathy to describe the activities not primarily creative but rational, intellectual and concern with explaining actions, attitudes and concepts that are alien to our own. To engage in historical perspective taking, Downey argues, is to try to understand a character's frame of reference without trying to identify or sympathise with his or her feelings. Downey's emphasis is that historical perspective taking is not there like photos to be discovered, but it needs to be constructed on the basis of facts and evidence. Perspective construction is one of the most difficult tasks of historical thinking because it is trying to escape one's own attitudes and world views in order to understand those of the past.

According to Portal (Cited in Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001:16):

the first step in the development of empathy among students is that they should be able to project their own ideas and feelings into an historical situation. Second, ... the importance of the elements of paradox at some point where our scheme of things does not account for the behaviour of the past, so that students must be able to employ a collection of reference materials and contemporary sources appropriate to the topic at hand.

Portal (Cited in Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001:16) recommends the use of two-sided narrative "where the inadequate empathetic relationship between the historical participants leads to misunderstanding, conflict (or) tragedy. Taking such viewpoints into account, students may be able to develop general principles for understanding opposing viewpoints and for the study of successive related events" (Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001:16).

Downey (Cited in Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001:17) also has several recommendations for evaluating evidence by successful historical perspective taking. First, students must indicate that they realise that the past is different from the present and that some historical outcomes are specific to time and place. Second, perspective taking must be measured in terms of the students' ability to distinguish between past perspectives and to shift from one to another from a relatively detached point of view. Third, students should be able to explain the perspectives they take and their consequences for the historical participants involved. Fourth, the perspectives students take must be grouped in historical evidence and be factual and accurate" (Davis, Yeager & Foster, 2001:17).

Other scholars have provided a plethora of conceptions about the notion of empathy. Some construe "perspective taking" as an attempt to simplify it, while others call it "rational understanding". Wineburg (2001) has coined it as "contextualised thinking" and Seixas and Morton (2013) as "historical perspective". But some scholars have resisted the change of the name and argued that they would not abandon the name despite the confusion created by the dictionary meaning. Scholars have also cleared the confusion between emotional empathy and historical empathy. Historical empathy has been declared to be "outside" emotions because the emotions of enquiry, love and pride are difficult to access. Some scholars define empathy as a concept that involves understanding how people from the past thought, felt, made decisions, acted, and faced consequences within a specific historical and social context. According to Lee and Ashby, historical empathy is not itself a feeling at all. It is emphatically not a feeling, although it may involve recognising that people had feelings. These would have to be characterised for what they were, which would mean distinguishing say, anger, and jealousy. It is because feelings and emotions carry cognitive loads that we are able to make such distinctions. Barton and Levstik (2004) identify five elements of historical empathy (or perspective recognition), including an appreciation for a sense of otherness of historical actors, the shared normalcy of the past, the effects of historical context, the multiplicity of historical perspectives, and the application of these elements to the context of the present.

In presenting the big six concepts of historical thinking, Seixas and Morton (2013) single out the concept of historical perspective – the ability to set hindsight aside and see the past, so far as we can, through the eyes of the people who lived it, to understand why they thought the way they thought and did the things they did, and by so doing gain a richer understanding of what it means to be human. In expanding the meaning of this complex historical thinking concept, Barton and Levstik (2004) support Foster and Yeager as well as Lee and Ashby who see empathy as an historical inquiry that provides, for the novice and the expert alike, the opportunity to expand one's capacity to entertain perspectives different from one's own. The ability to display empathy is commonly recognised as an essential element of effective participation in society (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Van Sledright, 2001). Seixas (Cited in Bain, 2009) articulates his position

on empathy – “it seems to me, is history’s greatest educational value. To enlarge students’ possibly limited experience of life by visiting the “foreign country” of the past and returning home with fresh insights and new ways of looking at what we might otherwise take for granted or never even noticed”. The sentiments of Seixas are shared by Wineburg who attests that “history holds the potential, only partially realized, of humanizing us in ways offered by few other areas in the school curriculum”. Wineburg (1999:490) also asserts that:

The argument I make pivots on a tension that underlies every encounter with the past: the tension between the familiar and the strange, between feelings of proximity to and feelings of distance from the people we seek to understand. Neither of these poles does full justice to history's complexity, and veering to one side or the other only dulls history's jagged edges and leaves us with cliché and caricature. Furthermore, I claim that the essence of achieving mature historical thought rests precisely on our ability to navigate the jagged landscape of history, to traverse the terrain that lies between the poles of familiarity with and distance from the past. The pole of familiarity pulls most strongly. The familiar past entices us with the promise that we can locate our own place in the stream of time and solidify our identity in the present. By hitching our own stories to the stories of those who went before us, the past becomes a useful resource in our everyday lives, an endless storehouse of raw materials to be shaped for our present needs. Situating ourselves in time is a basic human need.

In one of his studies of the display of empathy, Wineburg (2001) uses sources that contain the speeches of Abraham Lincoln. He demonstrates how students can place excerpts from speeches within the context of an election debate where Lincoln was faced by a suspicious crowd which sympathised with Douglas (who supported inequality between whites and blacks and assured the electorates that if voted into power he would ensure that whites were superior). One student managed to empathise with Lincoln while another took the words out of context and judged Lincoln’s actions as demonstrating bigotry (Wineburg, 2001). Some perceived Lincoln as a white supremacist and ignored the incredible work done by Lincoln in campaigning against slavery and his persistent advocacy for equality and the need of the natives to occupy any position in America, simply because of one action where he articulated the superiority of the whites over blacks. But because of a small part of a speech which was analysed out of its context such as time, space and conditions or situations, some students displayed decontextualised thinking. In cautioning decontextualised historical thinking, Donald Fehrenbacher (cited in Wineburg, 2001) asserts that:

Anyone who sets out conscientiously to answer (Lincoln was a racist) will soon find himself deep in complexity and confronting some of the fundamental problems of investigation. In one category are various questions about the historian’s relation to the past: Is his task properly one of careful

reconstruction, or are there more important purposes to be served? Does his responsibility include rendering moral judgment? If so, using what standards – those of his own time or those of the period under study? Then there are all the complications encountered in any effort to read the mind of man, especially a politician, from the surviving records of his words and actions. For instance, what he openly affirmed as a youth might have been saliently discarded in maturity; what he believed on a certain subject may be less significant than the intensity of his belief; and what he said on a certain occasion may have been largely determined by the immediate historical context, including the composition of his audience.

Students must be provided with the background information and context to achieve a reasoned ethical judgment based on evidence. Scholars have considered emotional empathy and moral or ethical judgment as obstacles for the display of empathy because the students have a tendency to use presentism to judge the activities of the people of the past. Students tend to take events or words out of the context as is the case with Lincoln's words and condemn him as a traitor, bigot and a white supremacist. Quite often students who experienced traumatic situation have a tendency to associate themselves with the victims because they can somehow place themselves in the situation by comparing themselves with them. They do not understand that circumstances such as time and place differentiate the past from the present (Wineburg, 2001).

Yeager, Foster and Maley (Cited in Barton & Levstik, 2003:249) studied whether using a textbook or using a variety of primary and secondary sources better allowed students to develop historical empathy. They found that the students with more sources were able to synthesise the data more completely, and the students created their own evaluations of the material instead of regurgitating one author's ideas. Therefore, the ability for perspective taking is a cognitive skill that must be taught and practised, not a show of human emotion. Wineburg (2001) asserts that good historians bring back the dead, get them to talk with one another, and leave us with the yarn. By using primary documents such as diaries, letters, newspaper accounts and oral interviews, students hear the arguments put forth by historic actors and directly experience the tensions and inner motives which lie at the heart of a given narrative. To get at the voices in the documents and study a particular time, Wineburg (2001) emphasises that students must possess knowledge of the basic events from that era. The knowledge provides a frame for the students to make sense of the learning they gain from the document and secondly, it provides a context for understanding the time from which the document comes (Wineburg, 2001).

3.4.4 The ethical dimension

The study of history has an ethical dimension which is inherent in the activities of historical actors and some of the issues that involve the oppression of people, ill-treatment of slaves especially women and children and makes students wonder what types of people would commit such atrocious acts. At times history teachers and learners are quick to use the general standard of humanity currently at play to condemn historical actors. According to Seixas and Morton (2013), some historians in describing these events cannot hide their moral judgment and condemnation, but others use creativity to allow the reader to make such a judgment. For example, Seixas and Morton (2013) provide an example of a fictional novel entitled *The Book of Negroes*, in which Lawrence Hill, who researched the events and reflected them accurately, tells the story of a child who is the main character, Aminata Diallo, who was kidnapped. Both her parents were killed and she was taken away from her community and those that she loved. She survived the harsh journey through the Atlantic passage where many died and was sold to an owner in Charlestown where she was forced to work on a sugar plantation. She was raped by the plantation owner at the age of 12 and had her first child torn away from her and sold (Seixas & Morton, 2013:171). The story of hardship continues but the suffering demonstrates how fiction can be used to communicate the hardship that slaves were subjected to. Some historians express their condemnation by regarding this as inhuman, violent suppression as articulated in Dr Hakin's 2011 article (Seixas & Morton, 2013:171). When learners deal with this issue of Diallo, they need to take the historical context into account, such as the period of slavery and how slaves were treated by their masters at that time, how they were sold, the rights of their children restricted to those of their mothers, and that it was not an isolated event, but involved many women and men (Seixas & Morton, 2013). The raping of the slave was an acceptable practice at the time and it was part of the package of slavery and action was not taken against slave masters. The campaign against slavery can be highlighted as an indication that not all the people of the past supported slavery, to expose learners to different perspectives of the people of the past. The issue is the meaning of "rape" during slavery, and whether it carries the same weight as it does today. Colonial soldiers in Africa and in India used African women for their own gratification and this was acceptable. When a new group of soldiers arrived, these women were handed over to them to continue their slavery and servicing of the master (Howe, 2010). At present women are equal to men and anyone implicated in "rape" would be punished harshly by the law and learners quite often impose the current ethics onto the past and judge them harshly (Seixas & Morton, 2013).

The ethical dimension is a difficult concept to deal with and it is closely connected to the concept of historical thinking. However, historians such as Seixas and Morton (2013) encourage learners and

teachers to reflect a reasoned ethical judgment of past actions, to be made by taking into account the historical context of the actors. Historical context can help to identify limitations on choice and possibilities that may have restricted people's actions in the past. How did fear of reprisal affect the actions of ordinary citizens in Nazi-dominated Europe? The answer to this question, according to Seixas and Morton (2013:180), affects the degree to which we condemn the "bystanders", as well as the degree to which we celebrate the "rescuers". Seixas and Morton (2013) caution the learners and teachers against imposing contemporary standards of right and wrong when making an ethical judgment about the past. In empirical data collected in the study about the Vietnam War and colonisation of the Congo by Belgium, there is a tendency to make ethical judgments of the past by not taking into consideration the historical context, and learners condemn the stronger forces such as the USA and the Belgians because they associate these atrocities with atrocities committed during apartheid.

3.4.5 Cause and effect

Seixas and Morton (2013) classify cause and effect as part of the big six concepts of historical thinking. To what extent does cause and effect engage students in historical reasoning and thinking? Seixas and Morton (2013) emphasise the fact that changes are driven by multiple causes and result in multiple consequences. There are short and long-term causes. Causes that lead to a particular historical event vary in their level of influence, with some being more important than others. Historical actors are the people who take actions that cause historical events and the social, political, economic and cultural conditions within which the actors operate (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Human beings cause historical change, but they do so in contexts that impose limits on change. Constraints come from the natural environment, geography, historical legacies, as well as other people who want other things. Human actors (agents) are thus in a perpetual interplay with conditions, many of which (e.g., political and economic systems) are the legacies of earlier human actions (Seixas & Morton, 2013).

Events of history were not inevitable, any more than those of the future are. Alter a single action or condition, an event might have turned out differently (Seixas & Morton, 2013:104). Seixas and Morton (2013) advise that before introducing the class to historical thinking, students may limit their thinking about the causes of historical events to the immediate causes. "By introducing them to historical thinking we teach them to think beyond the immediate, to consider the interplay of causal actors to the broad influence of the choices made by historical actors to the broad influence of the prevailing social, political, cultural and economic conditions" (Seixas & Morton, 2013).

3.4.6 Change and continuity

According to Seixas and Morton (2013), change is a direction towards better or worse conditions. Changes can create better opportunities, security, equality and well-being, and generally improve people's lives, or they can signal hardship, injustice, oppression and destruction. Seixas and Morton (2013) emphasise that judgments of progress and decline indicate an evaluation of change over time.

Historians define a period of history by demarcation based on particular activities. The periods are demarcated based on change and continuity. For example, the period of the Dark Ages, Renaissance, Enlightenment, modernity and the postmodernist era demonstrate changes in ideas and the decline of old ideas. Across these periods paradoxes emerge between systems, for example capitalism versus communism, positivism versus interpretism, which denotes the old holders of the old ideology and the progeny of the new ideas. Organising history into periods helps historians make sense of the past. Teaching them periodisation is the interpretive accomplishment of the historian and it varies according to themes, perspectives and questions which provide the next level of challenge (Seixas, 2013).

These historical concepts are interrelated, for example, interpretation of sources require that these sources should be contextualised and in doing so students are engaged in multiple perspectives and in empathy. The elements of change and continuity differentiate the present world from the past because of progress and decline of systems and the emergence of a new system and makes the old system look outdated. Students may be tempted to regard past actors as unintelligent, but these students are warned not to impose presentism on the people of the past or pass moral judgment without exploring the context.

Engaging learners in *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* in order to analyse primary sources, the exploration of multiple causation and effects where learners engage in robust argumentation and in discourse about the significance of historical events and most importantly involving learners in empathy, has the capacity to cultivate the elements of critical thinking as articulated by Socrates, Bacon and Paul.

3.5 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES AT WORK IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

It is critical to contextualise the writing of history in South Africa by placing it within its historical context. One of the principles governing the interpretation of historical events is the principle advocated by EH Carr. According to her, if one needs to understand the historian's point of view one needs to know the historian him/herself. This section attempts to explore different perspectives in the writing and study of

history and also to explain the rationale for the existence of different interpretations of past historical events. The dominant perspectives in the writing and study of history are called *metahistory* in the world and these include liberal and radical historical perspectives. In South Africa these two schools of thinking had to contend with Afrikaner nationalism and the settler or British school of thinking which were entrenched before the advent of liberal and radical schools of thinking. Therefore the record of historical events in South Africa since the Great Trek has been a contested terrain between the Afrikaner school of thinking representing Afrikaner sentiments, and settler or British school of thinking, representing the interests of the British in South Africa.

Central to these schools of thought is an attempt by one school to present the past historical events to demonstrate that they are better than the others. South African historiography has been dominated by four schools of thinking, namely the Afrikaner nationalist, the liberal, the radical or revisionist Africanist, and socialist schools of thinking. These schools of thinking have engaged themselves in robust debates about events that involved Afrikaners, the British and Africans. The four schools of thinking make history very interesting and attractive because historians use critical judgment and critical thinking to support their interpretations, opinions and assumptions with evidence. At times evidence is incomplete and opinions cannot be backed by evidence. Historians use historical thinking skills to evaluate the accuracy, depth, width and credibility of evidence. Historians' integrity is at stake and t to present the past as objectively as possible in accordance with Rankean scientific historical methodology. These problems are not captured in school History and learners are not exposed to historical thinking and critical judgment. Two controversial themes in the history syllabus namely, the Great Trek and the Cold War, are used to demonstrate the tapestry of South African historiography as presented by Afrikaner nationalist, liberal, radical and African schools of thinking. The disagreement between these schools of thinking has led to these themes being considered controversial.

3.5.1 Settler or British school of thinking, or Liberals

The historiography of South Africa has been elaborated by Ken Smith in a book entitled *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing*. Harrison Wright also produced a pioneering historical work on South African historiography, and his work, *The burden of the present*, in which he outlines the liberal-radical controversy in South African History, was published in 1987. Leonard Thompson has also contributed to historiography through his book entitled *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* in which he unravels the mythology behind Afrikaner nationalism.

Smith divides English historiography into two categories, namely, the British and Settler schools that were the forerunners of the liberal school of thinking. English writers prior to G.M. Theal were apologists for the British takeover of the Cape. Their focus of attention was the British colonies, seen as part of the British Empire. This school of thought launched scathing attacks on the Dutch East India Company's rules at the Cape and compares them with the British settlers in Natal. Although they generally acknowledged that the Boers who departed during the Great Trek had legitimate grievances, and they had sympathy for their position, they could not but feel that the prospects of the Voortrekkers in the "wild untamed" interior were dismal (Smith, 1988:19). The British school used this derogatory phrase, "wild untamed", to describe Africans as barbaric and they therefore feared for the migrating Boers. These historians were accommodating to the Afrikaners who remained at the Cape, but were ferociously hostile to the Afrikaners who settled beyond the British colonies. Africans, on the other hand, were despised and branded as barbaric despite being loyal to both the British and the Boers (Smith, 1988).

Henry Cloete (in Smith, 1988) is one of the members of this school of thinking and was involved in the events surrounding the Great Trek after 1943. He was aware of the inaccurate representation of the Great Trek. He then presented a somewhat more objective account of the Great Trek which was sympathetic to the Afrikaners and he saw the withdrawal of the Afrikaners from the Cape as a loss to the colony, unlike his early colleagues who condemned the migration of the Boers to the interior as aberrant. However, he remained rooted in the British historical perspective because he decried the Voortrekkers for leaving the protection, civilising influence, and other advantages of British rule (Smith, 1988:20-21).

Another school of thinking associated with the British point of view is the Settler school of thinking. The historian who was at the forefront of this school of thinking is George McCall Theal. According to Smith (1988:31), "no other historian has stamped his authority on the study of South African history to the same extent as George McCall Theal". Many historical works and textbooks were developed with reference to Theal's work. According to Smith (1988:36), Theal was a controversial figure. Smith also asserts that while Theal's influence on the study of South African History is not in doubt, the controversy is about the nature and quality of his work. Theal was much beloved by Afrikaner historians, and his history books were translated into Dutch and used in schools in the republics. For many years Afrikaners regarded Theal's history as the history of South Africa. He was the first English historian to comprehend the striving and struggles of the republican Afrikaners and as such they welcomed his work. From the appearance of his history of the Boers in 1887 to about 1927, he dominated the historical scene. By giving the Great trek a prominent place in his 11-volume History of South Africa, for the first time the whole story of the Great Trek was placed against the broad background of the history of South Africa. His contribution to the study

of the Great Trek lay in providing a relatively loosely linked, chronological battery of facts on the Great Trek (Smith, 1988:37).

Theal also gave considerable attention to tracing the history of African societies and used oral sources in an attempt at preciseness; he did not see a role for blacks in his white South Africa, except as a supply of labour. To him the coloureds of South Africa were “fickle barbarians, prone to robbery and unscrupulous in shedding blood” (Smith, 1988:37). The history of South Africa was the history of the whites and their efforts to open up and bring civilisation and Christianity to a wild, untamed country. Blacks were part of the background, and the British philanthropic missionaries, Philip in particular, who took up the case of blacks, were enemies of the whites (Smith, 1988:38). The Eurocentric view of indigenous people was not new with Theal, but there was a general perception amongst the Europeans who occupied Africa and Asia that European values and ideas were to be regarded as being far superior to any indigenous values. Theal’s attitude towards blacks was shared by the overwhelming majority of Europeans. Theal was criticised for portraying blacks in a poor light, for taking up an anti-imperialist stance and playing down British achievements in South Africa (Smith, 1988:37; Saunders, 1988:20). His work was also criticised as a chronicle or a mere listing of events without interpretation.

Another historian who is classified as a settler historian is George Edward Cory. He was born in England and was a trained historian. In 1923 he caused something of a stir in historical circles when he claimed that the Retief-Dingaan Treaty, a document believed all those years to be a treaty was nothing more than a fake of some ten months later (Smith, 1988). The implication that the Voortrekker hero, Andries Pretorius, or members of his commando, had manufactured the treaty which they claimed to have found on Retief’s body when the commando entered Dingaan’s capital after defeating the Zulus at the battle of Blood River in December 1837, brought down on Cory the opprobrium of many Afrikaners, who felt that he was attacking the good name of the Voortrekkers (Smith, 1988:46). Gustav Preller and Professor W Blommaert who were conservative Afrikaner nationalist historians and who also contributed immensely to the presentation of the past from the Afrikaner perspective, challenged Cory and discovered copies of the Treaty, and finally Cory accepted their findings. The viewpoint put forward by Cory was not supported by evidence and he demonstrated maturity when he changed his interpretation after the evidence was presented by the two Afrikaner historians. The motive of Cory’s conclusion about the absence of the treaty was to demystify the Afrikaner motive in the Battle of Blood River which was based on the peace treaty between Dingaan and Relief and which was not complied with by Dingaan (Smith, 1988). Cory later sympathised with the Afrikaners and he asserts that “So much has been said in high official quarters concerning the cruelty and oppression of the Dutch towards the native races that one feels constrained to pause and say *audi alteram partem*. That there had been bad characters among the Dutch, as among all

nationalities, no one for a moment will deny, but to regard all the sufferings which have befallen the whole of the frontier inhabitants as the result of their own wickedness, and the 'Kaffirs' as harmless and inoffensive neighbours, is either to acknowledge oneself ignorant of the facts, or deliberately to be actuated by a sense of justice" (Smith, 1988:47).

3.5.2 Nationalist historiography

In order to understand the nationalist historiography, it is necessary to comprehend the fact that the central tenets of the Afrikaner nationalist historiography were not unique to South Africa, but many nation states used history as a vehicle to create nations that they aspired to develop. Nationalist historiography begins with the father of history in Ancient Greece, Herodotus. History was considered to be a story of great events and these were used as propaganda by those in power. The type of history that followed was romantic history in which the historian's imagination brought elements of the past to life by appealing to a sense of national mythology. Each of these romantic historians celebrated what they saw as their respectively unique national characteristics. Romantic history made narrative sound like impassioned speech rather than a carefully-argued scholarship (Budd, 2009:122). The rhetoric of romantic history was prevalent in the presentation of Afrikaner history which was destined to celebrate certain historical events such as the Great Trek and the biographies of great Afrikaner leaders such as Piet Retief. History was not an academic subject worth studying. Romantic history was also used as a weapon in the creation of national states such as Spain, Britain, France and Germany. Romantic history found support in the Rankean scientific approach of concentrating on the achievements of leaders and this encouraged the writing of biographies to provide moral examples of kings in order to build the nation. However, Ranke's approach was legitimised by the use of evidence and therefore indoctrination and socialisation of the nation into a master race was a product of Romantic history and not Scientific History. Nationalist historiography such as French, German and Afrikaner nations found in Ranke the justification to use history to write biographies in order to build great nations. National historiography was dominant in Europe from 1700 to 1900. It was driven mainly by dictators such as Napoleon Bonaparte, Hitler, Hertzog, Malan and British colonial leaders such as Carnarvon and Milner who used historians and histories to create propaganda about the invincibility and infallibility of their nations.

According to Alain Dieckhoff (In Cantor, 2005:61), it has become commonplace in the literature dedicated to nationalism to have two conceptualised forms of nationalism. The first form entailed "the free association of citizens and as a rational and voluntary political construction". Dieckhoff (In Cantor, 2005:61) explains that "this civic, contractual, elective nation is allegedly the basis of the French idea of the nation, conceptualised by the philosophers of the Enlightenment and realised by the Great

Revolution". Conversely, the second form "is presented as the concretisation of a historical community, the expression of a feeling of identity, the reflection of a natural order". Dieckhoff (In Cantor, 2005:61) makes an inference that "this cultural, organic, ascriptive nation is supposed to be the basis of the German idea of the nation, nurtured by romanticism and embodied by the Second and the Third Reich". The German idea of nationalism is closely related to Afrikaner nationalism while the first conception or the French approach is related to African nationalism. These leaders used history as propaganda to create a nation and absorb minorities and declare the superior status of the nations against other nations. History books and textbooks reflecting romantic history should not be discarded as obsolete but should be used as useful resources for the teaching of romantic history and its negative consequences and what needs to be done to write history that reflects the reminiscences of the various communities of South Africa.

Extreme nationalism led to the extermination of the Jews in Germany, leading to the Holocaust and the killing of blacks in South Africa. In France all people, including minority cultures, had to speak French and were absorbed into the French culture (Cantor, 2005). After the revolution, France moved into an extreme form of nationalism which was almost similar to that of Germany and South Africa but not as cruel as the two nationalisms. However, the commonalities are that the French were regarded as superior to other minorities who were absorbed into the French nation. This superiority was also displayed by the British government in South Africa which was epitomised as British jingoism. Milner developed a programme of action to absorb the Afrikaners into the British culture. He was driven by an extreme notion of nationalism, but this did not materialise because of the strength of Afrikaner nationalism.

There has always been a (quasi-) religious zeal behind this type of nationalism (Moodie, 1975). The Afrikaners believed that they were God's chosen nation and others were damned and were of inferior mentality. Hitler was considered to have been sent to earth by God as his only son to rule the world and was therefore seen as invincible. The Afrikaners were sent by God to South Africa to the promised land full of heathens, because they were a chosen nation and would therefore triumph over the British and barbaric natives. The Germans called themselves the Aryan race and propaganda was used to ensure that German women remained pure by prohibiting mixed marriages with inferior races such as Jews. This has also happened in South Africa and propaganda was launched by the purified national party to prevent mixed marriages. This ultimately resulted in the passing of the Mixed Marriages Act of 1950. This is a period where history was used as a means to create a superior nation and to promote the unity and culture of the nation at the expense of other nationalities.

3.5.3 Afrikaner nationalist historiography

Afrikaner nationalism has inspired Afrikaner historians to record the aspects of pan-Afrikaner unity in a favourable light. The issue of language was central to the establishment of the Afrikaner as a nation. Originally, Afrikaner historians tended to emphasise those issues such as language, sovereignty from British rule, the covenant as a relationship between the Afrikaner and God, and as well as the role played by Afrikaner intellectuals such as the development of Afrikaans literature and the national anthem. Ideology borrowed from the pseudo-scientific theory of Darwinism and eugenics advocated by Francis Galton became the bedrock of Afrikaner nationalism. According to Moodie (1975:3), the liberal policy of the British towards black Africans seemed particularly designed to provoke the Afrikaners. The circuit court called the Black circuit was empowered to hear Hottentots' complaints against their masters. According to Reitz (in Moodie, 1975:3), it was as much love for the natives that underlay the apparent negrophilistic policy as hatred and contempt for the Boers. The British went to the extent of hiring natives as police against the Afrikaners. These native police were provided with arms and ammunition and they were incited to fight the Afrikaners and whenever possible they murdered and plundered some of the Afrikaners (Moodie, 1975:3). In 1815 the Boers were driven to rebellion and six of the Boers were half hanged in the most inhumane way in the compulsory presence of their wives and children. Their death was truly horrible and they were strangled in the murderous tragedy of Slachtersnek (Moodie, 1975:3).

According to Reitz (in Moodie, 1975:5), emancipation of slaves throughout the British empire in 1832 was not in itself a cause for increased resentment among the Afrikaners. Rather, it was Britain's failure to keep her promise of full compensation which led to embittered feelings. The 'kaffir War' of 1834 clearly demonstrated that there was no security for Afrikaners under British control. After driving the Xhosa back beyond the frontier, the conquered territory was restored to the same natives by the colonial secretary (Moodie, 1975). This harsh treatment of Afrikaners was responsible for their migration from the Cape to the interior. The conditions and circumstances that led to the Great Trek have been the preoccupation of the Afrikaner nationalists and the liberal historians, the two perspectives that represented the role players at the Cape. The liberals were pro-Britain while the Afrikaner nationalist historians sympathised with the cause of Afrikaners for self-determination and independence from British rule which would culminate in the establishment of the Afrikaner nation (Moodie, 1975).

Afrikaner historiography has been the dominant trend in the writing of history and literature until today. The Afrikaner nationalists presented their history in Afrikaans and Afrikaners such as J.S Marais, Hermann Giliomee and André du Toit who published their work in English and who raised skepticism about the credibility of Afrikaner historiography were considered to be liberals who were advancing the

imperialist agenda of the British government in South Africa (Smith, 1988:57-95). According to Smith (1988:57), the early writers of Afrikaner history were not professional historians and their presentations were at best a propagandist picture that sought to elevate Afrikaners to God's chosen nation or master race while others were considered damned. Prior to the 1920s there were obstacles in the way of writing a balanced history based on primary sources. Archives were for the most part uncatalogued and unclassified, and there was no official documentation. The records that were collected and kept together include Dr D Moodie's *Records* (1838), John Chase's two-volume *The Natal papers* (1943), George McCall Theal's *Basutoland records, and Records of the Cape Colony between 1795 and 1831* (Smith, 1988:58). These records were biased in favour of the British at the Cape and in Natal, and the interests of the Afrikaners or Dutch were not considered. The aim of Afrikaner writers and historians was to mobilise Afrikaner nationalist sentiments. Afrikaners interpreted their history as a bitter struggle for self-preservation and fulfilment in the face of hostile forces of nature and the indigenous people that they found in the country (Smith, 1988:58).

The second British occupation of the Cape in 1806 marked the start of a period of varying degrees of enmity between the British and the Boers which in many ways continued until 1961 when South Africa became an independent republic outside the commonwealth. According to Smith, the Afrikaners developed Anglophobia. The British were seen as oppressors and opponents, as sympathisers with the blacks in their struggle against the Boers (Smith, 1988:59). By the late 19th century there was among Afrikaners a strong sense of history and historically-oriented nationalism with a virulent anti-colonial and anti-imperial image of the past. This image revolved around the Great Trek of the mid-1830s, when large numbers of Boers left the British-controlled Cape to escape from the "liberal" British policy that favoured the blacks. They went into the interior to organise matters in their own way, to establish a proper relationship between master and servant, to look after their defence without being hamstrung by interfering missionaries who could make life very awkward for them. The Voortrekkers secured Natal after making a "covenant" with God who gave them a great victory over Dingaan's Zulu in 1838 (Smith, 1988). In 1843 the British followed and annexed Natal and the Afrikaners moved on (Thompson, 1985). For a while the Voortrekkers were left to themselves in Orange Free State and Transvaal. The discovery of minerals changed this. Diamonds were found in the west of the Orange Free State in 1867 and the British annexed the diamond fields in 1871 under the pretext that they were protecting the Basotho from the Afrikaners. After the discovery of gold, the Transvaal was also annexed by the British and this caused the Afrikaners to take up arms against the British in 1880 (Smith, 1988:59).

The first book called *Die Geskiedenis van ons land in die taal van ons volk*, was written in Afrikaans, authored by Rev S.J. du Toit and published in 1877 (Smith, 1988). In this book Du Toit made a point

about the British rule after 1806 and refuted all charges levelled against Afrikaners by the British. In the foreword he writes that his aim is to “tell the truth, correct the lie, and again bring to notice the deeds and fortunes of our forefathers” (Smith, 1988). Another early Afrikaans writer, C.P. Bezuidenhout, wrote a book called *De Geschiedenis van het Afrikaansche Geslacht 1688 tot 1883*. He focused on the role of the Afrikaner in opening the country for civilisation. He made a close identification of Afrikaners with the Jews of the Old Testament. He said the Afrikaner had been brought to the Cape to bring light to the heathen. Bezuidenhout declared that Du Toit’s was the only history of South Africa worthy of being read by an Afrikaner (Thompson, 1985:32). The sympathy of Afrikaners in the Cape and Orange Free State for the Transvaalers in the First Anglo-Boer War of 1880-1881 helped to form the concept of one Afrikaner nation. Histories such as J.A. Roorda Smit’s *Het goed recht der Transvaalsche Boeren*, F Lion Cachet’s *De Worstelstrijd der Transvaalers* consist of a list of grievances against the British, a story of injustice and oppression, with much attention given to Slagtersnek, a place where Afrikaners considered to have broken His Majesty’s law were hanged (Smith, 1988:61). The history of the Afrikaners is characterised by a bitter struggle against the British and this became the foundation of the Afrikaner Nationalist perspective. Du Toit and his colleagues were reacting against the cultural domination of the British colonial regime (Thompson, 1985:30).

The main focus of Afrikaner history was the Great Trek and the Second Anglo-Boer war, as Van Jaarsveld told an international conference of historians in Canada (Smith, 1988:65). Afrikaners saw the Great Trek as the central theme of their history and the Anglo-Boer war was considered the Trek’s ultimate sequel. They considered the Great Trek to have divided and the war to have united them. It was the Great Trek that opened the interior for civilisation and it was the Afrikaner’s love for freedom and independence that had driven them from the Cape. It is maintained that the Afrikaners were fond of seeing themselves in Biblical terms. After the oppression in Egypt (Cape) they settled in Canaan (Orange Free State and Transvaal) among the heathens (Africans) (Smith, 1988:65). It was God who had called them to open up the desert to civilisation and Christianity. This is where the idea of the master race or *herrenvolk* emerged and made the Afrikaners consider themselves as the elect and the Africans as the damned.

According to Smith, the major work on the Great Trek prior to the Second World War was that of Gustav Schoeman Preller (1875-1943). He has been widely seen in Afrikaner circles as one of the most important South African historical writers in the first four decades of the twentieth century. He was a journalist, editor of *Volksstem* and later *Ons vaderland*. He was not a professional historian. Preller saw the Great Trek as the destiny of the Afrikaner and Afrikaner Nationalism (Smith, 1988:66). He made the Great Trek the centrepiece of Afrikaner historiography (Thompson, 1985:36). According to Preller, the Afrikaner would

not have come into being without the Great Trek. He saw Piet Relief as a man who gave rise to a new nation, “the free Afrikaner nation of the future”. He used pseudo-scientific racial theories to explain the intellectual superiority of the Afrikaners and the intellectual inferiority of the Africans. He was one of the leaders that were responsible for the creation of the master race. He saw the history of South Africa as a clash between Afrikaner nationalism, British imperialism and Black barbarism. Afrikaners were considered heroes while the British and Africans were considered villains (Smith, 1988:66).

Another prominent historian who contributed to the Nationalist historiography is F.A. van Jaarsveld. He is described by Smith (1988) as a prolific writer, but also controversial. He was not afraid of expressing his opinion. He believed that the historian must be involved and must serve the community. He completed his MA at the University of Pretoria with a dissertation, *Die veldkornet en sy aandeel in die opbou van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek*, in which he dealt with various groups of Afrikaners in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In 1957 *Die ontwaking van die Afrikaanse nasionale bewussyn, 1868-1881* was published, in which Van Jaarsveld distinguished phases of Afrikaner Nationalism (Smith, 1988).

Van Jaarsveld's historiography moved in different phases. In his early work he appeared to be an Afrikaner apologist but later adopted a more critical approach to the Afrikaner's vision of his past as has been noted in connection with the Blood River convention, where he went so far as to demythologise the Afrikaner's history, for which he suffered the ignominy of being tarred and feathered in the presence of forty astonished scholars (Thompson, 1985:145). He was accused of treachery to the cause of the Afrikaners.

3.5.4 Liberal school of thinking in South Africa

According to Wright (1977:7), the classification of intellectual points of view is always arbitrary to some extent, but it cannot be denied that there was a liberal school of historical interpretation with its members sharing in varying degrees similar assumptions and conclusions about South African past. Anthony and Nancy Westlake's review of *Oxford History* demonstrated the main presupposition of the liberal school in South Africa that modern capitalism is basically an economic and social system which results in the peaceful interaction of mutual cooperation between, and equivalent benefit to all participants. Most of the contributors to *Oxford History* argue that economic growth and economic interaction are the ultimate progressive forces (Wright, 1977:28). In spite of the fact they believed in capitalist laissez faire, none of them agreed that capitalism would end apartheid and this is an indication that the interest of the liberal historians was to support British economic interests in South Africa.

In South Africa the compulsion to devote attention to the history of the African communities was inspired by the rapid industrialisation and social and economic problems associated with this development. The gradual political awakening of blacks and the new situation of black poverty alongside and in competition with white poverty in the economically integrated urban communities where both whites and Africans were drawn from rural districts, became a major focus of attention among certain liberals concerned about black welfare (Smith, 1988:103). According to Smith, it is this situation that gave rise to another strain in South African historiography which emerged in 1920 and which has become known as the liberal school. The liberal historians were part of the wider community of liberal economists, anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists that came into being in a period between the two world wars. According to Smith, the liberal school of thinking had few practitioners and by far the most important of them were W.M. Macmillan and his pupil, C.W. de Kiewiet. Macmillan wrote about the emergence of the poor white and the resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism after the Second World War. The work of the two liberal historians was distinguished from earlier historiography in that it focused on economic and social issues and gave greater prominence to the roles that blacks played in South African history. They repudiated a history written from the white perspective in which blacks were seen as barbaric and obstacles to Afrikaner nationalism. They did not see African society as something that should be retained and they envisaged an ideal future society in which blacks would be “civilised” and integrated into white society. They did not regret the break-up of indigenous African society. Macmillan saw the frontier wars of the nineteenth century as “mere stages in the triumph of the robust colonial community over the forces of barbarism which hemmed it in”. However, the liberals dispelled the misconception created by earlier schools of thinking that South African history could be studied while excluding the African communities (Smith, 1988:104).

Macmillan was of Scottish origin and graduated from King’s college, Aberdeen. His brother, Bertie, fought on the British side during the Anglo-Boer war and was killed in the war. He became involved in the question of poverty. He also came from a poor family. Macmillan was concerned about the poor whites and he argued that it was competition in the market place from cheap, unskilled black labour that tended to degrade whites to their level and below. The answer was for the white working men and the white public to organise themselves to prevent this. The publication of *The South African agrarian problem* was a turning point in the historiography of South Africa because Macmillan realised that the history of white poverty cannot be separated from the problem of black poverty. According to Macmillan, the history of South Africa was the history of its total population. The history that he wrote, which tells the story about the activities of everyday life of the people, became the foundation of the modern historiography of South Africa and he became the first historian to recognise blacks as historical characters.

On the controversial theme of the Great Trek, Macmillan saw the legislation of 1809 and Ordinance 50 of 1828 as representing the principles of oppression and freedom. Ordinance 50 was regarded as a law to secure people's rights. Until recently it was seen as a triumph of philanthropism, engineered by Philip, in freeing persons of colour from restrictions imposed upon them and in granting them equality with whites before the law (Smith, 1988). Macmillan warned that as far as accepting a solution to the complex situation posed by the Africans, whites should realise that "civilisation" lay in granting freedom, not in imposing the sort of restrictions that had been attempted in the case of the Khoi and which had failed. In *Bantu, Boer and Briton: The making of the South African Native Problem* published in London in 1929, Macmillan addressed the issue of whites' conquest of blacks, dispossession of land and the transformation of Africans into farm labourers or poor peasants living in reserves that were unviable and their consequent migration to the cities as wage earners, where they came into competition with poverty-stricken rural whites (Smith, 1988). He saw himself as an activist trying to persuade government to abandon segregation. Afrikaner nationalists did not accept Macmillan's perspective and branded him a liberal and a negrophile. His views did not find their way into the textbooks and those who were in charge of textbooks and syllabi kept Macmillan's work away from the eyes and minds of the youth.

C.W. de Kiewiet was a pupil of Macmillan and also contributed immensely to the liberal historiography. In 1930 he wrote a book entitled *The evil of European colonialism in South Africa*. The swiftly expanding, land-hungry Europeans turned the bulk of the native population into a proletariat governed by laws restricting their liberties rather than widening their opportunities (Wright, 1977:31). He was described by Van Jaarsveld in 1964 as "perhaps the brightest star to glow in the firmament of South African historiography". Christopher Saunders describes De Kiewiet's *A history of South Africa: Social and economic*, published in 1941, "as one of the most used general histories", and declares that "No other single work by a professional historian on South Africa has been so influential and so often cited and quoted" (in Smith, 1988:113). De Kiewiet's book covers the whole of South Africa and his work reflects some of the influences of Macmillan. In a book that was published in London, the *British colonial policy and the South African republics, 1848-1872*, he demonstrated that South African history could not be divorced from what was happening in Britain and her colonies. He also made an important point, also made by Macmillan, that the black-white relations are an important component of South Africa history. He maintains that whites' dependence on black labour was the most significant social and economic factor in South African history in the nineteenth century (Smith, 1988). De Kiewiet was a liberal and wanted fairness and to see events from all sides. According to him the principal difficulty with any writing on the contemporary history of South Africa is the extent to which the writer can use or should use, his critical judgment. De Kiewiet elevated a theme on the relationship between whites and Africans to a dominant

theme in South African history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and he was interested in how blacks became part of the white community and economically inter-dependent (Smith, 1988).

J.S. Marais was an Afrikaans-speaking historian who was influenced by Macmillan (Smith, 1988). He came to the conclusion that South African history is a tale of race relations, contact between races of different civilisations and their gradual coming together into a single, although heterogeneous community. In the *Cape Coloured People 1652–1937*, published in 1939, he wrote that coloureds do not differ from us except in relation to their poverty. He also asserts that many Coloureds live in a more civilised way than many Europeans in South Africa. J.S. Marais' interpretation of South African history from the point of view of Coloureds and Africans and viewing them as better than some of the Europeans made him one of the historians who advanced the cause of the Africans in the historiography of South Africa and this brought him into conflict with Afrikaner nationalist historians. He was a liberal and wanted to present the situation from all points of view without being biased against Boers, Africans or the British (Smith, 1988:120).

E.A. Walker was also one of the liberal historians who adopted an anti-Afrikaner bias, but his work was marred by his belief in the invincibility and infallibility of His Majesty's government (Smith, 1988). He differed with De Kiewiet and Macmillan but he had a relationship with them. Walker wrote about the Great Trek using printed documents and in his presentation he ignored the problems posed by the British statesmen. By this omission he missed the real cause of the Great Trek. However, like Afrikaner historians, he saw the Great Trek as central to the history of South Africa. Walker was criticised for presenting a history in which whites held the centre of the stage. He acknowledged this weakness and in his introduction to *A Modern History for South Africa*, published in 1926 and aimed primarily at matric pupils, he presented the history of South Africa and rewrote the Afrikaner history in a more favourable manner compared to his previous work which was biased against the Afrikaners. His major weakness was that he refused to admit that the British government had ever been wrong in what it did in South Africa (Smith, 1988:129).

According to Wright (1977:77), the relationship between the Afrikaners and coloureds or Africans has been misrepresented by the liberal historians. The Afrikaners ill-treated the Africans and took their cattle and land and enslaved them. However, there is also evidence which has not been explored by the liberals, that some Afrikaners treated the natives better than the English and some of the coloureds would rather work for the Afrikaner than the British.

3.5.5 Radical school of thinking

The radical school of thinking entered South African historiography in the 1970s and this stunned the liberal school of thinking. This school was influenced by historical materialism and class analysis which are integral parts of Marxist philosophy. According to Smith, most of the radical work came from political scientists and sociologists, rather than trained historians. While the liberals saw capitalism as a beneficial modernising force, the radical historians regarded it as a class exploitative system, with basic contradictory social forces (Smith, 1988:167). These historians were called revisionist, radical or Marxist historians. These historians saw history from the point of view of the subordinate section of society. The roots of these writings lay in the growing black resistance to the South African government. All writers of these schools were not black, but wrote history from the point of view of the black people. After the Second World War there was an increase in the urbanisation of Africans in their search for better living conditions after they had been forced off the land by the Boers and the British. The ascendancy to power of the Nationalist party demonstrated the victory of apartheid and the beginning of the promulgation of apartheid laws into regulations of government. The conditions of Africans in the industries led to the emergence of Marxist-inspired trade unions such as the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) led by Clements Kadalie. The first book, published in 1948 and which reflected Marxist rhetoric, was *Time longer than rope: The black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa* written by E. Roux. Roux was a member of the Communist Party of South Africa between 1923 and 1936 (Smith, 1988:155).

In 1950 the banning of the Communist party of South Africa, which had been founded in 1921, was a blow to the African resistance to the apartheid laws. The majority of Africans were by no means communist and the older generations, because of their Christian upbringing, were skeptical about communism (Smith, 1988:156). The communist party was largely a white party and very few Africans joined this party. The ANC youth league, formed in 1943, did not recognise the communist perspective when they analysed the oppression of the African people. According to the communists, Africans were oppressed as a class. The youth league led by Africanists such as Anton Lembede, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, did not believe in communism and they embarked on a struggle to kick the communists out of the ANC in the 1940s. However, this did not materialise because the ANC in the 1940s, led by Dr Xuma, was very weak and it was strengthened by the intelligentsia provided by two prominent communists, namely Moses Kotane and JB Marks. So communists could easily disguise themselves as members of the ANC because the communist party was banned.

In the 1950s there was a change in historical perspective and whites were no longer seen as the heroes who had brought Christianity and civilisation to the Dark Continent but as outsiders, conquerors and

exploiters who had dispossessed the original owners (Smith, 1988). Black historians no longer distinguished between the liberals and Afrikaners. All were considered whites who had shared in the rape, plunder and exploitation of the country. The missionaries were seen not as friends of Africans but as agents of capitalism and white control. The British were considered by the radical historians as worse than the Afrikaners. According to the radicals the emancipation of slaves came about because the capitalists discovered that they could make better profits from free labourers than from slaves (Smith, 1988). The British were always ready to come to the aid of the Afrikaner if they landed in difficulties. The radical historians emphasised that it was Britain, with regular soldiers who could be kept in the field almost indefinitely, which a Boer commando with its need to conduct farming operations could not, that posed the greatest threat to the blacks. "Had it not been for the British, the Boer Voortrekkers would have been wiped out" (Smith, 1988). The Anglo-Boer War was regarded as a war between the English and Boer exploiters fought on someone else's land. This radical history inspired Africans to resist the celebration of Jan van Riebeeck Day and Dingaan's Day (Smith, 1988:159).

According to Saunders in a book entitled *The making of the South African Past*, Legassick, a radical historian, found the origins of white racism to lie in the slave society of the south-western Cape rather than on the frontier, but he did not trace the origins of segregation to early white racism or to the spread of mercantile capitalism in the early nineteenth-century Cape. Instead, for him the early years of the twentieth century were the crucial seed plot for segregation, as South Africa's industrial revolution got under way (Saunders, 1988). The racial policies then implemented, far from handicapping capitalist development, promoted it. These policies had been designed to keep blacks poor, and give the mines and farms the plentiful supply of labour they required.

Belinda Bozzoli, another radical historian, was one of the doctoral students at Sussex, investigating the ideology of the manufacturing class, relating that ideology to the changing material base within South African history. She published a book entitled *Labour, Townships and Protest*, in which she describes how the colonial and postcolonial past imposed on particular classes and the structural patterns in particular regions and that a historical understanding of the political economy of these regions plays a vital role in constructing an understanding of the social formation as a whole. She raised issues of the dominant modes of production and forms of capital in the 19th century, the political, social and economic nature of the working class and the history of their proletarianisation (Bozzoli, 1979:2). According to Bozzoli (1979:2), under the heading of classes and class formation, "it is the ownership of the means of production that defined the bourgeoisie as the dominant class".

The radicals castigated the missionary tendency to protect the blacks as a liberal myth which differentiated Africans from whites and a tendency that promoted black inferiority. This, according to the

radical school of thinking, was trusteeship in an earlier form. The reason for this viewpoint of the radical historians is that there were incidents where Africans protected themselves successfully against the Boers and against the British without Europeans' assistance. For example, during the Battle of Isindlwana, the British, using European weapons, were defeated by the AmaZulu warriors (Smith, 1988). The AmaNdebele attacked the Boers during the night and took all their cattle and the Boers were practically without food; and for the Afrikaner to defeat Mzilikazi, they requested reinforcements from the Barolong, which proved that the Afrikaners under Potgieter could not defeat Mzilikazi alone, but had to be assisted by the Barolong (Ramoroka, 2003). It is this evidence that has been neglected by the liberals and Afrikaner nationalists and they have presented African communities as though they were vulnerable and defenseless. Ordinance 50 was not a purely humanitarian effort brought about unselfishly by Dr Phillip. It had a strong economic motivation (Smith, 1988). Taylor (1993) argues that the missionaries made a great show of protecting the Griquas when, in fact, it was the Boers who were being protected by the British in land seizure. According to Taylor, time after time when the Dutch were in danger of being defeated by the Africans, the British came to their assistance. It had happened in the Cape colony when a united force of Khoikhoi and AmaXhosa-Ndlambe's warriors had pursued the Dutch as far south as George. It was the view of radical historians that any agreement between the African chiefs and the British, and consequently their interference in their affairs, neutralised their power and therefore saved the Boers from possible annihilation (Smith, 1988).

3.5.6 African historiography

African historiography comprises the history of African communities written from different perspectives. There are African historians who were influenced by both the liberal and radical perspectives and the history presented tended to undermine the African communities. According to Smith (1988:131), this group of historians came from the mission-inspired tradition and because of their academic upbringing, they expressed views that were in agreement with the liberal historical perspective. Most of these historians were blacks but not all blacks fell within this category. Blacks in South Africa did not constitute a separate school of thinking, but their writing can be classified under liberal or radical schools of thinking.

Academically-trained black historians made contributions through the study of South African history in Masters' and Doctoral studies at various universities (Smith, 1988). However, their number was very small and this is obviously a clear indication that Africans have been disadvantaged in the presentation of histories that have been written from their point of view. The African historians missed the period of nationalist historiography and arrived late on the scene when the liberal, radical and social historians had already taken centre stage in South African historiography. Therefore, the African historians had to align

themselves with either the liberal who seemed to take a paternalistic view of protecting them against the Afrikaners or join the radical schools which seemed to protect the working class, most of whom were Africans. The absence of nationalist historians had robbed the Africans of the nation-building-inspired historiography which had swept through the world in the period after the Dark Ages and it was the national historians that had shaped the development of nations such as Germany, France, Britain and the Afrikaners, because their concept of nationalism was designed by those historians to romanticise their historical achievements.

Some of the African historians have communicated their sentiments not in historical writing, but in biographies, newspapers and political writings. Some of them have not received any training in history, for example SM Molema, who was a medical doctor and an African National Congress (ANC) official, a journalist and secretary of the ANC like Sol Plaatje who had never received any secondary education, and trade unionists such as Clements Kadalie. However, Liberal and Marxist historians' works were still trapped in the European-centred world history. African writers like Molema were unconsciously imprisoned within the Eurocentric perspective and promoted the view that Africans were inferior to the white race. According to Saunders (1988), Molema relied on his personal information and used Theal and other Eurocentric sources and reproduced their European myth.

African scholars who were independent of the *metahistories* such as liberal and radical perspectives, emerged on the African continent and wanted to resurrect and reassert the African history and present it from an Africanist historical perspective. This was done by challenging the Eurocentric perspective of Africa and rejecting the European conceptual framework used by pseudo-scientific historians such as Hegel, Kant, Rooper and Galton to undermine oral history and dehumanise and demonise the African people. They demystified these myths and used oral history to reconstruct history based on the Africanist perspective. African scholars, such as Ki-Zerbo, Mazrui, Mokhtar, Hrbek, Ogot, and Adu Boahen, have established an Africa-centred world history and African scholars in South Africa should follow their example. These African historians contributed to the *General History of Africa* which was published in 2003 in eight volumes with the assistance of UNESCO. These abovementioned experts worked on the volumes and began by laying down the theoretical and methodological basis of history. They were at pains to call in question the oversimplification arising from a linear and restrictive cognition of African history and to reestablish the true facts wherever possible. They endeavoured to highlight historical data that give a clearer picture of Africans in their specific socio-cultural settings (Mazrui, 2003). The methods used are interdisciplinary and based on multifaceted approaches. Archeology was used to unravel the key features of African culture and civilisations. Oral history was a valuable instrument in exploring the movements of people in both time and space (Mazrui, 2003). The shortcoming of these volumes is that

they were mainly general history that focused on political and liberation movements, conflict, coups, counter-coups as well as the negative impact of colonialism. The histories of South Africa and of other countries were presented in a parochial manner and the history of ordinary people was almost absent, but this was a great step towards the histories of Africa being written by African historians.

In terms of African history, recognition should be given to Frederick Cooper who wrote a book entitled *Decolonisation and African Society* published in 1996. In this book Cooper explores the labour question in French and British Africa. The book focuses on the intersection of French and British colonial bureaucracies with African labour movements and the way in which their conflict and connections both expanded and limited the labour question. The book also explores the conditions of low-paid workers and compulsory labour in colonies, analyses the extent of coercion of people with limited interest in waged labour to perform work for public or private employers, and questions the legitimacy of the so-called civilised governments (Cooper, 1996). Cooper (1996) asserts that a temporary wage earner is at risk of being detribalised if he stays away from the village for too long and can be transformed into an industrial man, living with his wife and family in a setting conducive to acculturating new generations into modern society. Cooper adds that the colonialists wanted to create industrial men so as to create a predictable Africa known for its orderly, productive, controllable society that seemed so vital in the post-war conjecture. According to Cooper (1996), the main aim of reforming African men into industrial men is a programme designed for the social reproduction of labour. The colonialists knew that the men would be joined by the women and would be nourished in urban and industrial environments. He also shows that there were waves of strikes designed to challenge the exercise of power by colonial authorities (Cooper, 1996). The work of Cooper has contributed immensely to the histories of the working class and ordinary people and this has laid a firm foundation for social history in Africa.

I am one of the South African students of history who have been inspired by social history. When I was studying for a Master of Arts degree in History at the Northwest University, I was inspired by several factors. Firstly, the scientific historian Leopold von Ranke: from his German school, he maintained that history should be objective and that the only instrument was the rigorous scrutiny of official documents. This historical discourse eloquently dismissed Africa as a “historical continent” because African history relied heavily on the oral tradition. This conventional approach to history led to a monumental hero-type history which featured only heroes because ordinary people did not appear in official documents and were ignored as historical sources and their reminiscences were deemed superfluous (Ramoroka, 2003). Secondly I was attracted by the call for history from below by Marxists as well as social historians represented by Colin Bundy and Beinart. I decided to explore the history of the Barolong in a study entitled “The early internal politics of the Barolong: A study of the Batswana ethnicity and political culture”.

The study was a social history that was designed to present the story of the ordinary people. I explored books written by Shillington, Neil Parsons, Manson and Molema. I studied the book entitled *Chief Moroka, Bantu, Past and Present*, and found that the book was biased in favour of the British authority and the Ratshidi Barolong led by chief Montshiwa, and presented narratives which ignored the role played by the Rapulana and Ratlou simply because they collaborated with the Boers in the Barolong War of 1880 to 1884 (Ramoroka, 2003). In these wars the Boers supported the Rapulana and the British supported the Ratshidi. I was inspired by Beinart and Bundy (1987) in the book *Hidden Struggles in South Africa: Politics and Popular Politics in Transkei and Eastern Cape* published in 1987 which dealt with the struggles of ordinary people in the rural areas and I was also inspired by Bundy's book entitled *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* published in 1979. I was moved by the early writers of the history of the Barolong who seemed to dismiss the African culture as backward. Molema was one of the Barolong writers who was not a historian but a medical doctor who wrote more about the Barolong than any other historian and in his work *Bantu, Past and Present*, he asserts that "the Bantu remained an indolent, lethargic and dreamy race of men, and their dreary, featureless scene of barbarism and incompetence" (in Ramoroka, 2003). He projects the Zulu revolution as a war of extermination, Shaka as a tyrant and Mzilikazi as a drinker of blood (Saunders, 1988:108). In 1951, Molema published a somewhat more scholarly biography of *Chief Moroka*, but his book still undermined the Africans. In this book he stressed "that the minds of the Barolong were blank and utterly void, a howling vacuum... they were rude in their manners and totally illiterate, ignorant of the art of peace" (Molema, 1950:190). This assertion needed to be corrected and it is one of the pieces of evidence which inspired young African historians in the late 1990s and early 2000s to undertake the study of social history (Ramoroka, 2003).

I interviewed thirteen people, from royalists to ordinary people, including old teachers who presented the stories from different perspectives. In my search for information I came across a rural organisation called the Barolong National Council which was formed in 1918 and led by the Rapulana and the Ratlou middle class. I explored the activities of this organisation in terms of its role in attempting to resolve the Barolong conflict (Ramoroka, 2003). At the time I was not aware of the sophisticated epistemology of social science and sociology and its influence on social history, and the only thing that I knew was that social history is the history of ordinary people and that textuality has misrepresented the history of ordinary people.

I was also inspired by the anthropological work done by Jean and John Comaroff among the Rashidi Barolong. In their book entitled *Of Revolution and Revelation* which explores the dialects of modernity on the South African frontier, they analyse the colonisation of the conscience of the Barolong by missionaries inspired by capitalism. The mission station was a centre of indoctrination of the Barolong to acquaint them with the rules and conventions of the capitalist society in preparation for their entry into the colonial

economy. The book presents the activities of ordinary people and explores the power relations between men and women. According to Comaroff, the introduction of a cash economy ate the cattle that used to keep the Barolong fat and promoted the use of money which burns those who try to hold onto it, “it runs through your pockets, leaving you hungry” but “cattle always return to make you fat” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1997:168). The Barolong men saw themselves as women, and children as “donkeys” or even “tinned fish”, because they had been transformed by the missionaries to be sources of wealth for the white capitalists instead of their families (Comaroff & Comaroff 1997:168). The Comaroffs visited the Northwest University many times and presented their anthropological work on the Ratshidi Barolong and at the time of their presentation I was not aware of the relationship between history and anthropology and I was also not well grounded in the epistemology of social science, but it was enlightening to attend these conferences as a student of history.

In the study of the Barolong, I explored the role that missionaries played and I critically analysed the impact of colonisation on the Barolong. The Barolong were affected by the *Difaqane* and were displaced by the Basotho communities who were on the run from Shaka and Mzilikazi. In the study I indicate that the Batswana in general appreciated the “practical” benefits of the missionaries but did not show any enthusiasm for their spiritual message because it was not practical and it lacked the miracle that is enshrined in the Bible. I explain the reason for this lack of enthusiasm among the Barolong which was caused by their belief that the spiritual power of the African beliefs was based on the relations between the ancestors and God and its spiritual power reigned supreme over the evangelists’ spiritual message. According to the oral tradition, the Barolong and other Africans believed in God and in the ancestors, and most of them were coerced into abandoning their faith that had kept them alive for millions of years before the arrival of the Europeans in Africa (Ramoroka, 2003).

3.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to indicate that the discipline of history has moved through many epochs since its origins in Greece during the Golden Age of Greece. I have shown that the discipline was elevated to an academic discipline by Ranke, who advocated scientific history. I have also asserted that the grand narratives dominated the discipline for many decades in the 19th and 20th centuries and clearly indicated that textuality privileged those who were occupying the upper structures of the society whose activities were recorded, while ordinary people remained obscure objects in the discipline of history. I have also shown that this perspective has ferociously criticised Marxist historians who castigated the authority of textuality and began to write the history of the working class. It is the Marxists in Britain that led the campaign for the writing of social history that explored history from below, where ordinary people such as the working class, unemployed, families, women and children became subjects of history. The *Annales*

Journal in France led by Febvre and Braudel played a critical role in establishing centres for interdisciplinary discourse and this resulted in the borders of history being enlarged to accommodate Economics, Geography, Sociology, Social Science and Political Science, which led to a change in the type of evidence explored. This social history was replaced by cultural studies which advocated the writing of a total history of society. There was a greater influence of cultural anthropology in the cultural turn and this signalled a departure from quantification to a more qualitative approach to social research. The cultural turn led to the emergence of the *Subaltern* projects led by Indian intellectuals such as Spivak, Said and Guha who wanted to deconstruct the grand European narratives and encourage the *Subaltern* to tell their own stories. I have also highlighted the influence of literary theorists who consider the historian as a literary artist who engages in emplotment of the story he or she is writing and the story is reconfigured into a comical or tragic one, depending on the perspective of the historian and this is similar to fiction. Michel Foucault as well as Derrida were very influential in both the cultural and literary studies. Foucault challenged the location of power, the production of knowledge and the imposition of knowledge upon the powerless while Derrida was concerned with the different meanings of words within the post-structuralist perspective. Furthermore, I addressed the elements of historical thinking such as analysis of primary sources, cause and effect, empathy, historical significance, change and continuity, and ethical dimension. These elements were influenced by the academic development of the discipline and what has been considered central in the school history project is the analysis and interpretation of primary sources. Wineburg (2001) and Seixas and Morton (2013) provide the framework for the analysis of sources which involves sourcing, corroboration and contextualization, which is designed to engage teachers and learners in the cognitive process of “doing history”.

I have explored the historiography of South Africa and indicated how the liberal, Afrikaner nationalist and radical historians have influenced the writing of the history of South Africa. I have shown the influence of social history through the role played by Bozzoli and Shula Marks who encouraged research into pre-colonial society. I have also shown the role that Jean and John Comaroff played in reconstructing the social history of the Barolong by highlighting the dialects of modernity in the Barolong’s way of life. This is pioneering work that can inspire *Subaltern* projects in South Africa. Finally, I would argue that the discipline has become sophisticated and very complex, especially since the advent of the cultural revolution and work which complies with the epistemological standards of the cultural turn have transformed history into an intellectual discipline more appropriate to being used to inculcate the central tenets of critical thinking. In addition, the elements of historical thinking are adequate for the promotion of aspects of critical thinking.

The next chapter articulates the methodology and research design used in this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I explore the various aspects of the research methodology used in this study and provide the rationale for the selection of the qualitative approach to research. In the process I advance a strong case for the use of Action research design as a strategy to diffuse the knowledge that is generated from above by those in power and imposed upon the powerless. I also focus on the location of power and knowledge and the generation of alternative forms of knowledge through participative research methodology. This approach captures the social reality as advocated by feminists, critical theorists, social constructivists, social scientists, critical race theorists and cultural historians who are united by the common advocacy for participatory research to change the current social reality. I outline criteria which were used during the lesson observations when the three teachers were piloting a four-stage model of action research as an effective mode to migrate them to a dialogical approach. I further explore the various methods of collecting data and illuminate how these methods are used to triangulate the data of this study and ensure that the data collected are valid and reliable. Finally, I describe the ethical issues relating to the conduct of this research and articulate strategies to comply with the ethical conduct required in academic research.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN PARADIGMS

4.2.1 The qualitative paradigm and its related epistemological and social dimensions

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1998:383), qualitative research involves an interpretative naturalistic approach, as things are studied in their natural settings. For this reason this Action research was undertaken qualitatively. The research took place in three schools, and problems identified in the classroom were to be solved in the classroom. The definition of qualitative research is expanded by Tutty, Rothery and Grinnell (1996:4), who describe qualitative research as “the study of people in their natural environments as they go about their daily lives”. As part of Action research, qualitative research methods enable the researcher to interact with his subjects and there is also a high degree of interaction with the participants without compromising the position of the researcher. It is critical for the researcher to be objective. According to Bryman (1988:61), the fundamental characteristic of qualitative research is its

commitment to viewing events, actions and norms from the perspective of the people who are being studied.

Qualitative research design is considered by Hesse-Biber as a dance routine, compared to a quantitative approach which has a more linear, step-like character. The quantitative researcher climbs a linear ladder to an ultimate objective truth (cited in Hesse-Biber, 2011:34). Qualitative researchers propose designs that are more open, fluid and changeable and which are not defined in purely technical terms. According to this view, research is an interactive process that requires flexibility, and a non-sequential approach (Blanche, Durheim & Painter, 2006:35). The qualitative design is also in line with social constructivism where individuals seek the subjective meaning of their experiences. These meanings are varied and multiple and this leads the researcher to look for a complexity of views. The goal of this research is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation. Social constructivism is relevant in this research, given that teachers are experts in the area of teaching and subjective meaning is extracted from different teachers coming from varied contexts to provide their opinions regarding what constitutes critical thinking and what can be done to promote it. These teachers have been given the opportunity to view and review the model of critical thinking and to judge whether and how it is suitable for fostering critical thinking in the classroom.

Social constructivist researchers often address the contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants. The researchers understand that their own backgrounds shape their interpretation, and they “position themselves” in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their own personal, cultural and historical experiences. The researcher’s intent then, is to make sense of the opinions others have about the world. This is why qualitative research is often called “interpretive” research (Creswell, 2007:21). According to Creswell (2007:21), the social constructivist is manifested in both the phenomenology and grounded theory.

I selected the qualitative paradigm as a research design suitable for the conduct of empirical research given that critical thinking is a concept that is open to different interpretations. In addition, the Action research approach requires active participation from the participants and they are considered to be co-researchers because they are involved in self-reflectivity and critical reflection on the lessons presented and they assist me in making inferences about the pedagogical progress made by participants towards a new dialogical approach. Some of the advantages of this research design are that qualitative researchers use a variety of methods to collect data, and this includes ethnography or field research, interviews, oral history, auto-ethnography, focus-group discussion, case study, discourse analysis, grounded theory, content and textual analysis, visual and audio-visual analysis, evaluation, historical comparative method, ethnodrama and narrative (Hesse-Biber, 2011:5). These methods are also suitable for the discipline of

history, they are used in piloting the model of dialogical pedagogy. According to Hesse-Biber (2011), the diversity of methods with which qualitative researchers work is one of the distinguishing features of a qualitative landscape. Therefore, qualitative researchers have many tools in their toolbox. Given that research that is focused on teaching relies on the perceptions of the teachers, and the process of collecting data requires an interactive process which is flexible, a qualitative mode of enquiry is a flexible method suitable for the classroom environment, in which this study is conducted.

Undeniably one of the most important contributions of Action research to empowerment and social change is in fact the knowledge dimension. Through a more open and democratic process, new categories of knowledge, based on local realities, are framed and given voice. Participatory research sees research as a process of reflection, learning, and the development of a critical consciousness. Critical consciousness is the development of self-awareness about one's ability to generate knowledge and the knowledge of one's own weaknesses that should impel one to improve. This can only be achieved in collaboration with others. Not only must production of alternative knowledge be complemented by action upon it, but the participants in the knowledge process must equally find space for self-critical investigation and analysis of their own reality, in order to gain more authentic knowledge as the basis for action (Gaventa in Reason & Bradbury, 2006:75).

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.3.1 Action research

a) The origin of Action research design

Credit for the development of Action research is given to John Dewey, the American philosopher, who is also considered an expert in critical thinking. Dewey identifies five phases of reflective thinking: suggestion, intellectualisation, hypothesising, reasoning and testing hypothesis (Reason & Bradbury, 2006:3). According to Dewey, practical problems require practical solutions. Dewey urges educators to teach students how to think, rather than to teach facts. This has been the nub of this research, that action strategies are required to be able to inculcate elements of critical thinking and historical thinking.

Dewey did not coin the expression, Action research, and credit for this is held jointly by two men working independently, John Collier and Kurt Lewin (cited in Reason & Bradbury, 2006:39). Collier, who was a commissioner of American Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, applied the term to work in improving race relations between whites and Native Americans. He argues that problems of ethnic relations cannot be overcome by decree. Instead, a programme of collaborative research in which representatives of the two

racers participate, is needed to fashion acceptable solutions. Collier strongly believes that research is the most important tool in changing the behaviour of ethnic relationships, provided that the research is undertaken as a joint effort of the researcher and laypersons. This Action research approach is similar to teaching and learning because the conventional authoritarian teaching methodology used by teachers is antithetical to the cultivation of critical thinking and historical thinking skills. This conventional methodology is deep-rooted and cannot be uprooted through workshops and superficial training sessions such as those conducted by the curriculum section of the Department of Basic Education. The solution cannot be imposed from above. Participatory research that includes teachers is the only approach that can uproot this problem because teachers in collaboration with their peers can generate collaborative solutions within the community of enquiry, which teachers are likely to accept and implement without resistance.

Lewis, on the other hand, was born in Prussia and was also widely known by students of Action research. He participated in the German Army during the Second World War, and experienced anti-Semitism (Reason & Bradbury, 2006). He left Germany and went to the USA. During the Second World War he applied Action research to change the cooking behaviour of housewives. The results of the participative approach in this instance were impressive. He believes that Action research is a tool that could advance science while dealing with societal concerns (Reason & Bradbury, 2006). Other experts use participation as a means of reducing resistance to change. This approach is also used by companies to bring about strategic change. The process is effective and involves a participative process. It is also used for organisational renewal or re-engineering, or changing management to bring about organisational effectiveness. The research design can also bring about effectiveness in the classroom and resistance to change can be reduced through active participation.

Other experts of Action research, including John Gaventa and Andrea Cornwall (in Reason & Bradbury, 2006), view Action research from the perspective of “power and knowledge”. According to these experts “advocates of participatory Action research have focused their critique of conventional research strategies on structural relationships of power and the ways in which they are maintained by monopolies of knowledge, arguing that participatory knowledge strategies can challenge deep-rooted power inequalities” (Reason & Brandbury, 2006:6). The argument here is that participation in knowledge production should be expanded to include ordinary people who are affected by the knowledge that is being generated (Reason & Bradbury, 2006). Knowledge determines power relations and those who are powerful exert their power, based on the passion of knowledge and resulting in that knowledge being imposed on the powerless. According to the two experts, “countering power involves using and producing knowledge in a way that affects the consciousness of issues which affect the lives of the powerless, a purpose that has always been put forward by advocates of participatory research”. Here the discussion about research and

knowledge “becomes that involving strategies of awareness building, liberation education, promotion of a critical consciousness, overcoming internalised oppressions and developing indigenous and popular knowledge” (Reason & Bradbury, 2006:72).

According to Gaventa and Andrea Cornwall (in Reason & Bradbury, 2006:74), “knowledge that affects people is seen to be in the hands of a monopoly of expert knowledge producers, who exercise power over others through their expertise”. The role of participatory Action research is to empower people through the construction of their own knowledge, in a process of action and reflection. Such an action against power over relations implies conflict, in which the power of the dominant class is challenged (Reason & Bradbury, 2006:74). In the context of education, the power of dominant knowledge includes the state that imposes the curriculum and teaching methodologies upon teachers, and capitalists that determine the resources, including textbooks, which are imposed upon the impoverished communities. Teachers resist the imposed knowledge and generate alternative forms of knowledge which can be utilised to solve problems in the classroom.

b) What is Action research design?

Action research is a small-scale intervention in the functioning of the real world and a close examination of the effects of such intervention (Cohen, 1994:186). Action research is situational and concerned with diagnosing a problem in a specific context and attempting to solve it in that context. Usually collaborative teams of researchers and practitioners work together on a project and it is participatory and self-evaluative. Modifications are continuously evaluated within the ongoing situation with the ultimate objective being to improve practice. Two stages of Action research have been followed, with the first stage being the diagnostic stage in which the problems of teaching, learning and assessment of critical thinking skills have been analysed and questions formulated. The next stage is the intervention in which the research questions are answered through observation and semi-structured interviews. Brown and Harvey (2006) have added some stages which relate to transition and stabilisation which are designed to complete the four-stage cycle of Action research that has been followed in this study. Information collected through a systematic observation process is recorded, shared, discussed, evaluated and acted upon and this sequence of events forms the basis of reviews of progress (Cohen, 1994:192).

According to McNiff (2010), Action research is about taking action to improve something in one’s practice and also about researching the action, which means investigating what one is doing and offering descriptions and explanations of why one is doing it. There is a considerable degree of consensus among scholars that Action research is a suitable design for improving classroom practice and this is precisely the intention of this research. In this research, the problem has been identified through the data collection

method, observations and semi-structured interviews, and this has been followed by an intervention to solve the problem identified.

Action research seems to be well on the way to being accepted, not only as a feasible enterprise within the school, but as a legitimate enterprise (McNiff, 2010). Educational experts agree that the only vehicle to transform practices in the classroom is a systematic mode of inquiry that is less complex and scientific and which can be used by teachers. There is consensus among teachers and education specialists that the only improvement that can be achieved in the classroom is through Action research, which is a design that encapsulates both the enquiry process and the action to attack the problem. Teachers and education specialists also agree that only teachers who investigate their challenges in the classroom have the enabling ability to solve those problems. The traditional mode of enquiry that turned teachers into subjects has failed to improve practices in the classroom, and similar failures have been observed in the past when the Department of Education and Training instituted inspectors to observe teaching in the classrooms. The professional development utilised the instrumentalist approach to observe teachers in the classroom in order to incentivise them and to hold them accountable. This approach was imposed by the bureaucracy and was based on the assumption that legitimate knowledge is generated by those who are empowered. This inspection system resulted in the terror of “teacher performativity” where teachers were held accountable for the performance of learners at the exit level. In the new democratic South Africa, accountability measures are couched in the form of standardised tests and moderation processes which have over-bureaucratized the system and the results of this instrumentalism are used to hold teachers accountable.

c) Critical self-reflection and group reflection

A critical element of Action research within the qualitative mode of enquiry is participation. This type of research is termed practical research by Carr and Kemmis (in Cohen, 1996:189), given that the participants monitor their own educational practices with the immediate aim of developing their practical judgment as individuals. Thus the facilitator’s role is Socratic in nature. The Socratic approach to enquiry is used because it assists the participants to develop intellectual integrity – the ability to acknowledge their deficiencies as a first step towards acquiring new knowledge and skills.

Naughton and Hughes (2009:99) illuminate reflection as a specific form of thinking that is the foundation of reflective practice and they maintain that we reflect on our practice as a prelude to changing or improving it. According to them, “to reflect is to be curious about what we are doing, why we are doing it and what its effects are, and it also involves trying to think openly about past and present practices in order to improve on them”. Teaching is regarded by scholars as a reflective practice and qualifications

acquired during initial teacher education are seen as enabling knowledge and cannot determine the success of a teacher. What improves the quality of teaching is critical reflection by each teacher and critical reflection by other teachers.

There are intrinsic qualities that are required when teachers are engaged in a pedagogical process. It requires intellectual traits such as humility, which enables the teacher to humble himself or herself and accept criticism by fellow teachers; empathy, which means learning from others by seeing the world from different perspectives; integrity, which is being prepared to acknowledge one's own weaknesses and ignorance; perseverance, which requires continued reflection; and modification, until quality is produced. These intrinsic qualities are ingrained in the practice of, and can change the teacher's attitude and disposition towards the teaching of learners and can also encourage enthusiasm and passion among teachers. These qualities are also critical in encouraging teachers and learners to attain elements of reasoning and intellectual standards that constitute the major domains of critical thinking.

Naughton and Hughes (2009:99) take the idea of reflection a little further by advocating critical reflection which demonstrates the ability of the teacher to audit his or her own practices honestly and accurately as a demonstration of intellectual integrity. Some academic scholars have considered this self-reflection as one of the weaknesses of the Action research design which causes its validity to be questioned. However, Stenhouse (1975) and Elliot (1992) have criticised academics who follow traditional approaches to research despite their failure to bring about changes in the classroom. Therefore, entrusting teachers with critical self-reflective power is considered the first step towards acknowledging the diagnostic results of the classroom enquiry led by the teacher. This is the principle advocated by Socrates (Cited in Stumpf, 1993) as the ability to acknowledge one's own deficiencies in order to address them by engaging in rigorous intellectual labour to improve the quality of teaching and learning. This process requires humility and integrity. If this critical self-reflection is done accurately by the teacher and the information is validated by the research group, then the teacher can be credited with acquiring critical reflective skills which are a prelude to the development of critical thinking. Reflective practices encourage intellectual flexibility and open-mindedness on the part of the teacher, who becomes receptive to new ideas from colleagues. Critical reflection is in line with a healthy scepticism and relativism promoted by the discipline of history and critical thinking where judgment skills empower teachers with the intellectual know-how to guard against accepting ideas without question.

4.3.2 The Action-research framework



Figure 4.1: A four- stage model of Action research

A diagrammatic representation of a four- stage Action research model which has been adapted to suit the transformation of the pedagogical strategies of teachers (Brown & Harvey, 2006).

4.4 METHODOLOGY

4.4.1 Sampling

The logic of qualitative research is concerned with in-depth understanding, usually working with small samples. Qualitative researchers are often interested in selecting a purposive or judgment sample. The type of purposive sampling is based on a particular research question as well as consideration of the resources available to the researcher. Homogenous and stratified purposive sampling techniques are used to ensure that all schools that are investigated not only represent different performances but also the socio-economic realities of South African society. There are variables that constitute the South African learners such as social inequality, race, home language which may not be the language of teaching and learning, and proficiency in the language of teaching and learning. The language issue is critical, especially given that the subject History is language intensive and the phenomenon being studied is affected by the language proficiency of both teachers and learners. This sampling has enabled the researcher to investigate the phenomenon from different perspectives, and to ascertain whether the phenomenon investigated occurs within the poor school communities only.

The sample selected is sufficient to enable the researcher to gain maximum insight into and understanding of what is being studied. Given that the research is concerned with the teaching and assessment of elements of critical thinking and historical thinking, the researcher selected History teachers from Grade 11 and Grade 12 which are critical grades prior to exit level examinations. In Grade

11 many of the learners struggle to progress to Grade 12, or they are simply held back. The personnel that were interviewed included three males, elderly and young, as well as new teachers and were selected because of the pass percentage and because their schools were representative of the population of African learners who are the dominant population in the school system. Any significant improvement had to be visible to this population which had been previously disadvantaged. Three teachers participated in this research, as the fourth teacher was reluctant to continue with the study and her data has been disregarded in this study. There is, therefore, reference to the activities of only three teachers.

Table 4.1: Participants and their pseudonyms

Pseudonyms of participants	Lessons presented	Grades	Topics
Masina	Four	Four lessons have been presented in Grade 12.	Vietnam War; Factors influencing the independence of Africa.
Moemi	Four	One lesson has been presented in Grade 12 and three lessons in Grade 11.	Russian Revolution; Vietnam War.
Modise	Four	One lesson has been presented in Grade 11 and four lessons in Grade 12.	Russian Revolution; Vietnam War; Factors influencing the independence of Africa.

4.4.2 Characteristics of the sample schools

A purposive sample was used in this research because the teachers selected teach the same subject in the same grades across different schools. The information about each participant is necessary and it demonstrates the rich data that has been extracted from these individuals. Issues such as race, socio-economic background, qualifications and type of school, college and university attended which were likely to have influenced the subject knowledge and intellectual traits of a teacher are necessary to determine their teaching abilities. Teachers had to be teaching history and had to be qualified, and with the necessary experience in teaching the subject.

Schools in South Africa can be categorised into two types, namely, former model-C schools which are mainly urban schools with quality infrastructure which were used exclusively for white Afrikaans and English-speaking learners. However, these schools are now being attended by the white and black middle class. School fees are very expensive and can only be afforded by wealthy families. The second category of schools is those that were erected for Africans, and which are poorly resourced without the necessary

equipment and sports facilities, and where the majority of African learners have been attending since the era of Apartheid. These are the schools that were affected by the Bantu Education Act (Act no. 47 of 1953) in which learners were not allowed to study Physical Sciences and Mathematics. The majority of these schools are still in an unacceptable condition. Although the state has attempted to build some additional decent structures, these are not equivalent in quality to the infrastructure of the former model-C schools. The three schools selected fall within this second category of schools.

It is critical to categorise the schools in terms of their performance and to ascertain whether performance is influenced by their location. Three schools that have been involved in this study are located in rural areas and one is located in a township and all are situated in the Gauteng province. The common factor is that these schools all have limited resources and most of them have been classified as no-fee schools and yet they continue to produce good results. However, there are schools in South Africa that consistently produce poor Grade 12 results. The difference in terms of the performance may be attributed to the commitment and dedication of teachers and learners, management of schools, class size, and effective utilisation of limited resources. In one of the schools there are 55 learners in the Grade 12 class while others have classes that range from 35 to 45. These variables affect the schools' performance and the morale of both teachers and learners.

Social inequality is another factor that affects the performance of these learners. In most cases their parents are migrant workers who work in towns and they remain behind with their grandmothers who cannot render any assistance due to their low level of literacy. Given the socio-economic conditions of this group, they are unable to provide additional resources to the schools to hire additional teachers to ease the classroom load which is affecting the quality of teaching and learning. The parents are not able to monitor the work of their children because they are migrant workers who only return home at the end of every month.

In addition to social inequality, the language of teaching and learning is a serious issue within the South African education system. Most of the learners are taught in English which is the language of teaching and learning required by the curriculum, although it is not their mother tongue. However, learners in ex-model-C schools, especially the English and Afrikaans-speaking learners, are taught in their mother tongue. The Grade 12 results over years have revealed that the majority of learners who are considered to be the top twenty performers according to the Grade 12 results, are whites and Indians because of their proficiency in the language of learning. While English and Afrikaans-speaking learners are assessed on one aspect, that is, subject knowledge, African learners are tested on two aspects, that is, subject knowledge and language competence. It is the language of teaching and learning that restricts the acquisition of higher-order thinking skills such as critical thinking and problem solving.

In contrast, parents of learners who attend English-medium schools are mostly middle class, who drive their children to school in luxury cars. Learners are given enough money to eat at lunchtime or during breaks. They have access to additional resources such as computers and the internet to enrich their knowledge. The parents pay high fees which enable the governing body to hire more teachers and as a result the ratio of learners to teachers is smaller, and suitable for quality teaching where individual learners' intellectual progress can be rigorously monitored. In addition, parents monitor the work of their children and are able to acquire additional teaching support if required.

The role of school management is critical in this sample as it determines the quality of teaching and learning at the schools. Most of the township and rural schools do not have heads of department for every subject and teachers are supervised by generic heads of department who have limited knowledge of the subject domains they supervise. It is therefore easy for teachers to mislead learners without it being noticed and their results demonstrate the poverty of these teachers' teaching. However, at times the teacher may be genuinely unconscious of his or her lack of proficiency in the subject he or she is teaching. This is easily discovered and dealt with in the urban schools because there are subject heads of department who have the requisite subject knowledge and have set up a validation system of quality assurance where the work developed and assessed by the teachers is rigorously moderated and monitored.

Finally, the contribution of the feeder schools needs to be analysed. The feeder schools of the sampled schools were varied. For township and rural schools the poor infrastructure of the primary schools mirrors that of the secondary schools, while the feeder schools of a quintile five school (highly resourced and former model-C schools) are resourced in a similar manner as the secondary or high schools and the socio-economic background of the parents is similar. Therefore, learners are exposed to quality teaching from earlier grades, are grounded in the core skills of literacy and numeracy, and their performance is comparable to international standards. Learners that come from township and rural primary schools, however, perform poorly in international assessment and are also outperformed by their neighbours. The schools that have been sampled fall within the category of rural and township schools and learners are not epistemologically grounded in reading and numeracy at the elementary level. The Annual National Assessment conducted in South Africa in 2012 revealed a result of 13% obtained in Mathematics by Grade 9 learners. These learners are already behind and it is difficult for the secondary schools to close the gap and this ultimately results in multiple repetitions and high dropout rates. The proficiency levels of these learners are very low because there is no attempt in lower grades to provide opportunities for speaking the language of teaching and learning.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

4.5.1 Workshop session

A workshop session was conducted and focused on the challenges of teaching, learning and assessment of critical thinking in the selected schools. The problems were discussed and solutions identified. Teachers were informed that their participation in this Action research was intended to solve the problems they faced in teaching, learning and assessment.

There is a reciprocal relationship between teaching, assessment and learning. Assessment is therefore an integral part of teaching and learning and it is important in driving teaching and learning in terms of judging the academic progress of learners in the classroom. The literature has identified the inculcation of critical thinking skills as a challenge to many teachers. Research done by the Department of Basic Education during its annual moderation process has revealed that most of the assessment tasks that are developed by teachers from various schools are robust in assessing lower-order thinking (DBE Moderation Report, 2011).

The researcher made a presentation on the model of critical thinking developed by Richard Paul (1996). The model was presented as a trans-disciplinary model encompassing the elements of thought such as questions, issues, assumptions, implications, and points of view which were weighed against intellectual standards such as clarity, precision, relevance, accuracy, depth, and breadth. These in turn were evaluated against intellectual traits such as humility, empathy, perseverance, integrity and curiosity. The elements of thought, intellectual standards and intellectual traits were integrated with the conceptual framework of the discipline of History. Historical concepts that were suitable for the concept of critical thinking were discussed and historical perspectives that dominated South African historiography, including the Afrikaner nationalist, liberal, radical and Africanist schools of thought, were identified and discussed. Controversial themes in South African history, especially those that are prescribed for Grade 11 such as the Great Trek, factors influencing the independence of Africa, the rise of communism in Russia, and capitalism in the United States of America were identified as themes suitable for the cultivation of critical thinking. The scope of the research was clearly outlined to teachers, and the benefits that this would have for their practice.

4.6 SEMI-STRUCTURED AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Interviews are one of the most widely-used methods of collecting qualitative data. Interviews were used in

this research to gather data on subjects of opinion, beliefs and feelings of practitioners about the situation in their own environment. They provided information that could not be obtained through observation and were used to verify the observations. In-depth interviews are a particular kind of conversation between the researcher and the interviewee that requires active questioning and listening (Hesse-Biber, 2011:94). Ideally the degree of hierarchy between the two collaborators is low, as the researcher and the researched are placed on the same plane. The individuals invited to participate in the study have the kind of knowledge, experience, or information that the researcher wants to know about (Hesse-Biber, 2011:99).

The qualitative interview is typically more probing and open-ended and less structured than the interviews used in quantitative research (Ary, Jacobs & Razavieh, 2002:434). The lived experiences of a particular teacher including the reason why he or she joined this profession were extracted during the rigorous open-ended interview. In this open-ended interview I explored the background of participants regarding the conditions in which they grew up, the types of college and university they attended, their qualifications and experience acquired and the extent to which the environment within which they work influences the quality of their work. According to Ary et al. (2002:434), this type of interview provides insight into participants' perspectives, the meaning of events for the people involved, information about the site, and perhaps information on unanticipated issues. I have noted that the lived experiences of the teachers within the education environment and the knowledge and skills acquired shape their perception of the process of education that they are engaged in. These sessions provided an opportunity for me to learn about teachers' social life from their perspectives, experiences and languages. Qualitative interviews are thus a special kind of knowledge-production conversation that occurs between two parties (Hesse-Biber, 2011:105). The relationship between the interviewer and respondent is critical to the process of constructing meaning.

According to King and Horrocks (2010:17), the interview approach relies heavily on respondents being willing to give accurate information. The assumption here is that accurate information is there to be discovered and such knowledge is achievable. Rorty (cited in King & Horrocks, 2010:17) emphasises "how we constitute knowledge through conversation and social practice. Rather than knowledge being conveyed in conversation, it is brought into being. The researcher should reduce the hierarchy between the researcher and the researched". Based on this advice I placed myself on the same level as the researched in order to facilitate a meaningful conversation which can be thwarted by a form of bureaucracy. Therefore, the relationship was reciprocal and interviewees were given status over their stories, meaning that they were seen as experts (Hesse-Biber, 2011:105). In this study teachers were

seen as experts because there are no experts in this field of teaching other than teachers. I created rapport by ensuring that the respondents felt safe, comfortable and valued (Hesse-Biber, 2011:105).

The open-ended interview was followed by in-depth interviews in which teachers' baseline conceptions of critical thinking and elements of historical thinking were explored. I used the elements and standards of critical thinking as well as elements of historical thinking such as analysis of primary sources and empathy to formulate questions for this interview. Teachers were given opportunities to display their conceptions of various aspects of historical thinking as well as the concept of history by providing examples of controversial topics that can better advance the concept of critical thinking and historical thinking in the classroom.

4.7 OBSERVATION

In lesson presentation and observation a four-stage model of Action research was used in collaboration with the critical-thinking model. The four stages of Action research comprise enquiry, intervention, transition and modification and stabilisation. This model has been developed by Brown and Harvey (2006) as an instrument that should be used by organisations to bring about strategic changes, organisational renewal and re-engineering to improve the quality of production and the quality of service. This research model is based on Action research and the four stages were applied to bring about pedagogical changes in the classroom. The principle underpinning the model of change was that firstly there was a need for a systematic process of enquiry to establish the baseline information about the existence, adequacy or inadequacy of the central tenets of critical thinking in the teachers' pedagogical content. Once deficiencies had been established and identified after the review of the first lessons, the next stage of intervention was implemented to correct the deficiencies and this included the piloting of a dialogical approach which was designed to cultivate the elements, standards and traits of critical thinking. This was considered to be the independent variable that needed to be introduced to transform the teaching pedagogy from authoritarian banking education that promoted rote learning and the regurgitation habit of mind, to a dialogical approach which promoted critical thinking. In this instance the Action research served as a vehicle to deconstruct the epistemological foundation of the authoritarian teaching methodology. This was the rationale for requiring four lessons to be presented by each of the three teachers so that it would enable the participants and me to change practices in the classroom, which could not happen in one lesson. In the four lessons that were presented, teachers were therefore engaged in self-reflectivity, critical reflection by peers and exemplification of the best lessons by fellow participants.

After the interviews I recorded the first lessons presented by teachers where they demonstrated their ability to teach and reflected on their own conception of critical thinking and historical thinking. The first lessons of all three teachers were recorded and considered to form part of the first stage of enquiry of Action research. The information from these lessons as well as the information from the interviews were reviewed and analysed and the findings were used as the basis for the intervention in order to pilot the dialogical approach that would promote the elements of critical thinking or inhibit an authoritarian approach to teaching and learning. The intervention was done firstly by conducting the workshop in which the model of critical thinking was presented and exemplars of dialogical methods of promoting critical thinking were provided for teachers to evaluate and emulate. The recorded lessons were then viewed and reviewed by teachers through self-reflectivity, and critical reflection on the lessons was presented by the teachers. This process allowed teachers to reflect as individuals, criticise other teachers' methods, and benchmark their lessons against those of other teachers.

After the review I allowed teachers to teach their second lessons and I expected them to reflect on the elements of dialogical teaching such as active learning and cooperative learning that promoted knowledge construction as part of the intervention stage. After the second lesson, I convened a second review session to establish the extent to which teachers had incorporated the elements of critical thinking and historical thinking in their pedagogies. Teachers were allowed to teach their third lessons where they needed to show evidence of transition to the new pedagogical approach through modification of their lessons. In the fourth lessons teachers were expected to further modify and refine their lessons to ensure that they fully reflected the elements of the dialogical approach to critical thinking so as to ensure that the new dialogical approach to teaching was ingrained in the teachers' pedagogical strategies. It is expected that this approach, if practised over time, will promote the elements, standards and traits of critical thinking.

4.8 DATA ANALYSIS

According to Blanche, the key to doing a good interpretive analysis is to stay close to the data, and to interpret it from a position of empathic understanding. The anthropologist, Clifford Geertz (cited in Blanche et al., 2006:321), says that the purpose of interpretive analysis is to provide thick description, which means a thorough description of the characteristics, processes, transactions and contexts that constitute the phenomenon being studied, couched in language not alien to the phenomenon, as well an account of the researcher's role in constructing this description.

Blanche et al. (2006) describe two distinct approaches to analysis. One is based on a quasi-statistical style involving the use of predetermined categories and codes that are applied to the data in a mechanical way to yield quantifiable indices. Another approach is immersion and crystallisation styles which involve becoming thoroughly familiar with the phenomenon, carefully reflecting on it, and then writing an interpretation by relying on one's intuitive grasp of it (Blanche et al., 2006). I adopted the latter approach in this research and this was underpinned by the qualitative analytic tradition of thematic content analysis. Blanche has suggested familiarisation and immersion as well as inducing themes as a systematic approach to dealing with qualitative data. I took note of the data and immersed myself in it. After the process of familiarisation and immersion, I induced themes as part of the inductive analysis approach that is followed in a qualitative approach. This approach entails analysing data from a specific number of instances to arrive at inferences. Therefore, induction means inferring general rules or classes from specific instances. It is thus a bottom-up approach. Inductive logic is paradoxical to a deductive, logical approach to the truth which is a top-down approach. I then looked at the material and worked out what the organising principles were that "naturally" underlie the material.

I developed a number of themes and if there were many themes that emerged from the data, they were categorised into four or five broader themes. I played around with different themes and did not stick to the same system of generating a theme. I kept the main question in mind at all times during the analysis. During the development of themes I also coded the data. This included marking different sections of the data as being instances of, or relevant to, one or more themes. I did not impose predetermined labels on the data but I let the facts speak for themselves. Themes emerged naturally from the data. Four major themes emerged and were coded, namely, conceptions of the elements of history, conceptions of critical thinking, conceptions of teaching history, and teaching of aspects of historical thinking. The conceptions were further divided into subject topics and further coded as "what is history", "relationship between history and the past", "why study the past", "different interpretations", "importance of primary sources", "meaning of empathy", "objectivity in the study of history" and "history as art or science". The second theme was also sub-divided into sub-themes which included group discussions, debates, simulations and talk shows. The third theme was further divided into elements and standards of critical thinking. The fourth theme, teaching aspects of historical thinking, included "cause and effect", "change and continuity", "display of empathy", and "demonstration of different interpretations". It was an iterative process where some categories had to be subsumed under others and absolute and irrelevant information had to be left out. Efforts were made to ensure that the voices of the participants were not diluted and some of the statements about the conceptions of history and critical thinking were quoted verbatim.

The method of thematic content analysis is followed in this research which incorporates both the data-driven inductive approach of Boyatzis (1998) and the deductive steps outlined by Aronson. According to Boyatzis (1998), thematic analysis is a process of encoding qualitative information. Encoding requires an explicit “code”. The code is a list of themes, indicators and qualifications that are causally related; or something in between these two forms. A theme, according to Boyatzis (1998), is a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes or organises observations. The themes emanating from patterns can be formulated during data collection and can be used as yardsticks to evaluate the depth and breadth of the data gathered per theme. This enabled me to dig for more information.

An in-depth analysis of the data collected followed eight critical steps designed by the researcher with the information derived from Jodi Aronson’s article (1994):

- First step: List patterns in the information observed
- Second step: Identify all data that relate to already classified information and this is expounded upon
- Third step: Identify all the information that fits into specific patterns and place it within the corresponding patterns
- Fourth step: Combine and catalogue related patterns into sub-themes
- Fifth step: Formulate themes by bringing components, ideas and stories together
- Sixth step: Organise themes in a coherent manner to form a comprehensive picture of the collective experience
- Seventh step: Build a valid argument for choosing themes and make inferences based on the information collected
- Eighth step: Use the information collected through the literature review, interviews, observations and other data collection methods to formulate theme statements to develop a storyline.

These themes were used to organise information during the collection and analysis of data. Themes developed from the steps outlined are subsumed under four themes. The themes were organised logically in a plot structure to advance an argument about the teaching of aspects of critical thinking and historical thinking in the classroom.

4.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics has to do with the application of moral principles to prevent harm or wrongdoing to others, to promote the good, to be respectful and to be fair. It is critical that researchers should be mindful of the negative effects that data collection can have on the participants. This research requires the participants to use their intellectual abilities during lesson presentation and during the review sessions. At the review

sessions their practices are likely to be criticised by some of their colleagues and they need to be prepared. Their sense of humility, empathy and perseverance will be required and therefore the intellectual labour involved needs to be explained to participants so as to ensure that they participate voluntarily and pledge support for this research until the conclusion of the findings. After the details about their participation have been articulated, participants are asked whether they are still interested in participating in this research. The research may also require the participants to sacrifice their free time and this should be explained.

I conducted this study in accordance with the ethics of the University of Pretoria. I took the necessary steps to ensure that the research complied with all ethical practices that are associated with a research of this nature. One of the steps that I took was to obtain permission from the Superintendent-General of the Gauteng Department of Education to conduct research in selected schools. I was granted permission to conduct research by the Superintendent-General of Gauteng through the Directorate of Research in this province.

The letter of authorisation enabled me to communicate with provincial and district officials about the research. I entered into negotiations with the relevant officials, and clearly outlined the research and their roles to the participants. All participants were requested to declare in writing their willingness to participate in this research.

Other issues that were taken into consideration included the privacy of the participants and this involved protecting their identities during the release of the findings. Pseudonyms were used to represent the teachers and schools sampled. This was done in order to ensure that participants and schools were not vilified as a result of the publication of the findings and it was essential to discuss this with the participants. The individuals that participated in this research were kept anonymous. A letter of consent was written to each participant and the principals of the schools to request their participation and they were informed that their participation was voluntary.

During their participation, I ensured that these participants were treated with respect and were informed that their participation was voluntary, and that they might leave the study if they did not see its value. The observation was done during school periods and did not disturb the school programme. Interviews were scheduled after school hours. The focus-group discussions were held at the office of one of the schools and transport and meals were organised for the participants. The benefit of the study in terms of its ability to improve practice was explained to the participants and school principals.

I undertook to reflect the truth about the findings when writing the report, to ensure the credibility of the research. I triangulated the research findings through multiple data-collection methods and multiple perspectives from the participants. The findings were revealed even though they may be beyond the researcher's expectations. All information extracted from various sources was acknowledged. Ethical issues were borne in mind in all processes as the research unfolded and when the report was written to communicate the findings and recommendations.

4.10 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY, DEPENDABILITY AND CREDIBILITY IN THIS RESEARCH

According to Ary et al. (2002), the integrity of qualitative research depends on attending to the issue of validity. Validity in quantitative research concerns the accuracy or truthfulness of the findings. The credibility of the findings of the research is established through triangulation, a process in which multiple forms of data are collected and analysed. In this research various forms of data were collected through various data-collection tools. Through observation the researcher analysed learners' responses to problem-posing questions that assessed critical-thinking skills. Other data collected through interviews were used to authenticate the findings, thereby increasing their credibility.

Reliability is applicable mostly to quantitative research and it focuses on the consistency of the findings if the study is replicated (Ary et al., 2002:455). It is closely related to the concept of dependability which is used mostly in qualitative research. The consistency of the findings confirms the fact that the findings are dependable and reliable. The sample size of schools located in different settings provided me with the opportunity to conduct the research in multiple locations. I used data collected through in-depth interviews to corroborate information collected through observation. These triangulation methods promoted the dependability of the qualitative data.

Some scholars consider trustworthiness to be the appropriate term to judge the quality of the research. Trustworthiness involves credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. These four concepts are extensions of traditional categories of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity. These terms are also used in qualitative research and are alternative measures to triangulate qualitative data. In a scientific environment only the researcher has the legitimacy to validate the data using quantitative tools to estimate validity and reliability, and the judgment of the participants is ignored because it is considered to be subjective (Ary et al., 2002:455). However, in this study participants played a critical role as co-researchers who validated the knowledge generated from the lesson presentations, focus-group discussions and in-depth interviews.

Video recordings of the lessons provided an objective picture of the lesson presented and this provided reliable data. The interviews were also recorded and there was no misinterpretation of the articulation by the participants. These measures provided primary data about the lessons that were presented in the classroom. The data emanating from the lesson presentations were evaluated by the teachers through self-reflection and critical reflection from other teachers. It is the combination of expert judgment and consensus that produced credible data.

An instrument containing the framework of historical thinking developed by Seixas and Morton (2013) and Wineburg (2001) was designed to evaluate the teaching in the classroom. The instrument contained the elements of historical thinking such as analysis of primary sources, cause and effect, historical significance, empathy, ethical judgment, change and continuity. The items were divided into three categories, namely, powerful, good, moderate and poor display of a particular knowledge. The instrument was mainly developed by adapting the criteria set by Seixas and Morton (2013) and the heuristics developed by Wineburg (2001).

I used an inter-rater in order to promote reliability. A subject specialist who majored in history and who possesses extensive teaching and moderation experience in the subject was used to evaluate the lessons of the three teachers. I briefed him in terms of the criteria as articulated by Seixas and Morton (2013) and Wineburg (2001) and he used the same instrument to judge the lessons. His scores were used to corroborate my scores to promote the reliability of the outcomes.

There was corroboration of the findings of participants on their teaching methodology and evidence provided by their peers. The participants' views were used to validate the findings which were based on consensus between the history teachers with extensive experience and expertise in teaching history, and the researcher. Multiple perspectives on the lessons presented by different participants validated the findings of the data collected. The importance of this corroboration was that it included critical self-reflection on the part of teachers and if there was agreement on the strengths and shortcomings of each teacher and if their findings were confirmed by the group, it was an indication that the teachers were demonstrating a certain level of intellectual integrity in their self-evaluation. Identifying and acknowledging one's weaknesses is the first step towards changing the current situation. The principles of conformability and dependability were therefore complied with.

4.14 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the purpose of the research is to conduct a systematic process of enquiry using a conceptual framework of historical thinking to investigate the phenomenon of critical thinking in the history classrooms and implement action strategies to change the teaching methods of three sampled teachers from lecturing to dialogically active and cooperative learning. This dialogical approach is suitable for knowledge construction relating to critical thinking and historical thinking. The successful collection of data and its analysis are attributed to an epistemological paradigm epitomised by an interpretive strand with its associated approaches such as social constructivism and critical theory. These interpretive approaches support a participative research approach design in the form of Action research as the most effective tool in investigating social reality. As a result of this approach, a research trajectory emerged in which alternative authentic knowledge was generated collaboratively by the participants, and collected and analysed to support the main research question. The stratified purposive sampling technique combined with hybrid data-collection methods including in-depth interviews, observations and document analysis, yielded valuable information which assisted in making inferences and judgments that were based on valid, dependable, trustworthy and credible data.

The next chapter is based on the findings of the analysis of the empirical data collected through interviews, lesson observations and focus-group discussions.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I articulate the findings of the empirical data collected through a series of lesson observations, and in-depth iterative interviews. I focus on what Shulman (1986) calls subject matter content knowledge and also on the pedagogical content knowledge which is a combination of the subject matter content and pedagogical practices. Based on the criteria of pedagogical content knowledge, I explore the subject matter content knowledge of the teachers and their pedagogical practices. In the course of the chapter I also highlight the conceptions of the elements of the historical thinking and conceptions of teaching History, and elucidate how these conceptions or misconceptions influence the teaching practices of the three teachers in the classroom. Finally, I identify the gap using the framework of historical thinking and social construction model of teaching to ascertain the extent to which teachers are able to demonstrate the elements of pedagogical content knowledge.

The three teachers were asked questions relating to elements of historical thinking in order to establish their epistemological belief. The elements included the definition of history and the past, the concept of empathy, rational thinking or perspective taking, use of primary sources, conception of interpretation in the study of history, the issue of whether objectivity in the study of history is achievable or not, and to ascertain whether history is science or art. The epistemological stance on teaching history was also explored. The interview also included elements and standards of critical thinking to ascertain whether they could be enhanced through historical thinking. The conceptions of teachers with regard to the elements of historical thinking were explored in collaboration with their stances and beliefs as well as their misconceptions about the subject matter and how these conceptions and misconceptions were manifested in the classroom. The importance of ascertaining the belief has been supported by Lee Shulman (1986), Wineburg (2001), Seixas and Morton (2013) and Social Constructivists such as Vigotsky (1978) and Kanselaar (2000), who believe that a dialogical approach based on active learning which will lead to knowledge construction or doing history depends on the ability of teachers to explore conceptions and demystify misconceptions through negotiation, the dialogical approach and active and cooperative learning. For learners to learn there is a need to change their conception about the discipline of history and the teaching of the discipline to ensure that it is in line with what experts call “doing history”. It will

then be possible to internalise elements of historical thinking, a high psychological function (Vigotsky, 1978).

5.2 WHAT ARE TEACHERS' CONCEPTIONS OF ELEMENTS OF HISTORICAL THINKING?

Three teachers were asked to explain the meaning of history, doing history and their perceptions of history. In articulating the relationship between history and the past, Modise indicates that:

History is mainly contextualised because in history we do not have everything that happened we study particular events, there is a difference between the past and history and we select certain events in the past and not everything. Some of things are not mentioned; people who were there did not see them as worth recording and archiving. Why are we not recording everything, people chosen to select and neglect some of things because they have interest?

Moemi, on the other hand, perceived history as histories that go beyond written text and that are beyond the scope of professional historiography. He uses the word 'histories', which is a word used in postmodernism to decentre the writing of histories to ordinary people and therefore his conception of history has elements of postmodernism and cultural revolution. According to Moema, history is:

The study of the past that is recorded or unrecorded, history is not only what is in written form or verbally. It does mean what is written in a certain book or newspaper but what is transferred from one generation to the other in a written form or verbally. The histories that are recorded that are systematic but there are histories that are known by certain individuals within certain communities or a history of a certain village known by a particular elder and may be transferred from one generation to another generation doing it verbally, therefore, it is not recorded but it is still credible. The person can be used as a primary source who has witnessed whatever happened within the community he or she may relate it to others.

His conception of history is located within the narrative epistemology which is advanced by literary theorists. However, he does not seem to subscribe to the emplotment or imposition by the historian but he appears to agree with those historians who assert that the past is organised by society in the form of narrative and the task of the historian is not to impose a history plot structure but to extend it and this conception is a direct attack on the emplotment and imposition advocated by Mink, White and Foucault. He believes that the narratives are an embodiment of the reality of the past and he seems also to consider ordinary people as capable of producing history.

Modise acknowledges the fact that written history does not accommodate human affairs in their entirety and he agrees with Moemi to a certain extent about the incompleteness of historical evidence which prevents historians from being able to represent the “knowable past” or “the past as it really was” as advocated by Ranke.

Both Modise and Moemi acknowledge the vicarious knowledge provided by history in order to assist the solving of problems in the present and plan for the future. This has been considered to be a presentism perspective which is designed to carefully select events of the past that justify the current changes so as to assist in preventing the repetition of the past. According to Modise:

We study how the events of the past influence the events of the future, we are looking at cause and effect and that can be interpreted differently by people in history, we study change and development over time. We need to know what happened in the past in order to be able to plan for the future so that we can plan ahead, to have an overall understanding of how the events happen and why they happened.

He is supported by Moemi:

In order to establish where we are coming from, how the world was previously before we were born, what happened around, the world that we have today is the world of tomorrow. To plan better we might know certain issues that happened and we might avoid certain issues, to some people it might be new. Somebody who studied the independence of Africa, in the 1950s would understand that this is not new. What South Africa is going through is similar to what African countries have gone through, one may say it resembles what happened in Africa.

Moemi, in attempting to justify the study of history, displays elements of presentism which are based on those that would select from the past in order to justify actions in the present. Historians believe that it is difficult, and sometimes impossible to avoid elements of presentism. According to the historians who are influenced by the literary theory, the plot structure used by historians is based on figurative language, idioms and poetics which reflect modern development and therefore a historian imposes a literary form on the story of the past because the past is formless.

In support of the resources that are provided by the past in order to solve present problems, parallels could be drawn between various events that happened at a different period without offending the concept of empathy. For example, comparing the Russian revolution in 1917 and Marikana in 2013 which are at a distance from each other, in terms of time and geographical location. Moremi insisted that there are

similarities and differences which at times are minimal, and he compares Marikana that took place in 2013 with the Rand strike of 1932. According to Moemi:

In the 1932 Rand strike Smuts had to instruct the army to shoot the people and that incident can be compared to the killing that happened in Marikana in 2013 where 36 workers were killed by the police. Look at the grievances, I understand the issue of empathy, but look at the grievances they are almost central can be compared to this struggle, the demands are almost the same, there are similarities. Conditions of service and the money that is being paid to the workers so forth and so on, so when you draw the reference you might find that there are similarities, even though they may not be exact but almost because times have changed but South African government and Smuts protected the capitalists.

The mission is the same according to Moemi. In 1932 Smuts and the government protected the capitalists and in 2013 the government led by Zuma and the police protected the capitalists. Moemi was adamant about this point to emphasise the fact that we can learn from the past and plan for the future but Marikana somehow is an indication to him that there was no thorough reference to the past to avoid the Rand strike and its consequences from repeating itself under a democratic dispensation.

History is often seen by the public as the study of dates, names, places and events. As a discipline, history is much more diverse and multilayered than many individuals realise. The discipline of history can be viewed as a complex interplay between continuity and change (Raska, 2012). Judgments of continuity and change can be made on the basis of comparisons between some point in the past and the present, or between two points in the past, such as before and after Democracy in South Africa. Moemi, like other teachers, uses comparisons of events in different epochs to highlight change and continuity but does not commit the sin of presentism or imposition of the present standards to judge past historical events.

According to Masina:

History is a subject of concepts, that is, a set of ideas. When studying history we deal with time and chronology, change and continuity, multiperspectivity, you will help learners to be able to see a particular point of view in a particular way. You help learners think in a particular way to become responsible citizens, respect and uphold the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and its values and also to fight against prejudice such as racism and to have religious tolerance and oppose xenophobia.

Masina reveals aspects of historical thinking but does not explain them and instead he articulates the elements of citizen education. History for history is a subject that brings about social cohesion and nation

building because it can inculcate values such as tolerance and promote the constitution. Aspects such as chronology, time, change and continuity are mentioned, but he does not elaborate. Instead he moves quickly to assert elements of citizen education. This is his conception of history which is to create an egalitarian society.

5.2.1 Objectivity in the study of history

The aspect of a knowable past established by Ranke was strongly challenged by historians during the enlightenment, modernity and postmodernist eras who believed that the past is gone and it is represented by history. In an attempt to represent the past, it is not possible to represent reality or objectivity but there can be multiple representations of reality. Influenced by literary theory, post-structuralism, deconstruction and new historicism, White and Foucault articulate a conception of history in which the historians are seen to represent the past using a plot structure to create reality about the past. Reality can reflect tragedy or comedy depending of the choice of historians and during emplotment historical facts can be distorted to suit the narrative plot structure of the historians. There are narrative conceptions by historians who opposed the imposition of emplotment by historians but who argue that narratives are not created but are a part of meaning-making by society, and what the historian is doing is mainly extending the primary narrative of the community. What is acknowledged by historians of different orientations is that objectivity is difficult to achieve.

In terms of objectivity, the three teachers were asked whether history is able to present the past as it really was from Ranke's perspective. Modise asserts that:

It is difficult to obtain total objectivity and a person is influenced by his personality and emotion and it is an ideal and it is impossible to achieve objectivity but we can strive to achieve objectivity. We can strive for objectivity by being as neutral as possible which is very difficult for people.

Modise's conception of objectivity is that the historian should strive for objectivity but it is difficult to achieve and he appeared to articulate the epistemological stance of a fundamentalist or positivist who believes in the reality outside the text, that we should continue to strive for the truth and it means that it is achievable and this to some extent classifies him as a realist or positivist.

In responding to a question posed on the possibility of achieving objectivity in the study of history, Moemi asserts that:

I partially agree that there are incidents that can be recreated, like the Marikana incident with the technology that we have it may be easier to reconstruct them objectively, however, it may be

difficult to recreate events such as the Blood River battle in the 1880s, because over time some of the information is lost, and to say we can recreate them objectively is difficult, an issue of the objective it hovers around the issue of time, facts and sources.

For Moemi, the ability of historians to achieve objectivity depends on the time during which the events took place. It is easy to reconstruct contemporary stories compared to remote histories of the past. It is a convincing argument because in the incident of Marikana that took place in 2013, the strikes that took place which preceded the incidents, and the events leading up to the incidents were well documented by journalists, television and communities, workers and the police. When people were shot, the events were captured live on television by various channels and because of the availability of many witnesses, participants and victims, it is easy to collect many perspectives of the events.

Masina is resolute in his articulation that:

You can be objective when you deal with history. If you are objective you are neutral and you do not consider different perspectives and when studying history you need to take a perspective and it should be supported by evidence.

Both Modise and Moemi are confident that objectivity is difficult but it is achievable and this conception located them with the positivist paradigm about the ability to access reality beyond the text while Masina displayed the attributes of relativism. However, the critical question that Moemi should answer is which perspectives should be considered objective or valid. In his response Moemi indicates that:

I would gravitate much to journalists with cameras, an unaligned source as for workers police and, government, Marikana people were fighting for better wages, capitalists and the government were protecting certain interests, the man with the camera would tell you the more impartial story. Television visuals gave us clear views of what happened, looking at different television channels reflecting the events from different angles showing people being killed by a hail of bullets from the police it provides a fair reflection. One of the people who related the story to me whose close relative was killed during the incident said that the police killed workers for doing nothing. The journalists and a neutral member of the society can be able to give a fair account of what happened.

There were different journalists from the public broadcaster and the independent media, which media channel would present an objective account of the Marikana events. Moemi indicates that:

Public Broadcaster such as the SABC which is advancing the interests of Zuma (Current President of South Africa) and the ANC would reveal the incident differently from ENCA-news which is independent and not aligned with government. Like I said some cameras may be focused on particular parts of the events in order to suit their political agenda.

Moemi seems to put his trust in the independent media, but acknowledges that the cameras may be focused on a particular area in order to advance a particular agenda. He is a little doubtful in terms of attributing objectivity to independent media, but his message is that objectivity is achievable in the context of sufficient evidence and the presence of onlookers or journalists who are independent or neutral. Unfortunately, nobody is neutral, everyone has their agenda. The independent media does not like the government and may expose the killings. Modise, responding to the incident at Marikana, articulates his views by indicating that:

Depending on which side, if somebody who was very much worried about the workers' concern about conditions of the worker will speak about the fact that workers were right, if it is a police concern with the safety of everyone will speak from another perspective, and the government official who is worried about the government reputation may speak from another perspective.

This is a clear articulation of different interpretations of the same events that some of the eye witnesses may deliberately take sides because they are interested and perhaps are partial participants or supporters of a section that is involved in the events. The question of which perspective remains valid, and he did not entertain the question but acknowledged that there were different interpretations and all parties involved had their own agendas.

The issue of objectivity is related to the epistemology of the discipline of history as a science or art or part of the humanities. According to Moemi,

when I was studying history at the University, I found out that history is a science, for us to recreate the past we need to find out information, we need to research the information, to interrogate the information and for example we can visit Mabungubwe, an archaeological site, to find information about activities and achievements of the people of the past.

His conception of history is based on the discovery of information, the process of which he perceives as scientific and he provides examples about archaeology which utilises scientists' equipment in order to ascertain the period to which fossils belong. He somehow reflected the arguments articulated by Ranke and his disciples. This appears to be a common thread amongst teachers with regard to History. Modise

agrees with this conception and according to him, “history is a science because everything that has been written is researched to ensure that it is accurate”.

Masina is torn between science and art and he conceptualises history as both art and science. In terms of art he sees history being communicated through painting and cartoons, and this to him constitutes art which is a form of expression or representation about the feelings of the people of the past. He also considers history as a science because it deals with human existence. He also supports the perspective of history as a science because historians must analyse, interrogate and interpret historical sources in order to establish what really happened. Because of taking a neutral perspective in the battle between the relativist and realist he can be classified as a critical realist who seeks to create a balanced perspective between the positivist and the relativist.

Some historians who were against the use of narrative advocated an analytical approach to the study of history but the majority of historians have accepted narrative as an effective mode of communicating the story of the past. Some believe the narrative is the ability to reflect the reality of the past, but they believe that reality is created by the historian by placing past events in his plot structure, and according to White, the past is formless.

5.2.2 The use of primary sources in the study of history

Related to objectivity is the issue of the use of primary sources. In addressing the question on the importance of primary sources, Modise indicates that:

Yes, because when we teach history we are teaching certain skills, some of the learners will become police, lawyers, prosecutors and so on, they should be able to differentiate the sources of information whether a person can rely on source or we can't rely on the source, they should be able to detect whether a source is biased or not biased, whether the information is reliable, objective, or one-sided, they provide primary information which may be, we think the producer of the primary sources is a person who was watching the event as it was happening we mostly encourage learners to look at the nature of the primary sources and notwithstanding the fact that the primary source could also be biased, sometimes a person may be influenced by his belief

In attempting to explicate the use of primary sources, according to Modise:

I use both primary and secondary sources and learners compare sources, for example, how does source A support Source B, how does source A relate to Source B and so forth they have such questions. There are many examples of this type of question in the textbooks. I use both the

primary and secondary sources. I use a lot of sources from textbooks and previous question papers.

In outlining the importance of primary sources, Masina asserts that:

primary sources assist the historians to extract, identify and analyse, they give insight into the past, they reveal the people's attitude and emotion, they were made by people who were involved in the event as they happened. Primary sources help to develop knowledge based on the evidence.

At this level, using sources, Modise is supported by Masina, who indicated that learners were immersed in the analysis of sources. Modise indicated that learners were asked to compare sources in the classroom and there were plenty of examples of this approach in textbooks that he was using. Masina also indicated the engagement of learners in comparisons of sources. Both Modise and Masina claimed to apply corroboration of sources in order ascertain the validity of information. Corroboration is one of the heuristics distilled by Wineburg and Seixas in their attempt to explicate the cognitive framework of analysing sources. According to Masina, he compares sources that are based on the same events.

When you read the textbook, I use different textbooks, if something you will realise the story has been rewritten in a particular way, totally different from the primary sources. The interpretation may not be accurate, it depends whether the textbook writers use the primary sources or he wrote it from his own perspective. I show my learners the difference between primary and secondary sources. I form debate groups and say to learners, how do you see the events as they see them in the textbooks and in the primary sources?

Modise has emphasised the use of primary sources in the teaching of history, but he has also warned that primary sources are not always reliable. He emphasises that,

a primary source can sometimes be biased, if somebody is not reporting objectively, trying to sort of influence the viewer to adopt a particular view or approach, you can see the person is talking from one perspective, which point of view is he talking from whether capitalist or communist and why he is not giving the other side and this is why you try and check whether the person is biased or not.

Moemi agrees with the cognitive importance of primary sources. He has already alluded to primary narratives that are provided by elders in a community and that this has the capacity to represent elements of reality of the past historical events. According to Moema:

The idea is to give as close as to the historical event is a source that leads to a different conclusion. Here we are not only speaking about pictures and this includes the speeches like the speech by Martin Luther King, he said it in front of the people and it is a fair reflection of the fact. The witness account may be subjective to a certain extent because the onlooker may have a certain relationship with the event.

Moemi used the public broadcaster, SABC as an example of a broadcaster that is associated with the ruling party which would present the story of Marikana in order to advance the political interests of the ruling party. However, he said, ENCA news channel, which is independent, is likely to present an accurate account of the Marikana incidents. Moemi and Modise did not contest the naming of the incident as the “Marikana Massacre” by the opposition parties and independent media such as ENCA and this was perhaps indicative of their opposition and judgmental attitude towards the ruling party’s handling of the Marikana incident. There has been a contest between the ruling party, opposition parties and media about the naming of the incident. The incident is not prescribed but it can be useful historical source for internalising the idea of primary sources in students, because it has generated many perspectives.

5.2.3 Empathy in history: What do you consider to be the role of empathy in the study of history?

For teachers and learners to be able to display historical thinking they need to situate the historical events in the time and place where they took place in order to avoid using the presentism standards to judge the people of the past. In exploring the conceptions of teachers, three teachers were asked about the meaning of empathy and its importance, the following responses were observed.

According to Modise:

Empathy is important, you need to put yourself in the situation, where maybe the people who lived in the period you are studying you can put yourself in their roles, if it was me how was I going to react? So that you understand why people reacted in a particular way.

Moemi asserts that:

I can be wrong but I equate empathy with sentiment where people can empathise with certain events because they relate somehow with those events.

Masina asserts that:

empathy has to do with the feelings of the people of the past and it is an important historical skill. Mary, it is putting you in the shoes of the people of the past.

Moemi clarified his definition of empathy by providing numerous examples of what he considers empathy to be. At the beginning he appeared to indicate that “you empathise with people you are connected with”, meaning that you cannot empathise with those that you are not connected with. However, he clarified this confusion by providing examples. According to Moemi:

if we speak about the TRC, I personally never lost anybody specifically that relates to me but I have empathised with the victims as they relate their stories. Those who lost their loved ones and how different the TRC could have handled the situation. If you do not cut yourself out of the situation, if you as a historian who want to understand what happened between a historian who is investigating what happen between Botha and Mandela they cannot help but empathise with one of them and the situation around them.

Moemi went on to describe the situation of PW Botha, the president of Apartheid South Africa, known as *die Groot Krokodil* (Big Crocodile) who designed the total onslaught in order to destroy communists or all protests in the townships which were classified as communist activities. It was during his regime that many of the youth were killed and some went into exile to join the liberation forces. He was also the President who started negotiations with Mandela. In describing PW Botha’s regime and how he engaged learners in empathy, Moemi indicates that:

I tell my learners that when this man came up with total onslaught we came with total strategy, it was propaganda to a certain extent. If you look at the pressure that he got from the national party, the pressure that he got from outside and the availability of communism in Mozambique and Angola you cannot shy away from empathising with him, he was telling the truth about the fact that communism was closer to South Africa than ever before.

Moemi, who belongs to the African community, teaching in a rural school where the students come from a rural background and are poor because of apartheid, is able to put his emotions and anger aside and empathise with the man who was considered to have caused the South African nation to bleed during the battle between the youth and soldiers in the township. He looks at the circumstances that encouraged him or forced him to take the action he took, or whether he was in control of the situation, or whether there was an ideology that he needed to maintain in the face of opposition to domination of the minority. The extent to which the threat of communism close to the borders of South Africa propelled him to intensify the battle against the ANC and MK in the cross-border raids and the attacks by the SADF on the neighbouring countries, all these were done in the name of protecting the Afrikaner nation against the Stalinists that had wreaked havoc in Hungary, Poland, the Ukraine and other Eastern European countries. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola and Mozambique and the visit by Joseph Stalin in Southern

Africa, may all have radicalised the apartheid state to use the army to dismantle everything that was associated with communism. When using the criteria adapted from Seixas, and comparing Moemi to other teachers, he displayed a powerful conception of empathy and provided an appropriate example that was in line with the criteria of displaying empathy, formulated by Wineburg (2001), Seixas and Morton (2013) and others.

Modise provided insight and knowledge about empathy and he seemed to understand the concept well but he could not demonstrate it in the classroom. He also did not provide adequate examples of empathy and therefore displayed a moderate knowledge of empathy. As for the last teacher, there was a minimal display and articulation of empathy and it appeared that they seemed to associate empathy with emotions only and not with the activities of the past. For example, Masina wanted learners to empathise with Steve Biko when he was ill-treated in prison. Of course students would sympathise with him because he was part of the struggle against apartheid. He wanted students to empathise with him and to indicate how he felt when he was ill-treated in prison.

However, in the three lessons observed, where Moemi taught the Russian revolution and the Vietnam War, there were opportunities to engage learners in empathy. His lesson was focused on the content about the Russian revolution and also on the causes of the Vietnam War. He relied on the narrative and sources from the textbooks which were insufficient to provide an environment to deal with either empathy or the aspects of causation in the history.

In terms of the display of the analysis of sources by Moemi and Modise in respect of the Marikana incidents, there was evidence of elements of *sourcing* where they questioned the positions of witnesses such as the police, government officials, workers and journalists and attempted to rank the sources. Moemi considered journalists to be able to provide a fair reflection of the events because they appeared to be neutral and indeed, compared to all sources, it was the independent media which was less attached to the event and their account was most likely to be accurate. However, the independent media also has an agenda against the government and therefore their interpretation could be considered tentative. They did not venture to engage in *corroboration* of evidence and seemed to dismiss all other evidence as biased. In addition, they did not display elements of *contextualisation* of events in order to understand the reasons for the different interpretations of the Marikana incidents.

5.3 WHAT ARE THE CONCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY?

Three teachers articulated the methodologies that are suitable for teaching historical skills. They also indicated constraints in implementing these methods. According to Moemi, he was able to teach both content and skills but his teaching was influenced by the bureaucracy. He asserts that:

Yes, teaching is a balancing act and sometimes I move away from the norm by teaching learners the skills specifically, that's why, by bringing methods such as group discussions and debate, so that I shy away from what this government is expecting from me. You will have to keep the balance otherwise your learners would answer the questions at the end of the year but they would never understand what you were trying to achieve throughout the year.

Moemi further states that:

The curriculum programme does not allow us to teach the skills and no question tries to test skills when you look at the source-based questions and essays but it does not provide room for the teaching of the skills. It is just content, content and content. It is content-based and content-driven.

Modise on the other hand was at pains to indicate that he was willing to engage learners in class but there were obstacles and he explained the situation:

We are encouraged by the new curriculum to engage learners more but you come to class and you ask a question, and the learners just look at you. We try as much as we can to encourage them to sit on their work and you know today's learners are not into reading and this does not allow them to improve their knowledge and vocabulary.

Modise further stipulates other impediments:

At the moment, I am able to teach what I want learners to know, but time is limited. I have to complete the syllabus in June, the content is not huge but there is no time. I do not think the content is too much, the problem is time. If you are expected in six months to complete a year's work, then you need to jump some themes and you can then undermine sequence and chronology which is important in the study of history.

According to Masina:

The best method of teaching history is through the usage of historical sources, by engaging learners in interrogating, analysing them, integrating and evaluating those sources. Sometimes

learners analyse the sources in groups and sometimes as individuals. The dominant method of teaching in front of the class is leading, facilitating and guiding the learners because the time is limited and we want to complete the syllabus in preparation for common tests.

He acknowledged the dominance of the authoritarian method when the teacher is mostly the generator of knowledge. He attributed this to control and coverage. However, he emphasised that most of the engagement of learners involved comparison of sources, interrogation of the evidence and interpretation. He also utilised debates to engage learners in historical activities.

There are aspects of doing history and knowledge construction activities such as debates, group discussions and analysis of sources by learners which fall within the social constructivist framework of knowledge construction and the framework of doing history developed by Seixas and Morton (2013) and Wineburg (2001). All three teachers believed in the active participation of learners and the engagement of learners in group discussions, debates and in analysing sources. However, no one mentioned the importance of establishing the beliefs of students in terms of the discipline of history and there was no mention of knowledge construction, active and cooperative learning or dialogical learning approach. Moemi and Masina attributed the limited participation of learners to time constraints and to preparation of learners for standardised examination. Modise attributed limited participation to learners' language inabilities and to their lack of commitment.

There is no adequate articulation of the cognitive process of *sourcing*, *collaboration* and *corroboration* as articulated by Wineburg (2001) and Seixas and Morton (2013). Although teaching is based on the analysis of primary sources, there was no evidence of elements of sourcing and collaboration. There was limited evidence of the use some elements of corroboration of sources by Modise and Masina but it was not adequate because they could not articulate the reasons for comparing sources and they did not indicate why sources were similar in some instances and why they differed. This was clear evidence of the superficial engagement of learners in source-based activities which was mostly based on the straightforward extraction of the sources and questioning the authority and trustworthiness of the sources.

5.4 WHAT ARE THE TEACHERS' CONCEPTIONS OF CRITICAL THINKING AND HOW ARE THEY RELATED TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY?

Three teachers' epistemological beliefs about critical thinking and how it related to the discipline of history provided three conceptions. According to Modise, "critical thinking was not a process of swallowing the information as it came, but it had to do with questioning, taking a line of argument and supporting it, and

drawing conclusions based on evidence". Moemi conceptualised critical thinking as a process, "when learners were taught to think for themselves they should be able to analyse, interpret and explain and would be able to compare the reigns of Shaka, the king of the AmaZulu and Moshoeshoe, the King of the Basotho and would be able to apply multi-perceptivity in analysing historical events". Masina's view about critical thinking was that "it was a type of thinking that cut across and beyond the prescription and prescribed rules, the ability to see facts as part of a larger system of thinking, and the thinker should not be confined to a particular territory of thinking". He regarded critical thinking as a "borderless country where learners and teachers should think beyond the boundary".

The conceptions of Modise and Moemi are located within elements of historical thinking because they encompass historical skills such as asking questions about the information, interpreting the evidence and supporting the argument with sufficient evidence, multiple perspectives about historical events, evaluation and comparison of information. On the other hand, Masina was more generic and his response did not locate his thinking within the elements of the discipline. What is common between Moemi and Modise is that they are grounded in the discipline of history and both had acquired a Bachelor of Arts in Education while Masina only obtained a diploma. Most of the teachers in South Africa who hold the diploma are considered weak on academic content and strong on methodology and this can be the reason for his response.

In support of his conception of critical thinking Modise, mentions:

Sources such as cartoons, written sources and oral sources, primary and secondary sources that enhance the teaching of critical thinking". He indicated the importance of eye-witness accounts to provide first-hand information of what had happened and he asserted that "in primary sources, the person who provides the evidence, is the person who was an onlooker of the events and the learners should know that the onlooker could be biased because learners should establish what caused the onlooker to be biased, or he may be fair. A critical thinker uses skills of analysing sources or evidence, skills that are almost equivalent to those that were used by a detective, journalist or judge.

Modise continued to articulate the role of the historian in establishing the trustworthiness of sources and this was how he saw that the elements of history could enhance critical thinking. This relates to the standards of critical thinking such as accuracy, relevance, depth, width and precision and these standards are used by historians when analysing sources within a framework such as sourcing, corroboration and contextualising developed by Wineburg (2001) and Seixas and Morton (2013).

According to Moemi, when learners compare Shaka to Moshoeshoe they need to be careful not to be misled by textbooks. He believed that although Shaka was a tyrant, he was also a diplomat and could be compared to Moshoeshoe who was well known for his diplomacy and his clever war tactics. In other words, Moemi believed that when learners display critical thinking, they need to explore multiple perspectives about Shaka and Moshoeshoe and the one-sided interpretation of Shaka and Moshoeshoe should be considered as tentative until sufficient evidence has been achieved. This is the attribute of a critical thinker and historian, both wait for evidence before passing judgment. He believed that:

Historians had misrepresented Shaka's rule" and maintained that "learners should change their interpretation in the event of new evidence that was brought to light about Shaka's diplomacy. Learners needed to understand concepts such as validity, authenticity, bias, usefulness and justification in order to understand the question that was posed to them and to be able to respond accordingly.

Moemi expressed a healthy scepticism which was an indication of historical thinking and critical thinking. By so doing he was indirectly calling for intellectual flexibility and open-mindedness on the part of learners to accommodate new evidence. His concept of critical thinking is rooted in the discipline of history. Critical thinking requires a fair-minded intellectual judgment supported by evidence and the discipline also requires a balanced interpretation that is supported by evidence. However, in history the interpretation may still be considered to be subjective even though it is supported by evidence because of multiple realities embraced by post-modernism and this is the difference between history and critical thinking.

Moemi's scepticism about the adequacy of the evidence and his pursuit of multiple perspectives were demonstrated in the example of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which he identified as a controversial topic and which was appropriate for fostering critical thinking. According to him:

There were many people who were affected by the TRC but were left outside the process. There were stories that were being told outside the TRC which had not been recorded and heard during the TRC process. Learners could express divergent views regarding the outcome of the TRC and would not agree with the opinion that it had united the people of South Africa because there were many victims of apartheid whose stories had not been told.

This particular assertion by Moemi had an element of social history where official records did not tell the whole story. A historian willing to reconstruct the TRC events would have to use oral sources to complement the documentary evidence which was considered to be incomplete. Scepticism was demonstrated by the teacher about the inadequacy of the evidence and the need to dig deeper and even consult oral sources, and this was the task of the critical thinker and the historian. The need to write

history from below emerged from Moemi's articulation of critical thinking. The teacher articulated the epistemology of the discipline in a practical way. He emphasised the fact that if a historian was not content with textual evidence he needed to consult oral evidence, and this is a demonstration of disciplinary knowledge of enquiry where evidence is analysed to identify gaps.

According to Masina:

Learners should identify differences and similarities in sources of information, and critique opinions by using facts to support their position. Learners should empathise by putting themselves in the minds of other people and should be able to make judgments and inferences supported by sufficient evidence. Learners should be engaged in reasoning by allowing them to undertake enquiry about social issues in their area, which may include politics such as local political protests. They should be open-minded by agreeing or disagreeing with the viewpoints and learners should tolerate different views and control their emotions during debates.

Masina mentioned the analysis of sources which is critical in the study of history. When learners identify similarities and differences they are engaged in corroboration of the evidence. He does not, however, explain how and why learners identify the similarities and differences. He then mentions empathy and he also does not reflect depth in dealing with sources and in the display of empathy, compared to Modise who explained it as intricacies faced by the historical account and the eye witness who can also be biased and also Moemi who criticised the interpretation of Shaka and Moeshoeshoe's actions from only one point of view. The two have demonstrated some depth in historical knowledge compared to Masina.

Masina articulated aspects of teaching methodology better than aspects of the discipline and asserted that:

learners had a lot of energy and were knowledgeable and could assist with the teaching by providing suggestions as to how a particular topic could be handled. Teachers should encourage learners, building their confidence, and commending them when they have done well. Teachers should use different teaching methodologies in order to make their lessons attractive to all learners. Some methods would enable more learners to participate while others may include only a few participants and if one used one method only, the consequences of that approach would be that some learners may be left out of the lessons for ever.

He located critical thinking more in the teaching methodology and to some extent managed to articulate the intellectual traits of critical thinking such as encouragement, perseverance and humility which are critical in creating a good teaching environment.

In terms of the data collected throughout the interviews, Moemi and Modise appeared to the strongest, in the epistemology of the discipline such as multiple perspectives, analysis of primary sources to corroborate evidence in order to avoid bias and to provide balanced perspectives. Masina articulated traits that relate to the motivation of learners in the classroom and he appeared to be strong when it came to teaching methodology because of his college background. Moemi and Modise revealed a certain degree of the scepticism that needed to be demonstrated by a student of history, and Moemi demonstrated this through his handling of the TRC topic during the interview.

5.5 HOW DOES EPISTEMOLOGICAL BELIEF ABOUT TEACHING HISTORY AFFECT TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES IN THE CLASSROOM?

Three teachers were observed in the classroom to ascertain how they teach elements of historical thinking such as analysis of primary sources, interpretation, the issues of objectivity, empathy and critical thinking. The section would also present the congruency between conceptions about teaching history and the actual teaching practice demonstrated by teachers in class. Aspects of teaching of history or doing history including evidence of pedagogical content knowledge were explored.

Masina

Masina was a very enthusiastic teacher who engaged in research for more relevant information to complement the generic or superficial knowledge of the political history of South Africa and the world, with documentaries that solicited the voices of the victims of the Russian revolution and Stalin's brand of totalitarianism. He developed the habit of enquiry driven by his epistemological curiosity to search for more information and this habit had made him discontented with the generic body of knowledge provided by the textbook, and encouraged him to search for more information from different perspectives, even from the victims of the war. This is an incredible disposition that needs to be cultivated by learners.

In his first lesson he presented the differences between communism and capitalism which he utilised to provide background information for the teaching of the war in Vietnam which was at the crossroads of the cold war between Russia and the United States of America. The United States, according to him, were well known for airstrikes while the Russians were known for their ground troops. The United States of America were concerned about the spread of communism in Eastern Europe and resolved to embark on a policy of containment. The teacher provided documents that contained information about the differences between communism and capitalism as well as the advantages and disadvantages of each.

He introduced the lesson well and learners were enthusiastic in their participation. It was clear that learners' participation in this class was the norm and this was evidenced by the vigorous and courageous show of hands by a substantial number of learners when a question was posed for learners to explain the differences between capitalism and communism.

He posed a question as follows: How are we going to know whether Cuba will support the USSR or the USA? It was a very complicated question and it was not precise and accurate enough and clearly demonstrated the need to improve his questioning skills. It would have been appropriate if the question had been posed in this manner: What would be the reasons for Cuba to support either the USA or the USSR? The question was, however, understood by learners and many were interested in responding to the question. From the responses by those learners who spoke, it was clear that they had background knowledge about the cold war which they had acquired in Grade 11. He was creative in introducing the two concepts namely, the policy of containment and brinkmanship, to learners in a captivating manner. He asked the learners what the term "containment" meant and they quickly indicated that it was "a policy of the USA to stop the spread of communism in the Eastern European countries". He requested learners to provide evidence of the policy of containment and they indicated the "Truman doctrine", which was propaganda to discourage the Eastern European states from joining the Soviet Union and the "Marshal plan", an economic policy designed to boost the economy of the Eastern European countries to resist the spread of communism. It was clear that learners understood the cold war and the content articulated by the learners and the teacher was accurate, precise and relevant.

There were some elements of banking education in which the teacher dominated the lesson but this traditional teaching happened prior to the presentation of the model for critical thinking. I believe that the teacher's ability to teach in an environment that encouraged participation by learners provided the model of critical thinking with a suitable ground for cultivating it in the lesson, compared to the conservative, authoritarian approach demonstrated by other teachers.

In the second lesson, Masina focused on the "Causes and effects of the Vietnam War". He used the World Cup Soccer spectacular as an introduction and compared it to a war. The introduction was precise and managed to elicit curiosity from learners. He gave the example of Spain as the country that had won the world cup and Brazil which was hosting the world cup in June 2014 and asked learners a question as to who was better placed between Spain and Brazil to win the 2014 world cup. Some learners indicated that, "It is Brazil because it will have home advantage" and others indicated that, "It is Spain because of their experience". Then Spain and Brazil were compared with the United States (US) and Vietnam in the factors leading to the Vietnam War. The teacher indicated that the US was the strongest country in the

world in terms of military power while Vietnam was poor in terms of military resources but could gain victory due to home advantage because the battle was fought in Vietnam. The lesson was very exciting and learners were invigorated by this captivating introduction to the lesson. His lesson reflected elements of narrative such as using the soccer spectacular as metaphor and there were elements of reconstruction of the historical events by the teacher, but this was done in a creative manner in collaboration with learners who participated effectively.

Then the video was shown and learners witnessed the deployment of US troops in Vietnam, who arrived by military aircraft. The video revealed how the Americans ill-treated the Vietnamese. Americans used airstrikes and killed ordinary people, women and children, and the Vietnamese troops embarked on a guerilla war, using a tactical strategy that involved attack and retreat. The strategy was congruent with the military strength of the Vietnamese. The US used napalm, a dangerous chemical substance, to destroy the Vietnamese but the Vietnamese nevertheless withstood the onslaught and many US troops were killed by the Vietnamese guerrillas. After the video had been shown, the teacher then displayed the causes and effects on a data projector. Learners were able to interact with the lesson and they participated effectively.

Some of the causes he displayed included the following: ideological differences, the US's policy of containment and the communist north attempting to take over the capitalist south. The teacher explained each cause and attempted to show how it had contributed to the war. However, he did not engage learners in terms of evaluating the degree of impact of each cause to enable learners to judge whether this was a major or minor cause of the war. The learners could have used their background knowledge gained in the first lesson when they explored the ideological differences between communism and capitalism and some would have inferred that the cold war was the major cause because of the policy of containment. In addition, most of the causes mentioned related to the ideological war between capitalism and communism. He lost an opportunity to engage learners in debate about the causes. This was an opportunity missed for learners to engage in intellectual labour and robust discourse which would be suitable for the inculcation of elements of reasoning. However, the lesson demonstrated a significant improvement in the quality of teaching and it represented progress in comparison to the first lesson.

Although Masima's lesson was vibrant and learners participated effectively, he did not reflect sufficient disciplinary knowledge. His conception of empathy as articulated earlier was related to emotions. He seems to confuse sympathy with empathy and he expects students to empathise with the Vietnamese and not with the Americans. The teachers encouraged learners to pass moral judgment on the United States troops as cruel and this was the imposition of presentism on the conditions and circumstances that

led to the war which were not fully explored. There were issues of containment and the domino effect that influenced the attack on Vietnam. The extension of the Soviet Union in the Eastern European countries and using their economies to fight the war was not explored and learners used their emotions and sympathised with the Vietnamese because they associated their apartheid experiences with the experience of the Vietnamese. However, the textbooks and teacher did not earmark the topic for the teaching of empathy but for cause and effect. Learners and teachers nevertheless displayed their sympathy with the Vietnamese.

In his third lesson, Masina focused on the Congo and Tanzania and indicated the two countries on the map which showed that they were neighbours. The teacher indicated the social and political aspects of the two countries. He then decided to focus on one country, the Congo. His focus was on “factors leading to nationalism in the Congo”. The learners were asked to read a particular paragraph which indicated that the Congo had been colonised by Belgium and that it had gained independence in 1960. He then brought the despicable conditions that were created by the Belgian government in the Congo to the attention of learners. He indicated that colonialism had brought the politics of the cold war to Africa. The learners were asked to refer to their books and they read that “the Congolese were ill-treated and the Belgium rule was harsh”. He asked the question whether the Congolese should have kept quiet when they were being oppressed. The learners responded in a chorus, indicating that “there was a need for change”. He asked who should benefit from change and the learners indicated that change should benefit the poor, meaning the Congolese. He asked a question whether there was a need for change in South Africa. One learner responded by indicating that “with the introduction of democracy there are visible changes and the conditions of the blacks have improved and they are now equal with their white counterparts”. This view was vehemently opposed by another learner, who indicated that “blacks are poor and whites are still controlling the economy” and this point of view was supported by other learners. I realised that these learners were superior to the learners in other schools and I kept on enquiring whether they came from the local semi-suburban residents, but I was reminded that the school was a no-fee school and that middle-class parents took their children to town, with the exception of those who had confidence in the abilities of the local teachers. The teaching method of the teacher was based on active participation by learners and he was a passionate teacher, but he fell short of the teaching of disciplinary knowledge. His line of questioning encouraged learners to impose presentism onto the history of Belgium Congo. He used rhetoric to incite learners against the Belgians and he compared the oppression of the Belgians with that of apartheid and learners transferred their anger against apartheid to the Belgians. The killing of Patrice Lumumba was associated by some with the killing of Steve Biko, and this caused learners to be bitter.

In the fourth lesson Masina used the learners to prepare for a talk show where five members of a panel were hosted by a chairperson. The panelist included the president of the Congo, Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, a Congolese citizen, a Congolese journalist and a Belgian representative. The debate centred on unity, independence, a one-party state and a multi-party state, the economy of the Congo, and education. This topic was appropriate for fostering critical thinking because it represented a controversy. Some of the panel members advocated for a completely independent and unitary state under one party, but the Belgian representative favoured an independent federal state comprising of regional parties being given partially independent status. The federal system would enable Belgium to work independently with the regions but Patrice Lumumba advocated a unitary state under one party and wanted the Belgians to stop interfering in the affairs of the country. Belgium wanted to triumph over a divided Congo in order to continue controlling the minerals located in the Katanga and Kasai regions and the Belgian representative accused the Africans of being lazy and prone to violence. He motivated Belgium's involvement in the Congo as creating peace and ensuring that there was no civil war while the unitary system proposed by Lumumba was leading the country to civil war, according to the Belgian Ambassador.

The discourse included the controversy around the African version of democracy as described by African leaders such as Julius Nyerere, that Africa needed one-party states as opposed to multi-party democracies as practised in South Africa. Many ethnic groups and parties were developed along ethnic lines and it was possible to have a divided Congo. Learners engaged with this topic in heated debate, demonstrating different perspectives on this controversial topic. Some believed that a one-party state at national level with regional parties represented on a proportional basis would make a peaceful and united democratic Congo. Others advocated a multi-party democracy which was established in the same format as that in South Africa, but others contested this, maintaining that multi-party democracy in a divided Congo would result in civil war. Some learners argued that a coalition was not a solution either, because it might cause a civil war where two ethnic groups could conspire against one another, and this could lead to the unfair distribution of wealth among the dominant ethnic groups as was the case in most African countries.

The discourse was very heated and learners demonstrated some robust arguments, selecting relevant information from the textbooks and primary sources in the textbooks in order to support their line of argument. In this lesson learners displayed the feelings of animosity towards Belgium and there were insufficient relevant sources to provide context which would explain the actions taken by Belgium. Belgians were seen as a foreign force which oppressed the local people and were just interested in taking their minerals. The debate had the capacity to bring a balanced perspective but very limited information was provided by the Belgian Ambassador. The Ambassador clearly stipulated the role played by Belgium

in maintaining peace, supporting education but more participants were on the side of the Congolese and learners sympathised with the Congolese and Patrice Lumumba. This was also because of the teacher's love of the Africanist perspective which was present during the lessons to demonstrate how powerful Lumumba was and the fact that he was killed made learners see Belgium as the enemy of Africans in the same light as the British and Afrikaners who came from Europe to dispossess the land and minerals of the African people in South Africa and therefore learners sympathised with the Congolese.

Moemi

Moemi presented his first lesson which was based on "The economic, political and social causes of revolution" and the lesson was taught to a Grade 11 class. He defined the "revolution" as a "change" which was needed by the peasants and the working class. There was a need to clarify the concept of revolution which was more than the word "change", but it was a process of bringing changes that sought to improve the living conditions of the impoverished communities. His presentation was vibrant and he seemed to enjoy teaching history and possessed the required subject knowledge. He was epistemologically grounded in the discipline of history. He was very accommodating in his classroom and learners appeared excited about his teaching.

His teaching was based on Stolypin's land reform (1906-17), which included measures undertaken by the Russian government to allow peasants to own land individually. Its aim was to encourage industrious peasants to acquire their own land, and ultimately to create a class of successful small farmers that would stabilise the countryside and support the autocracy. According to the teacher, Stolypin modernised agriculture and this resulted in the emergence of rich peasants called the Kulaks. The majority of peasants who had access to land did not have the experience and the skill to utilise the land and were eventually unsuccessful and had to migrate to the towns. This resulted in urbanisation which came with its own social ills such as unemployment, crime, and shortage of housing. Later there was discontent among those that were unemployed and some of the peasants found work and were transformed into the working class.

In his second lesson, Moemi followed a group-discussion approach. He focused on the Vietnam War and he taught a Grade 12 class which was different to the first lesson where he taught Grade 11. He formulated thought-provoking questions on Vietnam and provided sources for learners to attempt to answer those questions. Learners were given 15 minutes to explore the sources and engage in group discussion with fellow learners. There were five groups and each group was given a single question on the Vietnam War. One of the questions that he posed to the group was: Was it necessary for the US to be

involved in the war with Vietnam? The question was challenging, relevant and precise and was formulated in accessible language. Each group presented their response to the question and the whole class was involved across groups and was further propelled by probing questions, seeking to elicit more evidence from the class. Groups were also allowed to ask questions. Formulating questions invokes a high level of thinking and also shows that learners are part of the classroom discourse. This time he did not attempt to answer questions posed by his learners but allowed the questions to be answered by other learners and used the responses to ask probing questions which were intended to engage learners in intellectual depth. The teams participated effectively and learners responded by engaging with the sources and deliberating effectively about the reliability of the sources. There was a great improvement in his second lesson compared to the first lesson in which he was satisfied with short responses.

In his third lesson Moemi resolved to ask learners to demonstrate various activities that included two talk-shows designed to provide adequate opportunities for learners to demonstrate their understanding of the suffering of Russian women. The first activity was a radio show in which a professor from the Department of Education was interviewed by a radio presenter. The second activity was another talk show with four panel members representing various leaders of Russian activists for women's rights, and the last activity was a classroom taught by a teacher affecting a Nigerian accent. Learners were engaged in all these activities and I was told by the teacher that the preparation had been done by learners and that these activities had been initiated by learners. In the first activity where the professor was interviewed, there was an audience that was given the opportunity to ask questions which were answered by the professor. The professor had written a book on the suffering of Russian women.

The professor was asked to explain his book and how he went about publishing it. He explained that it was difficult to get this book published. He indicated that "South Africa and Russia do not differ much regarding the treatment of women, and women were oppressed in both countries". The talk show was interesting and some learners asked questions about the treatment of women and the professor provided appropriate responses. This particular talk show demonstrated the learners' understanding of historical knowledge and concepts. It also gave the learners an opportunity to ask questions which was an essential skill in terms of developing the critical attitude of figuring something out. The level of questioning could be improved but learners were given an opportunity which they had been denied under the authoritarian teaching approach.

In these activities women's rights were articulated, including their right to vote, own property and be treated equally with men. The important duties of women were highlighted, such as raising children, cooking and being subservient to their men. The learners also compiled songs about women and used

South African slogans to express their unhappiness about the treatment of Russian women. The importance of these activities was that learners were given the opportunity to express their opinions and question the opinions of others. Learners managed to pose questions and critical thinking entailed figuring something out, using questions. Although there were no moments of robust debate, learners were provided with opportunities to demonstrate the elements of reasoning.

In his fourth lesson, Moemi prepared for a debate in a Grade 11 class which was centred on the topic, “Who was the greater leader, Stalin or Lenin?” and learners were well prepared for this discourse. Moemi allowed one of the learners to chair the session. The debate did not follow a conventional approach but there was a high degree of flexibility where panel members were allowed to speak more than once and the audience, who were members of the class, were allowed to participate by asking questions, commenting and supporting a particular perspective. The result was that more learners were drawn into the debate. The debate commenced with the pro-Lenin group launching a scathing attack on Stalin’s reputation, describing him as a monster, a totalitarian who caused the death of millions of people and caused the forced removal of people to labour camps and death camps and was also accused of killing Trotsky, who was his revolutionist friend. Conversely, Lenin was portrayed as gentle, peaceful and a diplomat who married his wife while in prison, and who demonstrated his love for his family. In the process the group compared him with Stalin who caused his wife to commit suicide. Lenin was described as a democratic leader who had the ability to negotiate and who was also flexible, because when he realised that “war communism” was not working, he introduced the New Economic Policy. In response, the other group defended Stalin by indicating that when he was in power there was free education, free health care and that millions of people were employed. This group attacked Lenin, indicating that during his tenure as the Russian leader people were poor and there was a civil war. The team also mentioned the fact the Stalin was brave and led Russia during the Second World War. Stalin was the first to reach Berlin, and this caused Hitler to commit suicide. They indicated that these were signs of a great leader. The debate was robust and centred on the two boys who were supported by a few girls. There was a boy on the side of Stalin who was very proficient and managed to present a logical and persuasive argument in favour of Stalin. The boy on the other side and some others were let down by poor language proficiency but managed to put their points across.

Modise

Modise’s first lesson was based on the Russian revolution taught to the Grade 11 class. He focused on the role played by the provisional government led by Kerensky in accelerating the end of the Mensheviks’ rule. He used an examination style of teaching by providing questions and sources to learners. He moved

from one question to another. The answers to questions were hard to come by but he persisted in asking questions until learners managed to provide some answers that were irrelevant at times, but close to the correct answer. When an irrelevant answer was provided he would ask other learners whether they agreed and this was a good strategy, but he was let down by his learners who were very quiet, with some faces showing incomprehension while denoting a serious attempt to think deeply in order to answer a simple question which was based on the source of information placed before them. He asked the question why the provisional government had failed to exercise full control. The question took a long time to be answered despite the fact that it was based on the sources that he had provided. The interaction between the teacher and learners was not effective. The learners were not prepared for this lesson or they had not read the sources prior to the lesson presentation.

The second lesson presented by Modise was supposed to reflect the elements, standards and traits of critical thinking. The lesson was based on “Ideas that influenced the independence of Africa” and these included democracy, one-party state, capitalism and African socialism. He opened the lesson by asking a question about the definition of democracy. One learner responded by indicating that “democracy is a process where everyone has a say in the running of the government” and another learner indicated that “it is government by the people”. The learners’ responses reflected the rhetoric about democracy but there was no in-depth demonstration of understanding of the concept of democracy.

The teacher taught the lesson in an authoritarian manner and in most cases he was narrating the ideas of African leaders such as Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah. He indicated to the class that according to Nkrumah, “importing multi-party democracy will bring violence to Africa and opposition parties will be regarded as traitors and opposition will divide the nation”. He continued to indicate that “the opposition will be considered as traitors and backstabbers by the majority of people”. He also indicated the assertion by Nkrumah that “the only dissenting voices during democracy will be from those who are irresponsible; they will abuse freedom of speech and the press”. He asked a question whether learners agreed with Nkrumah’s concept of democracy and he asked another question because learners were not responding: “Do you think having an opposition party is effective?” One learner responded by saying that “opposition parties are effective because if you are not delivering people will vote for another party”. He then asked a probing question: “How are people going to know that the ruling party is not delivering?” Another learner responded that “people will get the information through the media and people will know that the government is not delivering”. Another learner asserted that “opposition parties are keeping the ruling party on its toes”. Another indicated in very unclear language, “It is through another party to see to it that it corrects its mistake”. Another one opted to oppose the general view and indicated that “opposition parties are not effective because they are unable to overthrow the government because they are afraid of

investors". This was a demonstration of a dialogical approach but the learners' responses in the main were simplistic although they demonstrated potential, much against the perception and pessimism of the teacher who advanced the view that a dialogical approach would be difficult in his class because his learners were not proficient in the language of instruction. It was evident that if these learners were given the opportunity to articulate their thinking they were likely to acquire some elements of reasoning.

The third lesson presented by Modise was based on the "Source of African conflict in Africa and how each African leader dealt with this problem". He followed a source-based approach where a question was asked and learners were allowed to respond. He asked a question: What was the driving force behind all the conflict in Africa? There were two views. One view maintained that the conflict was caused by ethnic conflict, and another view asserted that the conflict was caused by the Europeans' intervention. But he went on to ask another question: Some African states replaced whites with blacks. Was this a problem? Learners responded that "this was a problem because whites were more skilled and knowledgeable than Africans" but another learner indicated that "this was positive because Africans would have something for themselves". He then asked another question: How did Nyerere solve the problem of conflict? Learners indicated that he introduced socialisation where there was free education and the country's resources were shared equally and this reduced conflict. Another learner indicated that Nyerere moved people to *Ujamaa* villages in order to allocate resources equally, while another learner indicated that he united the people by forming a one-party state. Another learner said that he introduced self-reliance as a nation-building project in order to unite the people. This approach was engaging to learners and a substantial number of learners were given an opportunity to speak and conflicting views were allowed in the lesson.

In the fourth lesson presented by Modise there was a steady migration away from the narrative approach to question and answer methods which were interactive. There were moments of narrating some of the historical events, but interaction was dominant. Despite the question-and-answer method he was not really engaging learners in a robust debate and as a result his learners were the weakest of all the classes in the three schools that were involved in this study. Their level of communication was also very low and this was caused by the domination of the lesson by the teacher and learners were not given opportunities to present their stories and experiences. In this lesson he focused on "The collapse of the Tanzanian economy" and "the advent of neocolonialism". He asked a question: What happened to Tanzania? Why did the Tanzanian economy collapse? Learners indicated that "Nyerere did not want foreign aid" and others mentioned that "there was no investment and therefore limited employment". Another learner indicated that "people were not happy to move to *Ujamaa* villages and wanted to remain at their homes where their ancestors were buried" and yet another learner indicated that "these families were forced by the soldiers to leave and when they arrived there they were not productive". Some

attributed the failure of Tanzania to poor skills and corruption. The teacher posed lower-order thinking questions and learners were not required to explain and present their own opinions which they needed to support with evidence, but provided relevant responses which were based on a simple recall of factual knowledge.

The teacher then moved to neocolonialism and he asked, “What is neocolonialism?” One learner responded by saying, “it is to control another country indirectly”, and the teacher provided the explanation and said that it was a process when the mines, businesses and economy were controlled by foreign countries. He then asked about the cause of neocolonialism and learners responded that “it was caused by lack of skills and money for investment and the need for industrialisation”. The teacher added that some governments invited foreign countries to invest in their countries. The tendency on the part of the teacher to provide answers to questions clearly showed that he had not moved completely out of the comfort zone of authoritarianism and he needed to ask questions that elicited curiosity. He should keep learners hanging by not providing answers but by demanding that learners search for answers on their own. There was evidence of a “dependency syndrome” developed by learners and this had a constraining influence on the implementation of a critical thinking model which required fair-minded, independent thought from learners. There was interaction in the classroom between the teacher and learners but it was superficial and based on factual knowledge. Historical understanding was not reflected.

The debate allowed multiple perspectives about Stalin. Some conceptualised him as a “monster” and others saw him as a powerful leader who improved the living conditions of the poor. Lenin was considered as a diplomat and others considered him as a poor leader who brought down the economy of Russia. The debate allowed learners to display multiple perspectives about the two leaders and this is a skill the historians use in order to present a balanced perspective on past historical events. There was consistency between the conception of multiple perspectives articulated by Moemi during the interview and his ability to bring this out in the classroom through a debate. Therefore Moemi managed in the fourth lesson to migrate from an authoritarian approach which was based on content to a dialogical, active and cooperative approach where learners were engaged in a robust debate to construct knowledge by challenging claims made about both Stalin and Lenin and this was similar to the concern that he raised about the one-sided perspectives about Shaka and Moshoeshoe.

The learners could sharpen their intellectual judgment if similar activities were designed for them to engage in intellectual labour. In this activity learners managed to choose a line of argument, select relevant facts and organise them logically. In the process they evaluated the validity of facts and usefulness of information that they presented in order to win the argument. They finally managed to draw

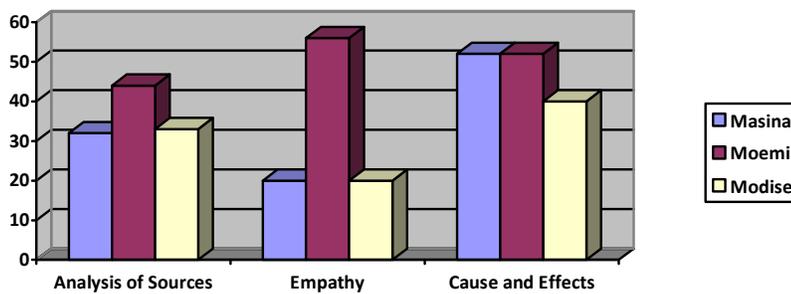
a valid conclusion supported by evidence. In these activities the elements, standards and traits of critical thinking were demonstrated by learners.

5.6 SUMMARY OF THE DISPLAY OF THE CONCEPTIONS OF HISTORICAL THINKING AND CRITICAL THINKING IN THE CLASSROOM

Figure. 5.1: Table and Graph illustrating the scores (Refer to Appendix B)

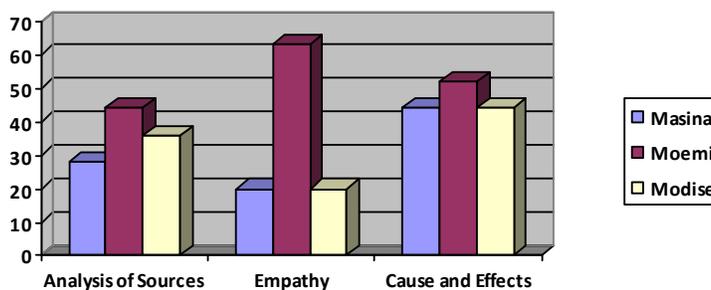
First Moderator Scores

Sampled teachers	Analysis of Sources	Empathy	Cause and Effects
Masina	32	20	52
Moemi	44	56	52
Modise	33	20	40



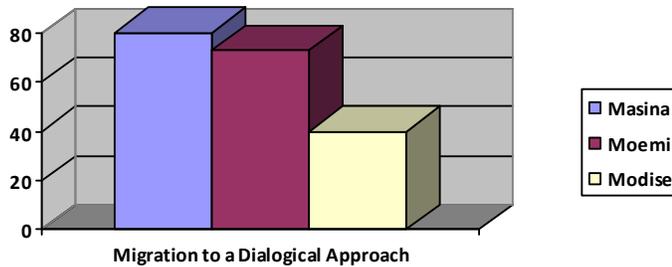
Second Moderator

Sampled teachers	Analysis of Sources	Empathy	Cause and Effects
Masina	28	20	44
Moemi	44	63	52
Modise	36	20	44



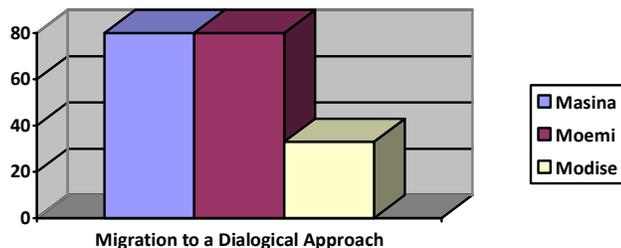
First Moderator

Sampled teachers	Migration to a Dialogical Approach
Masina	80
Moemi	73
Modise	40



Second Moderator

Sampled teachers	Migration to a Dialogical Approach
Masina	80
Moemi	80
Modise	33



Masina is a good teacher who utilises additional resources to supplement the textbooks and uses videos and some primary sources to support teaching and learning, his learners are effective in the classroom and he is also a good narrative teacher who is able to use metaphor and comparisons of events to make learners understand historical events. The active participation of learners is attributed to different methodologies used by the teacher as he articulated during the interviews. This is the reason he scored high on teaching methodology. The teacher displayed poor disciplinary knowledge compared to Moemi and Modise as articulated in the earlier section on conceptions of various elements of historical thinking. Masina scored very low on the teaching of empathy, analysis of sources and scored average on the teaching of cause and effect. The scores on cause and effect were bolstered by active participation of learners because he has the skills to involve learners in classroom discussion. However, as the scores from the two moderators indicate the elements of historical thinking were not displayed during his teaching and it was mainly content-driven, although learners participated effectively. His conception of history is dominated by elements of citizen education and he displayed very limited knowledge of historical thinking. As a result of this learners failed to demonstrate the differences between the world view prevalent today and those prevalent in the past. They wanted to use the standards of democracy in South Africa to judge the Congolese. Learners did not exercise caution when drawing on universal human

experience to understand historical actors. Learners failed to recognise differences among the perspectives of various people in the past and they only wanted to look at the history of the Congo from the perspective of the Congolese (Seixas, 2013).

In his first lesson Moemi was dominant and used mostly the narrative method of teaching which learners followed attentively in terms of what was taught, and participated whenever they were required to participate. The teaching was authoritarian and dominated by the teacher. In the second lesson he used group discussion and the participation of learners was effective and they contributed immensely to the classroom discourse. The approach also allowed all the learners to participate and those who did not raise their hands participated in the groups. Each group was allowed to present their responses. Questions were posed to the group and were assisted by members of the group and by the entire class. The lesson was based on primary sources taken from textbooks about the causes of the Vietnam War. In the third lesson the debate allowed multiple perspectives about Stalin. Some conceptualised him as a “monster” while others saw him as a powerful leader who improved the living conditions of the poor. Lenin was considered as a diplomat and others considered him as a poor leader who brought down the economy of Russia. The debate had the capacity to promote empathy. It was similar to the debate about Lincoln, whether he was a white supremacist or a great emancipator and learners were able to engage in discussion of different perspectives of a leader before passing judgment. The debate allowed learners to display multiple perspectives about the two leaders and this is a skill historians use in order to present a balanced perspective about past historical events.

There is consistency between the conceptions of multiple perspectives articulated by Moemi during the interview and his ability to bring this out in the classroom through a debate. He also displayed empathy when he gave the example of Mandela and Botha and his indication that learners should empathise with both leaders. By choosing to empathise with Botha he demonstrated his ability to deal with issues of empathy. This was demonstrated in the classroom in a debate between two groups about Stalin and Lenin. In the fourth lesson Moemi managed to migrate from an authoritarian approach which was based on the content-based approach to a dialogical, active and cooperative method where learners were engaged in a robust debate to construct knowledge by challenging claims made about both Stalin and Lenin. This is the reason he scored high on the migration to a dialogical approach. This was similar to the concern that he raised about the one-sidedness of perspectives about Shaka and Moshoeshoe. Moemi demonstrated the difference between presentism and beliefs of the people in the past. He located the perspectives in the historical context. He also scored higher than Masina and Modise on the display of empathy because he managed to articulate it and implement some of its aspects in the classroom.

With regard to cause and effect, these were read and listed by Masina and Moemi who presented these historical thinking concepts from the point of view of textbooks. The learners were given the opportunity to identify multiple short-term causes and long-term causes, rank the causes according to their influence but did not differentiate between intended and unintended consequences, and explored partially the actions of historical actors under the conditions at the time. The documentary was a combination of both primary and secondary sources and learners were able to corroborate the information in the textbooks. This is the reason they scored between moderate and average on the inculcation of the cause and effects.

Barton and Levstik (2003) attest to the fact that although the studies undertaken previously suggest that teachers need greater understanding of the interpretive nature of history, there is some reason to question whether sophisticated disciplinary understanding, even when combined with pedagogical knowledge, will have an impact on instruction. The possession of disciplinary knowledge has been considered to be inadequate and a teacher must be able to design a suitable methodology that would enable him or her to engage learners in historical thinking. These findings were evident in this study. Modise, who acquired his Bachelor's Degree at the University of Western Cape and who was grounded in some elements of historical thinking which he displayed during the interviews, could not reflect these elements in the classroom. In his responses to the interview questions, Modise articulated aspects of empathy, multiple perspectives, rigorous analysis of primary sources and his convincing views on objectivity in the study of history. His insight into disciplinary knowledge was not visible in the class. Although he used primary sources and secondary sources and question-and-answer methods, his lessons were authoritarian-based, and he presented lectures where he dominated the lessons. He indicated during the interviews that his methods were dictated by the poor participation of learners. It was observed that indeed there was poor participation and learners were not enthusiastic and had to be compelled by the teacher to respond. The questions that he asked using sources were repeated many times and some learners were getting it wrong despite the fact that the answer was in the source. The majority appeared rather vexed by the questions asked by the teacher. The level of proficiency of learners was very poor. These learners were very weak compared to learners taught by Moemi and Masina. The learners taught by Modise came from the rural areas and were the same as those taught by Moemi and Masina and they must have been let down by the school rather than by Modise alone. These findings about Modise and Moemi could be compared to those that were observed in the study undertaken by Stephanie van Hover and Elizabeth Yeager (cited in Barton & Levstik, 2003:249). They conducted a case study of a 2nd-year, high-school history teacher who had graduated from an intensive certification programme emphasising historical interpretation, inquiry, and the use of a variety of historical sources and perspectives. This teacher was considered one of the programme's strongest students, and she also held an undergraduate degree in history. In interviews, she demonstrated a clear understanding of

historical thinking and inquiry. She saw history as an interpretive discipline that involved contextualisation of actions and motivations, believed that history should be analysed from multiple perspectives, and thought the subject should be taught through inquiry exercises, problem-solving activities, debate, discussion, and cooperative learning. In all respects, this teacher's pedagogical content knowledge seemed exemplary. Her instruction, however, bore almost no resemblance to that knowledge (Barton & Levstik, 2003:250). Instead the teacher just lectured and did not display the sophisticated knowledge of the discipline that she had articulated during the interview and this was the case with Modise who acknowledged this and gave reasons for being unable to demonstrate his sophisticated knowledge of the discipline in class. Similar findings were observed in the study conducted by Bruce van Sledright. Van Sledright conducted a case study of an experienced secondary history teacher (a 16-year veteran of the classroom) who had just completed a doctorate in history. The doctoral graduate had developed sophisticated knowledge of the discipline and recognised the central role of interpretation in the creation of historical knowledge. But when the student was observed in the classroom, her teaching reflected little historical knowledge and students had few opportunities to engage with historical knowledge (cited in Barton & Levstik, 2003:249).

Masina claimed to engage learners in the comparison of sources but this was not observed during the presentation of the four lessons. What they displayed was just the transmission of factual knowledge based on the narrative from the textbook. Masina claimed that he used primary sources to challenge the validity of information presented in the textbook and this was demonstrated when a documentary was brought to the class where candidates could compare the information in the textbook and that which was in the video. However, Masina did not engage learners in this *corroboration* of evidence where he would have required the learners to identify similarities in the video and textbook and he therefore failed to engage learners in the *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* of sources while he had adequate sources to do so. This is the reason he scored low on the analysis of sources.

Although all teachers acknowledged the use of primary sources, there were very limited opportunities for learners to analyse sources. Learners in the classroom focused on the assimilation of the narrative of historians who wrote textbooks and there was limited focus on the reading of sources. There was no engagement of learners in the three heuristics developed by Wineburg (2001), namely, *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualization*, and these three heuristics reflect the modern conception of historical thinking. These were, however, not reflected during the interviews and during lesson presentations. The inhibiting factors were as follows: firstly, the textbooks contained both secondary and primary sources but primary sources were not fully acknowledged and there was limited information about the authors, date on which the source was produced and sources had been taken from other secondary sources. It was

difficult for these rural schools to utilise these sources effectively in order to determine their reliability and trustworthiness; secondly, the standardised papers do not demand a high cognitive process in dealing with sources but learners are required to extract information from sources in order to respond to questions and this has a backwash effect on the teaching of History in the classroom.

It was clear that teachers differed in terms of their response to a process of change. Some made a prompt migration to the new approach such as Masina and Moemi, simply because they were exponents of a learner-centred approach to teaching and were open-minded about any intervention that could improve their teaching methodology.

Modise was well grounded in the epistemology of the discipline and this was reflected during the interview. However, he failed to demonstrate historical thinking in the presentation of his lessons. This is the reason he scored low on analysis of sources, display of empathy and moderate on the use of cause and effect concepts in the classroom. In the first lesson he used an examination style of teaching by asking questions taken from common tests and in the second lesson he was authoritarian and dominated the lesson with little participation on the part of the learners. There was minimal improvement in his lessons, although he allowed argumentation to take place in the classroom about multi-party democracy and a one-party state. He was cautious, however. Why was he cautious? He is a new teacher who had obtained an 82% pass rate, and he had been praised by the HOD and the principal as well as by the subject advisor, and he did not need any interference with his achievement. This was the reason he continued with the authoritarian approach. Despite his attitude, he felt the impact of this project and there was a minimal improvement in his lesson presentation. He was also nervous about the four lessons that were recorded, but the fact that he agreed to subject his lessons to review clearly showed that he would ultimately adopt a dialogical approach to teaching. He did not display the perseverance and patience which were necessary dispositions to drive him to acquire the elements critical thinking in order to free his learners from the bondage of the pedagogy of the oppressed which sought to confine them to lower levels of thinking and ultimately to perpetual poverty of thinking.

Modise argued during the interview that the model of Action research was excellent. However, there were constraints in implementing it. He cited overcrowding in the classroom of fifty-five learners where individual attention to learners was difficult. He also indicated content coverage as a problem because it was demanded by the district in preparation for the common tests, and the low level of proficiency in the language of teaching and learning. Modise displayed a negative attitude towards change, as was the case with many teachers, and he was pessimistic about the ability of his learners to respond positively to

the dialogical approach to teaching. He therefore scored the lowest in terms of the migrating to the new dialogical approach.

5.7 CONCLUSION

In conclusion I should acknowledge that Masina and Moemi had made the pedagogical turn while the other teacher, Modise continued to hold to the line of authoritarian pedagogy with limited participation from learners. It was expected that Moemi and Masina would be the progeny of this pedagogical revolution and through their influence, impact on the pedagogical strategies of other teachers. There were also moments in Modise's class where debates were encouraged, although they were limited by his being a strong exponent of the authoritarian approach which he considered to be an appropriate method for weak learners who were slow and less proficient in the language of teaching and learning. With the advent of the progressive teaching model, the elements of authoritarianism began to wane because of the habitual intellectual engagement of learners in his class. Moemi was in the same league, but he managed to engage his learners in intellectual labour by allowing them to engage in debates and simulation. Moemi's learners were in Grade 11 and they fell short of the robustness embedded in Masina's class, but were certainly far better thinkers than the Grade 12 learners taught by Modise. The intellectual abilities of learners were enhanced when the teacher was versatile and used progressive dialogical and dialectical approaches to teaching. Paradoxically, the learners' intellectual growth was inhibited when an authoritarian banking education approach was followed and this was evidenced in the pedagogical strategies used by Modise which were authoritarian in nature and ultimately produced passive learners. There was overwhelming evidence collected from the classroom, and the interviews that had proved that two teachers, Moemi and Modise have satisfactory disciplinary knowledge which they have acquired from the universities and this was evidenced when they articulated their epistemological belief in various aspects of historical thinking such as the use of primary sources, multiple perspectives, empathy, objectivity in history as well as their belief in the teaching methodology that is suitable for teaching history.

All teachers advocated group discussion, debates and active participation by learners but their pedagogical practices were based on lecturing, prior to intervention. Although Masina was not grounded in the disciplinary knowledge, his teaching methods were effective and learners in his class participated in a robust manner which is suitable for knowledge construction. However, the deficiency in disciplinary knowledge inhibited most of the activities from reflecting sophisticated knowledge of the discipline. In addition, Masina used additional resources which are primary sources and secondary sources but failed to engage learners in the sourcing, contextualisation and collaboration of sources. The other two teachers did not use primary sources and therefore could not reflect the three heuristics of analysing sources

cognitively. While Moemi and Modise reflected on their knowledge of empathy, only Moemi reflected some elements in the classroom and his knowledge of empathy was far better than Modise's. However, Masina's knowledge was very low and his teaching was in the main based on factual knowledge. Moemi and Modise supported the search for objectivity in history but also acknowledged that it is difficult to achieve. Masina, however, was resolute that objectivity cannot be achieved in the study of history. Although two teachers embraced the new dialogical approach to teaching, the methods were not fully integrated into the disciplinary knowledge and therefore the pedagogical content knowledge was not fully achieved. The obstacle to this was mostly the bureaucracy that required the teaching to be focused on factual knowledge in order for teachers to prepare for examination.

The next chapter is based on summary of the findings, conclusion and implications of the study.

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The study explores how South African teachers at relatively successful schools articulate and demonstrate critical thinking and historical thinking skills in History classrooms. The main question driving the study is as follows: *How will South African teachers respond when exposed to a teaching pedagogy which incorporates an active process of knowledge construction that enhances historical thinking and critical thinking?* In order to respond to this question, the study investigated the traditional teaching approaches using the framework of historical thinking as a lens as well as an intervening variable to change practices in the classroom that are perceived to be antithetical to the cultivation of historical thinking and critical thinking. The study uses elements of a dialogical approach in order to cultivate aspects of historical thinking in the classroom.

In order to logically conclude this study, the final chapter is organised into eight sections. Firstly, I commence with a summary and review of the study to relate how the findings and conclusion were reached. Secondly, I summarise the key findings and demonstrate how they respond to secondary research questions. Thirdly, I explain the appropriateness of the methodology and methods used to respond to the main question. In the fourth section I reflect on the study and explain how it has impacted on me as a DBE official working in the promotion of quality in assessment. In the fifth section I highlight the implications of the study for policy and practice. In the sixth section I elucidate the limitations of the study and highlight areas for further studies. Finally, I conclude the chapter by providing empirical evidence to support my inferences in this study.

6.2 SUMMARY AND REVIEW OF THE STUDY

In chapter one I presented the purpose and the questions that had driven this research, including the research methodology that was followed to respond to the main question. I outlined the purpose of the study which was to explore how teachers articulated and demonstrated the central tenets of critical thinking and whether learners would be able to think critically when taught in the dialogical approach which is suitable for the cultivation of critical thinking. I provided the background of Bantu education and its impact on the quality of education of African learners and the resistance offered by the National Education Crisis Committee. I highlighted the transition from apartheid education to the National

Curriculum Statement. I also outlined the effects of over-bureaucratisation of the system where high performance was demanded from all schools by government, resulting in common tests, and multiple repetitions in grades 10 and 11 where learners were held back in order to improve the Grade 12 results.

In chapter two I explored the literature and reflected on the curriculum development in South Africa from Curriculum 2005, to NCS and later to CAPS. I presented the conceptual framework built on the framework of Seixas' historical thinking. Aspects of this framework embody the three heuristics developed by Wineburg to engage teachers in the cognitive analysis of sources, skills that are used by historians in constructing historical knowledge. I explored the literature on the use of the three heuristics, namely, sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation by various historians and the display of empathy and conceptions of aspects of history by students and teachers. I elucidated the learning theory of the social and cultural constructivists who advocated knowledge construction within a suitable environment and within the community of learners and enquiry. I explored the various definitions of critical thinking and drew on the intellectual canons of various critical thinking philosophers in order to understand the modern conception of critical thinking. I outlined the perspective of critical theorists on critical thinking and teaching methodology and highlighted their support for a dialogical approach in the classroom.

In chapter three I provided the changing nature of the discipline from the scientific history approach professed by Ranke, to Marxism, social history, women's history, oral history and later cultural histories and literary theories where the history methodology and epistemology of grand narratives were challenged and transformed to accommodate the histories of ordinary people, including women. This was made possible by the incorporation of other disciplines into the epistemology of history such as anthropology, economics, political science, geography and sociology. Chapter three explored the contested terrain that emerged during the development of the discipline, including the dichotomies between qualitative and quantitative methods, realism and relativism, presentism and historicism. These areas of contestation were heightened by the cultural revolutions and literary turn and led to robust debates relating to the ability of history to present the knowable past. The area of content became the appropriate methodology of representing reality, and there was a contest between the analytical and narrative mode of representing history. The influence of structuralism and post-structuralism also led to an increase in the support of historians who led a relativist perspective because of the use of language that provided both the literal and figurative meaning which is inadequate in producing an objective past. The chapter also delved into details of the six aspects of historical thinking such as historical significance, analysis of primary sources, cause and effect, empathy, change and continuity and ethical judgment as part of history education. Lastly the chapter highlighted the aspects of South African historiography

characterised by Afrikaner, liberal and Marxist historians and the extent to which this has influenced school history.

In chapter four I illuminated the rationale for using Action research and the qualitative approach. I also outlined the research methodology and methods of collecting and analysing data. I explained in detail the four stages of Action research, which are enquiry, intervention, transition and modification, and stabilisation, which were adapted from Brown and Harvey (2006) in order to change pedagogical practices in the classroom. The chapter explained the rationale for the sample selected and outlined the context within which the three sampled teachers are teaching. Three teachers participated and four lessons were presented by each of them and recorded. The chapter explicated how information obtained from the teachers would be validated to ensure that it was reliable and dependable. To ensure this it was articulated that judgment would be made by the researcher in collaboration with a second moderator and their findings about lesson presentations would be corroborated.

In chapter five I presented the empirical evidence that emanated from the piloting of the four-stage model of Action research. The Historical thinking framework served as criterion for the evaluation of the four lessons presented by each of the three teachers. This chapter provided evidence of the poor disciplinary knowledge of teachers and their pedagogical approach. The chapter also provided evidence of a change in teacher behaviour from a lecturing method to a dialogical approach comprising active learning where teachers diversified their methodologies by using group discussions, debates, talk shows and simulations. The active and cooperative learning enabled learners to participate effectively, presenting conceptions and misconceptions about historical aspects such as empathy and historical significance. Learners engaged in robust debate, making use of the best available information from textbooks, but in most cases engaging in historical thinking was inhibited by the lack of adequate primary sources. The chapter revealed that the teaching by the three teachers was mostly based on secondary sources, especially the textbook.

6.3 REFLECTION ON THE METHODOLOGY

The research was located within the qualitative research paradigm and it was driven by the four-stage Action research model. The framework of historical thinking was used as a lens through which this research was conducted and this conceptual framework provided the roadmap that integrated all aspects of the research in order to respond to the main question (Seixas, 2013). The rationale for selecting this method was to employ a method that enabled the participants to work collaboratively in order to generate knowledge that was sufficient to answer the main question of the study. The purpose of the historical

thinking framework was to serve as criterion in the collection, analysis and presentation of the findings of the study.

The qualitative method of collecting data included in-depth interviews and lesson observations for the three teachers selected for this study. These methods generated valuable data to respond to the main research question. Firstly, there was enquiry about the traditional approach. This was followed by intervention, and then by transition and modification which ultimately led to the stabilisation of the new practice. In all the stages I observed and recorded evidence in respect of the impact of each stage and recorded the learners' responses to the traditional method and to the new method. The rationale for four lessons presented by the teachers was to provide them with adequate opportunity to pilot the model through self-reflection and critical reflection where they were able to evaluate themselves to determine whether aspects of the new approach were fully incorporated into their pedagogical content knowledge and whether this was beneficial to learners. This was also an opportunity for teachers to learn from one another. These activities complied with the full cycle of Action research. Through the four stages there was modification of and reflection on the practices and all these were underpinned by enquiry about the progression of teachers to a new dialogical approach.

6.4 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

6.4.1 Findings of the literature review

- a) Lessons learnt from the cultural studies including the Subaltern project and *Annales*, are that macro-history is surface history and that there is a need to engage in the histories of ordinary people and to focus on the small aspects of the society such as child-rearing, wedding ceremonies, post offices and other institutions and practices. The impact on this cultural turn cannot be ignored by the school curriculum (Sewell, 2005; Howie, 2009).

- b) Cultural studies give prominence to oral histories and the representation of ordinary people not only as historical actors, but also as storytellers. There was a heightened scepticism of textual evidence because it represents mostly official records and ignores the histories of ordinary people. The inclusion of anthropology as part of history and the adoption of ethnography as a method of researching cultural studies resulted in the topics reflecting the activities of ordinary people being studied as part of social histories and cultural studies. This development needs to be used to expand the learners and teachers' conceptions of history (Roberts, 2001; Sewell, 2005).

- c) Narrative as an effective mode of representing past historical events has been vigorously articulated by the literary theorists who were influenced by post-structuralism and historicism. With the narrative perspective the realist perspective was strongly challenged and history was seen to be a creation by a historian or imposition of the plot structure to create order in disorganised and chaotic accounts of the past. The inability of the language to represent an objective event was supported by Derrida who advocated the difference in meaning of words and the deferred meaning of words (Munslow, 1997).
- d) The ability of the narrative to represent reality has been advocated by historians such as Carr, and these historians have challenged the imposition of a plot structure advocated by White. According to this claim, the primary narrative, even in its elementary form, contains a plot structure which creates order and does not come in the form of disorganised and discrete facts as claimed by White and his disciples (Roberts, 2001; Yilmaz, 2007). These historians believe in the ability of narrative to represent some form of reality because they are not being invented by historians. The historian's task is just to connect and extend these narratives produced by the communities.
- e) Some historians, including traditional historians such as Acton, believe that narrative is inadequate as an effective mode of representing the past. He advocates the narrative that is supported by analytic modes of representation. He espouses a belief that historians should strive for objectivity and Acton recognises that evidence is incomplete and that objectivity is difficult to achieve, and he advocates the presentation of a balanced and objective interpretation of the past which is supported by evidence (Roberts, 2001).
- f) Two paradoxical positions emerge out of postmodernism, post-structuralism and post-positivism, namely, the realist and relativist perspectives and these two perspectives constitute the conceptions of historians of different epistemological orientations, especially traditionalist and postmodernist historians (Roberts, 2001). Teachers and learners are expected to articulate their own epistemological beliefs about the discipline and should know that there are pluralistic conceptions of the discipline of history by historians.

6.4.2 Findings on empirical data

- a) The conceptions of the three teachers involved in this research are varied. Moemi, for example, believes that historians have the ability to reconstruct the knowable past. Modise agrees to a certain extent that objectivity is achievable but concedes that it is difficult to achieve total objectivity. Moemi supports his assertion by indicating that narratives by elders have the ability to communicate

objective events because these elders witnessed these events. Masina, on the other hand, considers objectivity as impossible to achieve and considers history as an art presented in text, cartoons and paintings which represent the perspectives of the past.

b) Teachers believe in the different interpretations of past historical events. For example, Moemi wants more alternative perspectives on Shaka and believes that the “bloodthirsty” and “monster” perspective is biased because at times Shaka was a diplomat and he indicated that if paradoxical evidence is presented, historians may consider the context before they pass moral judgment. Moema’s assertion is accurate and he questions the moral judgment made by historians in the past who viewed Shaka in this particular manner. Others like Cobin, academic historian in South Africa, brought evidence to prove that the slave trade rather than Shaka was responsible for the killings in Southern Africa during the *Difaqane era* (1820s and 1830s) and that European historians blamed Shaka because they wanted to conceal the role played by the European slave trade. Moemi demonstrated that multiple perspectives have the capacity to promote empathy. He also demonstrated these multiple perspectives in the classroom when he organised a debate about Stalin being a more successful leader than Lenin and learners argued for and against the statement. Students managed to present opposing evidence about the two leaders using textbooks and primary sources that are in the textbooks (although not properly acknowledged). The opposing perspectives enabled learners to examine different perspectives about Stalin as “monster” and “negotiator”, “brave leader” or “Economist” (five-year plan) and some of these labels were also attributed to Lenin. Debate has the ability to foster empathy but it requires more primary sources to be effectively inculcated. Access to primary sources is limited in the sampled schools.

c) One teacher’s disciplinary knowledge was weak and he imposed his emplotment upon the learners. He posed rhetorical questions that persuaded the learners to support the Congolese against Belgium, and the Vietnamese against the United States and students sympathised with the victims. Although he used a video or documentary which was both a primary and secondary source, he failed to provide the context to help explain the actions, attitudes and events that led to Belgian political control of the Congo and the circumstances that led to the decision of the US to attack Vietnam. He could not provide the context as to why the US used chemical weapons against the Vietnamese. He implanted conceptions of Belgium and the US as evil forces attacking and undermining poor local communities, a perception influenced by apartheid experiences of the African communities and this perception was imposed upon historical events that are similar. This is presentism that undermines the teaching of empathy.

- d) Teachers advocated multiple perspectives with regard to some of the historical events, but in terms of the conceptions of history most of them appeared to be influenced by the empiricist conceptions as advocated by Ranke. However, they all acknowledged the challenges relating to achieving objectivity in the study of history.
- e) Learners and teachers engaged in argument to support their claims, tending to use only arguments in support of their own point of view, and did not take into account alternative views, and had difficulty in weighing different arguments.
- f) There was no evidence of reading of primary sources in any of the classes and there were also no comparisons of the sources and therefore learners were not engaged in *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* of evidence to assess the reliability and trustworthiness of sources.
- g) The challenge experienced by the learners and teachers was based on their ability to judge the past by its own standards and not by imposing present standards to judge the people of the past (presentism). The learners were quick to pass moral judgment and this was encouraged by teachers.
- h) The cause and effects of the Vietnam War were taught in a transmission manner and learners were not engaged in assessing the long-term and short-term causes. There was no engagement of learners in multiple causes including direct and situational causes advocated by historians and history education specialists. This is caused by over-reliance on the textbooks.
- i) Teachers find it difficult to engage learners in acquiring and applying substantive concepts because some of them are not confident about the meaning of these concepts. First-order concepts such as communism and capitalism were analysed in a superficial manner and were not integrated into substantive concepts to analyse cause and effect, change and continuity.
- j) Teaching was based on narratives of prescribed textbooks and there was no evidence of engagement of learners in analysis and interpretation of evidence as required by the curriculum. Two teachers managed to articulate and display empathy or perspective taking during the interviews by explaining the concepts and providing guidelines as to how they could be taught. However, in teaching various topics these teachers failed to engage learners in the primary sources that would enable them to display empathy.
- k) The extensive content which is prescribed by the curriculum policy prevents teachers from delving in the content in order to promote intellectual depth. It was found that teachers focused on the body of

knowledge and did not engage learners in the acquisition of skills. This was evident in the classroom where historical concepts and events were dealt with in a superficial manner devoid of engagement in deep learning. For example, concepts such as communism and capitalism were understood in a superficial manner by both teachers and learners and these concepts could not be applied practically in order to solve problems. These concepts are closely related to the second-order concepts of change and continuity or cause and consequence where learners deal with the cause of the revolutions and consequences of the capitalist system.

- l) The extensive content led to a content-based methodology which was allowed only the transmission of content knowledge in order to complete the syllabus. This method resulted in rote learning and regurgitation of memorised facts. Teachers spent most of their time attempting to complete the syllabus and did not have time to engage learners in skills such as interpretation and analysis of evidence, empathy, change and continuity, and cause and consequence. Any teacher who engages in development of the historical thinking runs the risk of not completing the syllabus and learners are likely to fail the standardised tests, resulting in this teacher being branded as underperforming. The system is designed for the content-based approach and for the transmission of factual knowledge.
- m) Teachers were overloaded and had to teach up to seven classes and they were also expected to teach history along with other subjects. These teachers were required to prepare thoroughly and, given the overload, they ended up relying on the limited knowledge provided by the textbook. The teachers were unable to research for more relevant material in order to complement the limited knowledge from the textbooks and the district did not provide additional material to support teachers.

6.4.3 Traditional teaching method and dialogical teaching approach

- a) There has been a discourse among historical scholars in respect of the regurgitation of factual knowledge and the process of constructing historical knowledge. The scholars who support the process of constructing historical knowledge in the History classroom emphasise the importance of historical thinking skills such analysis of primary sources, empathy, multiple perspectives, cause and effect and change and continuity and are against the assimilation of a body of knowledge. Teachers tend to support the transmission model because it assists them to prepare learners for standardised tests and to cover the prescribed content and comply with the demands of the bureaucracy. Those who engage in historical thinking would have to account if they did not manage to cover the content prescribed and in addition, aspects of historical thinking are not assessed by the standardised papers (2014 National Standardised Paper).

- b) The impact of this teaching was that learners were passive in class. There was no active participation and no debates and the learners were just listening patiently to teachers narrating the content. This type of teaching is antithetical to the teaching of historical skills and the teaching of the elements, standards and traits of critical thinking. This teaching and learning also compromises the intellectual depth of both teachers and learners. Content is understood superficially and concepts of history are not understood. This approach is counter-productive and does not train learners to be able to respond accurately to essay questions that are based on critical thinking.
- c) The dialogical approach was brought into the study as a vehicle to transform the traditional teaching methodology and this was done through four stages of Action research. Two teachers managed to migrate from the lecturing method to a dialogical approach where they reflected aspects of the dialogical approach such as active and cooperative learning in the form of debates, group discussions and simulations. One teacher failed to respond to the changes and cited reasons as inhibiting factors, namely, lower language proficiency of the rural learners, overcrowding and overloading of teachers.
- d) The change in the pedagogical strategies was beneficial to teachers because they began to approach the prescribed content in a flexible manner. They did not teach the Russian Revolution in a robotic fashion but used active learning such as talk shows to engage learners in debates. In the process learners expressed their points of view which were supported by the best available evidence.
- e) There was evidence of a departure from the textbook method of teaching to a more open-minded teaching approach which was driven by historical enquiry and a search for more evidence to challenge assumptions, inferences and interpretations in order to advance a more balanced argument.
- f) It was established that the narration method used by teachers in the classroom made learners passive and inactive because they were not actively engaged in the classroom. The nature of their engagement was based on superficial activities where they were required to respond to the teacher's rhetorical questions as a group to indicate that they agreed. Some learners' involvement took the form of reading the definition of concepts directly from the textbooks and this was approved by teachers who believed that this was a strategy to make them attentive. In terms of topics that were taught by teachers such as the causes of the Russian Revolution or causes of the Vietnam War, teachers spent more than thirty minutes explaining concepts by merely repeating what was written in the textbook with limited examples that did not engage learners in deep learning.

- g) In contrast, teachers who were amenable to the dialogical method of teaching changed their authoritarian approach. After presenting the first lesson they were provided with three more opportunities to migrate from the authoritarian method that promoted inactivity and passivity on the part of learners to a dialogical method that promoted robust intellectual engagement and argumentation by learners. It was found that after two teachers had migrated to the dialogical approach, learners were engaged in answering open-ended questions such as the comparison between Stalin and Lenin. The evidence provided by learners about the weaknesses and achievements of both leaders made some learners empathise with both of them and this is the power of debate. The absence of sufficient primary sources limited the content that would provide the context and conditions under which the two leaders were operating. They discussed information about factors leading to the independence of the Congo, where learners expressed their points of view, selected relevant facts, evaluated the accuracy and precision of facts, weighed the usefulness of evidence, arranged facts logically to sustain an argument and drew a valid conclusion. This was based on the best evaluable evidence. A talk show was also organised on the role of Russian women. The approach involved learners in identifying relevant facts, and organising them logically in order to sustain their argument. However, these active engagements of learners were undermined by the absence of the use of primary sources, and the absence of primary sources to be read to engage learners in *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation*.
- h) Three types of teachers emerged from this study. One teacher's knowledge of the discipline was good although not exceptional and his method was also better but not excellent. The second teacher's knowledge of the discipline was moderate and his teaching was authoritarian and uninspiring. The third teacher's knowledge of the discipline was poor but his method was good. These three teachers have their strengths and weaknesses and need to work hard in order to achieve what Shulman calls pedagogical content knowledge. There is a need to sharpen their disciplinary knowledge and teaching methodologies to ensure that they engage learners in "doing history in the classroom where thinking is externalised and learners are driven towards historical thinking". If these teachers could engage in a community of learning or enquiry they are likely to learn from each other.

6.5 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study reflects on the recent debates on national and international standards of history curricula. The main question is, which story should be told to the learners? Do we tell the learners the best interpretation which needs to be assimilated in order to build a nation, or present competing interpretations to enable learners to weigh them and reach conclusions in terms of which one is a valid account of the past? Some

education authorities prefer to use history for the purpose of heritage or collective memory while others want to teach disciplinary knowledge. Some have also discouraged the teaching of empathy and those who support empathy contest that doing away with empathy is as good as doing away with history. This is a debate that characterises history experts such as Wineburg (2001), Seixas and Morton (2013) and Bain (2009), who advance a strong argument for the sophisticated nature of the discipline to be taught to learners and to inspire learners to read and think like historians. These experts produced an extensive body of research to prove that it is possible for learners even in lower grades to be able to engage in historical knowledge. However, the teaching methodology and disciplinary knowledge possessed by teachers and the epistemological beliefs are considered as constraints in engaging learners in the knowledge construction process engaged upon by historians.

The experts are discontented with the factual knowledge of history which is the focus of school history where learners receive the end product of a historical thinking process in the form of textbooks and as a result learners are excluded from historical thinking.

Experts such as Wineburg (2001) and Seixas and Morton (2013), supported by social and cultural constructivists such as Bruner (1986) and Vygotsky (1978), advocate the concept of the community of learning or community of enquiry in which knowledge is constructed. If teachers and learners interact with the community of historians they will be engaged in the process of knowledge production. However, the current situation is that there is no interaction between teachers and university lecturers and this creates a situation where teachers continue to receive knowledge from historians. There is a need to bring together the community of practice and community of historians in order to build the capacity of teachers, otherwise teachers, despite their experience, would continue to be novices in respect of the construction of historical knowledge.

In interacting with teachers historians would have to “think aloud” or externalise their thinking as exemplified by Wineburg in the study of eight high-school students and eight historians. Although learners failed to identify the subtext, they learned from historians and if this practice is repeated through the Action Research process, it would be internalised by teachers and learners. Seixas (1993) is adamant that if teachers are excluded from the community of historians where knowledge is constructed they will continue to receive the final product and they will have to transmit it to the learners. So there is a need for universities and schools to work together and this is how academic historians can impact positively on school history.

The framework of analysing sources that includes three heuristics, namely, *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* is a great attempt by Wineburg (2001), Seixas and Morton (2013) to externalise the thinking process of historians so as to ensure that it becomes concrete and achievable by teachers and learners. Therefore, the cognitive process of analysing sources has been made visible to teachers and learners to aspire to emulate. However, in the CAPS document in South Africa and as well as in textbooks and standardised papers, this framework is almost non-existent. There is a need to engage learners in the analysis of primary sources because these are the raw materials of constructing knowledge about the past. The analysis of sources would enable learners to acquire and demonstrate critical thinking skills because learners would not be content with one account of the past but would consider the information tentative. With a healthy scepticism and relativism learners can search for more information in order to corroborate the account and conclude about its trustworthiness and this would beyond any doubt lead the learner to support a valid interpretation which is backed by accurate and valid evidence.

This framework would have implications for the manner in which question papers are set, textbooks are written and how lessons are presented in the classroom. This is an active process of generating historical knowledge and it is in keeping with the social constructivist theory of learning based on knowledge construction through a dialogical mode. The only method that would enable this framework to be implemented in the classroom is the active, cooperative and dialogical approach in which learners are engaged in robust debate about the validity and credibility of the historical account. This is the main objective of this study, to change the pedagogical practices of teachers in the classroom which should enable the environment for the integration of subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge in synergy that is called pedagogical content knowledge.

According to Vigotsky (1978), all these researches, including textbooks, learning materials and lecturing can assist learning. However, in order to improve the quality of thinking, a dialogical approach is considered to suitable for the learning process. This approach was piloted through a four-stage action research in which teachers were given four opportunities to migrate to a dialogical approach. It was envisaged that this approach combined with disciplinary knowledge assumed to be possessed by teachers would enable them to demonstrate elements of pedagogical content knowledge. But due to outdated and weak disciplinary knowledge possessed by some teachers which is grounded in Rankian Scientific history, the transmission model appears to be appealing to these teachers. In addition, this approach is suitable for responding to the content coverage and control required by the state and therefore teachers struggle to move away from the transmission model because active and cooperative

learning requires a lot of preparatory work for learners and it is also based on active engagement by learners, which is not a tradition in some of the classes.

There is a need for teachers to be trained in pedagogical content knowledge. The disciplinary knowledge needs to be enhanced and updated and there is a need to focus teaching on the reading and analysis of primary sources. The use of a framework for analysing sources should be internalised in the classroom and should replace the transmission model which is unsuitable to engaging learners in the cognitive analysis of sources. This method has been inspired by the social and cultural constructivists such as Vygotsky (1978) and Bruner (1986) who are discontented with the transmission model and regurgitation of memorised facts which are seen as inhibiting factors to “doing history” in the classroom. “Doing history” in the classroom means engaging in the thinking process of historians when constructing historical knowledge and this would require the thinking of learners in the analysis of sources to be externalised and challenged by the teacher and other learners in dialogical and active learning.

Currently, university students in South Africa are engaged in a campaign to destroy statues of leaders of colonialism and apartheid that were erected 80 years ago. These recent actions in South Africa demonstrate a lack of historical thinking on the part of these South African students. They impose their presentism onto the past leaders without contextualising the circumstances that led to the erection of these statues. Scholars at the time of the erection of these statues hailed these leaders such as Cecil John Rhodes and Paul Kruger as heroes and after 80 years a new generation considers them as oppressors and they are blamed for the slow progress in the transformation of universities in South Africa (Bailey, 2015). These actions demonstrate the failure to inculcate a disposition of empathy in which students place themselves in the situation and conditions of the 1800s and 1930s when these officials were hailed as heroes. The students are not willing to establish the circumstances that led these leaders to commit evil deeds against the indigenous communities. These actions heighten racial tension because to some of the Afrikaner communities Paul Kruger was a hero and to some English-speaking South Africans Cecil John Rhodes was a hero. He contributed to the establishment of the University of Cape Town, and this is the reason students and lecturers at the time deemed it necessary to build a statue at the university to honour him. These two examples highlight the importance of teaching empathy in a country as diverse as South Africa, a country that has been divided by the bitter struggles and oppression in the past. Most of the students do not embrace history because it reminds them of the past, but they are not willing to acknowledge that there is a huge difference between themselves and the people of the past, and to respect the judgment made by those people about their heroes because these heroes were labelled based on the values and laws of that particular period (Bailey, 2015).

Textbooks need to be rewritten in order to reflect the historical thinking which is contained in the CAPS. As historians and teachers, the writers would have explored international literature to access the works of Wineburg (2001), Seixas and Morton (2013) and Bain (2009) which are standard works in history education, but the limited reflection of the aspects of historical thinking is an indication that these books have been produced with limited international benchmarking. However, as stipulated elsewhere, the development of textbooks takes the form of standardised papers which in most cases reflect primary sources and do not always acknowledge them fully and therefore at times the producer of the sources is unknown and the year of publication is not mentioned either.

Examination question papers have always set the standard in South Africa because what gets tested is always given prominence by teachers and therefore in order to have a particular skill taught, it has to be examined and what is not examined is not taught. Currently the examination question papers reflect limited aspects of historical thinking and there is extensive focus on comprehension and extraction and regurgitation of content. Learners are not tested in terms of their ability to read and think like historians. Question papers can be placed at centre stage in the transformation of the classroom by foregrounding the intellectual framework of historical thinking. The papers do not assess empathy, cause and consequence, elements of historical significance and sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation, and therefore are not setting an appropriate standard for teaching and learning.

6.6 THE IMPACT OF THE STUDY ON ME

It was a glorious opportunity to conduct this study. During my eight years of teaching experience I never had the opportunity to observe teachers in the classroom and I believe that this would have made a significant difference in my pedagogical content knowledge. I have always been a student of history and therefore the epistemological content knowledge was not a problem, but I also experienced a challenge when it came to reflecting on the epistemology of the discipline in the classroom. However, reflecting on these teachers has provided me with the pedagogical know-how to be able to enlighten the teacher development section of the Department on the intricacies and modalities of changing practices in the classroom. In this study, I have observed that the change model was implemented despite obstacles such as too much prescribed content, common papers and lower-pitched questions which constitute inhibiting factors that are endemic in the teaching fraternity. This research has made me realise that teachers are facing the unprecedented task of changing the lives of learners amid a hostile bureaucratic environment that seeks to dehumanise them by turning them into robots who must implement district standards mechanically and without questioning.

The recording of lessons required hard work, perseverance and humility because I needed to cooperate with the principals who had to put up with me for a period of two months. I also had to create rapport with the teachers to ensure that they would allow me in their classrooms four times. I needed the cooperation of the teachers to attend the review sessions and these clearly demonstrated to me that there were teachers who were selfless and dedicated to the teaching profession and wanted to see their learners succeed. However, there were also teachers who were determined to comply with the bureaucracy at the expense of their learners, who were being underdeveloped. I had to bring these teachers together to view their own lessons but I was moved by those who were determined to challenge the hegemony that had turned them into robots. It was an enlightening experience to engage with teachers in a robust debate about the potential of the model of critical thinking to revolutionise the classroom environment. I realised that these findings provided me with the means to engage in the professional development of teachers which is a tremendous task that has been poorly performed by the Department of Basic Education.

Based on this experience and achievement, I now consider myself to have acquired the skills that enable me to contribute effectively to intervention strategies to empower teachers. However, I realised that there was no one with the correct medicine to remedy poor teaching methods other than collaborative methods which accommodated the inputs of teachers and that of the researcher in order to bring about a collaborative solution. I am a researcher and left the teaching profession ten years ago and cannot consider myself as a teaching expert and therefore I considered the three teachers as experts because they were the people who interacted with the phenomenon that I was studying, which is the teaching of critical thinking and I needed to provide them with the opportunity to evaluate the model of critical thinking as well as the teaching of their peers.

I have also learned that the four-stage Action research is an excellent method of changing practice in the classroom in a collaborative research which ignites a spirit of mutual reciprocity. We complemented each other and I provided the critical-thinking model and the elements of the Cultural Revolution where I requested teachers to approach the prescribed content in a flexible manner by drawing on parallel historical events in their localities in order to make historical knowledge relevant to the learners' lives. Teachers brought the knowledge of history content and extensive experience to validate the model of critical thinking. I realised that this was a wonderful strategy because learners began to realise that the social problems experienced by Russians were similar to those that were being experienced in South Africa. I also noted that learners did not fully understand the histories of South Africa and the broad prescribed content was an impediment to focusing on the local histories.

I have learned through the works of Wineburg (2001), Seixas and Morton (2013), Yilmaz (2006), Bain (2009) and others who contributed towards the development of a framework for historical thinking which is based on extensive classroom-based research. I also have learned that history learners are as capable as Mathematics and Physical Sciences learners in demonstrating the sophisticated nature of the discipline. Novices can only learn in interaction with the community of experts which stretches their zone of proximal development. I was inspired by social and cultural constructivists who advocated dialogical, active and cooperative learning that enabled learners and teachers to collectively produce knowledge within the community of learning. Out of these lessons, I realised that there is a difference between the knowledge and skills possessed by novices and those possessed by expert historians and teachers and learners have the capacity to acquire and engage in the deep structural processes of the discipline if they interact with historians or if they are trained to read and think like historians. Learners and teachers can do this by externalising the thinking process in the classroom so as to ensure that all learners are involved in the community of enquiry within the classroom and that individual teachers and learners that work in isolation from others are likely to be novices without realising it because they shall have failed to benchmark their knowledge, and conceptions of teaching history with other teachers and learners. If a community of learning and enquiry is created where sophisticated thinking is externalised, members of the community will internalise the historical thinking process.

I also learned about the conceptions of the discipline of history by traditional historians and post-modernist and post-structuralist historians and this has led to the dichotomy between the realist and relativist epistemological stances. The epistemological stances or beliefs influence the methods used by historians to represent the past and it also influences the manner in which history is taught (Yilmaz, 2006). The realists are mostly biased in favour of the transmission model while the relativists use the dialogical approach because there is a need to negotiate your belief as a teacher and the conceptions and misconceptions of learners. At times the conceptions and misconceptions are so ingrained in teachers as to serve as obstacles to their development and in order to change the practices of teachers there is a need to change their conceptions and misconceptions about the discipline. It is clear that three teachers were influenced to a large extent by the scientific historical perspective of Ranke and therefore believed in the ability of history to present the knowable past. The teachers' conceptions of history can be broadened by incorporating the postmodernist version characterised by cultural studies and post-structuralism represented by literary work and the use of figurative language to represent the past (Yilmaz, 2007).

6.7 THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

The study may be used to familiarise South African teachers with elements of historical thinking and critical thinking. It has emerged from the empirical data collected from the three schools sampled that aspects of historical thinking such as empathy, the use of primary sources, causes and consequences, change and continuity, historical significance and ethical judgment are compromised in favour of a content-based approach which glorifies heroes of the struggle at the expense of other communities.

The study could encourage the dichotomy between heritage history and historical thinking to be taught as equals because there is a tendency to give prominence to the best story selected by the ruling class and pay little attention to historical thinking. The use of history for nation building and responsible citizenry has been accepted but it should not be done at the expense of compromising knowledge of historical thinking. This study should make this type of contribution to ensure that history's place in the curriculum fulfils its role of empowering learners with historical thinking.

The critical element of historical thinking, empathy or rational thinking or perspective thinking is compromised in the classroom, textbooks and standardised national papers. Empathy has been a subject of contestation internationally with politicians misunderstanding it to mean sympathy and therefore preventing children from being taught to sympathise with the enemy. In the case of the US, Cuba was the enemy and in the case of South Africa, communism was considered by Afrikaners as evil and the ANC and South African Communist Party were also seen in this light (Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000). Teaching learners the history of these organisations is interpreted as indoctrinating them to sympathise with the 'enemy'. However, the recent developments in South Africa where the statue of Rhodes has been removed from the University of Cape Town and other statues face the risk of being defaced because of their association with apartheid and colonialism, clearly demonstrate the need for empathy and the study of history in South Africa. Students at universities need to understand that those who developed the statue of Rhodes viewed him as a hero and their beliefs and values were different from the values of today (Bailey, 2015). The conditions and circumstances under which the statue was created should have been considered before a judgment was made to remove the statue and therefore the moral judgment made is devoid of any reasoned ethical judgment that is designed to respect the perspective, choices and desires of the people of the past which are different from our desires and interests. Therefore, this study should contribute towards opening an open-ended discussion as to how South African learners can tolerate different perspectives from the people of the past.

The sources appearing in the textbooks and standardised national question papers are superficial and outdated. This study has explored three heuristics, namely, sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation distilled by Wineburg (2001). Using these heuristics would engage teachers and learners in the cognitive analysis of sources. These heuristics are utilised by historians when analysing sources and they were externalised by Wineburg during a “think aloud” project that he carried out with eight historians and eight high-school students. When learners and teachers use sources as social and human artifacts containing the language of persuasion, they are likely to identify bias in the sources and the intention and positioning of the generator of the sources. These skills are currently not being assessed in some of the classrooms in South Africa and there is no literature that provides evidence of whether the heuristics are part of the teaching of history in South African classrooms. These heuristics would engage learners in critical thinking skills because learners would engage in a rigorous analysis of sources, be involved in argumentation about the validity or reliability of sources and would be able to support their points of view with sufficient and accurate evidence through the use of *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualization* (Wineburg, 2001; Reisman, 2012).

Aspects of critical thinking and historical thinking reflect high-level thinking skills that seem to be ungraspable on the surface for most of the schools, but this study has shown that some teachers have enabling knowledge of the discipline to engage learners in high-level thinking skills. The study has also succeeded in identifying obstacles to teaching historical and critical thinking and has resuscitated hope that historical thinking skills are achievable and learners have the potential to access them. It is required to change the attitude of teachers and encourage them to be open-minded about new teaching methodologies. The dialogical approach supported by the concept of “doing history” in the discipline of history has the capacity to cultivate the elements and standards of critical thinking.

The fact that learners engaged in fierce battles in the classroom reflected different conceptions of various elements of historical thinking by learners and some could be caused by misconceptions. In order to cultivate historical reasoning that is based on aspects of historical thinking, the epistemological beliefs of learners and teachers need to be explored and changed if they are an obstacle to engaging learners in “doing history”. This would be one of the main contributions of the study, to change practices in the classroom by changing the conceptions of history teachers in terms of teaching history as well as their conceptions of historical thinking. Currently the disciplinary knowledge of teachers is very limited and this needs to be addressed if the pedagogical practices in the classroom are to change.

Cultural studies that emerged as a result of the Cultural Revolution have opened a window into the research of ordinary people and have expanded the borders of the discipline into the labour and social

aspects of history. Through learners oral history can be capacitated to enquire about the stories of ordinary people in their localities and the data can be used to engage in corroboration, sourcing and contextualisation in order to construct historical knowledge. As noted during the literature review, their analysis skills would not be equal to that of historians, but they would certainly reflect some elements of historical thinking in the process which is better than absorbing the narrative from textbooks. This research would therefore encourage oral history and the oral testimonies of local history which are more focused on local problems and not on political problems that affect all of the South African population.

The use of the historical thinking framework developed by Seixas and Morton (2013) and Wineburg (2001) as criteria to judge history lessons and as well as conceptions of teachers is a contribution because this framework has not been used to analyse teaching methodology in South African classrooms.

The piloting of the four-stage Action research is a significant contribution by this study to a transformation model that can be used to change practices in the classroom. It offers a practical method of transforming the teaching pedagogy of teachers from authoritarian banking education that promotes rote learning and the regurgitation of memorised facts, to a dialogical and dialectical method that promotes robust argumentation and reasoned intellectual judgment in the classroom, and knowledge construction which is essential in cultivating elements of historical thinking and critical thinking. Teachers and officials entrusted with teacher development can use this model to transform practices in the classroom and this study provides evidence that has confirmed that the model is capable of changing practice in the classroom.

The study has also unravelled scepticism, relativism and realism as an integral part of teaching history. These perspectives reflect the historical orientation by social, political, cultural and literary historians who do not agree about the ability of history to achieve objectivity. The use of analytic or narrative modes of representation was an area of contestation and some believe that narrative has the ability to present reality about the past, while others consider this as emplotment by the historians which relates history to fiction and therefore incapable of representing reality. These paradoxes within the discipline are essential but teachers are not aware of their existence. This is caused by the transmission model and as soon as they are encouraged to engage learners in “doing history” they cannot escape the issue of the epistemological beliefs of learners.

The social and cultural constructivists who advocate knowledge construction and have criticised the transmission model of teaching and the regurgitation of memorised knowledge, have contributed to a change in teaching methodologies in the classroom. Teachers of history began asking questions about

the appropriateness of the transmission model as an effective mode of presenting historical thinking and some realised that they need to migrate to a dialogical approach which is based on active and cooperative learning in order to engage learners in activities geared towards “doing history” and reflecting the sophisticated knowledge of the discipline within the community of learning and enquiry.

What has emerged strongly from this research is that teachers should consistently be engaged in a community of enquiry that includes academic historians because it is academic historians that construct knowledge. As Seixas (1993) indicates, if teachers do not interact with experts their knowledge may be simplistic and not grounded in the sophisticated knowledge of the discipline and they will continue to receive knowledge from historians which they will be required to transmit to learners. Therefore, it is essential that teachers work as a group and learn from one another, and group discussions should be fostered in the classroom to ensure that learners learn from each other. As indicated by Bain (2009), thinking in the classroom should be externalised in order to ensure that it is visible and can be engaged in by all learners. According to Vygotsky (1978), learners should be engaged in internalisation of the higher psychological functions. Learners on their own cannot move beyond the Zone of Proximal Development but with the assistance of others, including the teacher in a dialogical environment, they have the capacity to acquire a high level of thinking.

There is a need to review the model of training new teachers to be able to reflect both historical thinking and the dialogical approach and it is also necessary to establish a strong apprenticeship system for new graduates so as to ensure that their disciplinary knowledge acquired from higher education is not overshadowed by the bureaucratic demand for high scores in standardised assessment and heritage history. This can be achieved through the relationship between higher education and the DBE.

There is a need for curriculum documents to be amended in order to reflect the three heuristics, being sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation. It is envisaged that once these are mandatory they will be reflected in standardised papers, textbooks and teaching and learning in the classrooms.

According to Seixas, history teaching is more closely related to heritage than historical thinking (Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000). There is a need for history teaching in South African to play a dual role, to provide citizen education in order to uplift the morals of the South African society, and also to inculcate the elements of historical thinking which are necessary to enable learners to demonstrate critical thinking.

6.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study focused on Grade 11 and Grade 12 teachers only. There is a need to pilot this integrated model of Action research and historical thinking in lower classes to establish the feasibility of using the model to capacitate teachers and learners with the disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical practices that promote knowledge construction. However, the findings in Grade 12 about the low epistemological grounding of teachers may be an indication that the majority of teachers in the entire system have low subject knowledge. This research was limited to Grade 11 and Grade 12, and should be extended to include lower classes.

This study was mostly focused on changing the pedagogical practices of teachers and not on inculcating disciplinary knowledge which is very challenging. However, a study is required to focus on one aspect of historical thinking, be it empathy or analysis of sources where elements of historical thinking are cultivated.

The research focused on the discipline of history and the display of historical thinking. There is research that needs to be conducted which is similar to that which was conducted by Wineburg (2001) where teachers engage in sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation. The study should select appropriate materials in order to engage teachers in the cognitive analysis of sources. This study used the framework as a criterion to judge the existence of these heuristics but there is need for a study where teachers are taken out of the teaching schedule to pilot the heuristics which are not required by the curriculum and question papers.

There is a need to engage many teachers in a study that encourages the display of empathy. With more teachers convinced about the importance of empathy in the study of history, it will have a ripple effect on the curriculum documents, textbooks and standardised national question papers.

The researcher could not get to the bottom of the reasons for teachers' poor subject knowledge and there is a need to explore the initial teacher education offered by colleges of education and by universities, to discover the source of the low subject knowledge of teachers. What is evident is that the current teaching methodologies and assessment regime do not enhance teachers' subject knowledge.

The research time was limited and there was no time to allow learners to collect empirical data about local stories that are based on memories and the oral tradition in order to demonstrate the historical and critical thinking skills acquired in this study. This is necessary in order to demonstrate to the Department that these research activities are essential and need to be incorporated into the assessment policy.

6.9 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There is need to engage in studies that relate to the three heuristics, *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* that are related to Historical thinking. This study should include many teachers in lower grades and higher grades.

Research could be conducted on the evaluation of textbooks using the three heuristics, *sourcing*, *corroboration* and *contextualisation* to evaluate how sources are utilized to engage learners in constructing historical knowledge.

More research is also required on teachers and learners' conception of the elements of historical thinking. The study could assess the influence of these conceptions on their teaching methodologies. History education experts and social and cultural psychologists have shown that conceptions and misconceptions about elements of the discipline can serve as obstacles in the teaching of sophisticated knowledge of the discipline and at times there is a need to negotiate and even change the conceptions of teachers in order to move towards sophisticated knowledge.

Studies need to be conducted where teachers and learners have the opportunity to engage in the reading of primary sources in order to display empathy. The studies should explore effective ways of engaging teachers in empathy in order to ensure that this complex historical skill is cultivated within the classrooms. Some of these studies should be focused on lower grades to ascertain whether learners in these grades have the ability to reflect on the sophisticated nature of the discipline.

There is a need to engage in research to explore the content of the initial teacher education at universities and colleges of education to ascertain whether they are preparing teachers appropriately for the teaching of Historical and critical thinking in South Africa. The current teaching methodology is based on rote learning and regurgitation of memorised facts.

There is a need for research that involves historians and teachers in empathy and analysis of sources in order to promote the community of learning and enquiry. The research would reflect the "thinking aloud"

approach established by Wineburg in order to externalise the thinking of historians. It is this practical research that has the capacity to promote the discipline of history in South Africa. These studies would demonstrate the complexity of reflecting the historical thinking process and the ability of history to foster critical thinking in the classrooms.

6.10 CONCLUSION

The dialogical approach is a radical pedagogy that espouses the view that learners have the potential for developing Historical and critical thinking skills. The study explored the feasibility of using a dialogical approach to promote active learning that is suitable for “doing history” or reflecting the sophisticated knowledge the discipline, thereby promoting elements of critical thinking. The use of historical thinking as a lens in the conduct of this study is a recognition that the discipline has the ability to promote historical thinking. The three teachers were expected to migrate from a lecturing method to a dialogical approach which is suitable for promoting high-level thinking. Prior to this intervention, the lecturing methods promoted the transmission of knowledge, rote learning and regurgitation of memorised facts and this was caused by a highly bureaucratised system of standardised tests and examinations which undermine the teaching of historical thinking and critical thinking.

The research has responded to the main research question, which seeks to enquire: *How will South African teachers respond when exposed to a teaching pedagogy which incorporates an active process of knowledge construction that enhances historical thinking and critical thinking?* There was overwhelming evidence during the lesson presentations, of the counter-productivity of the lecturing approach where learners were passive, listless and despondent. However, through the interventions mounted using the four-stage model of Action research, a dialogical approach that includes cooperative and active learning was adopted by two teachers. These teachers experimented with various methods of teaching including talk shows, debates and presentations, and learners participated effectively by reflecting different perspectives about historical actors, and engaged in argumentation that is based on reasons that were supported by the available evidence. The approach enhanced learner participation and it would have been more effective if the three teachers where engaging learners in the analysis of primary sources. Although learners demonstrated some historical skills, the absence of reading primary sources in the classroom was a major obstacle towards participation in knowledge construction. What is evident is an improved pedagogical approach which requires an updated disciplinary knowledge that embodies the elements of historical thinking established by Seixas and Morton (2013) and Wineburg (2001). Teachers fell short of displaying pedagogical content knowledge and there is a need for these teachers to improve their disciplinary knowledge and engage in a sophisticated process of constructing the historical knowledge used by historians to write history. Teachers failed to reflect the three heuristics, namely,

sourcing, corroboration and contextualisation. They also failed to engage learners in empathy and quite often teachers and learners imposed presentism on the people of the past and judged them harshly. Learners also could not be engaged in concepts of cause and effect, change and continuity and causes and consequences and only those listed in the textbooks were transmitted to learners. However, there is one teacher who demonstrated good historical knowledge and managed to display some elements of empathy. Two of the teachers failed to reflect historical thinking in the classroom. Some managed to change their teaching methodology to the dialogical teaching approach. It was only one teacher that failed to change his pedagogical approach despite a fairly satisfactory historical knowledge displayed during the interviews. Elements of historical thinking are sophisticated enough to enable the South African classroom to reflect the central tenets of critical thinking.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROFILE: MASINA

Facilitator: Tell me the story of history as you understand it. What is history?

History is a subject of concepts, that is, a set of ideas, when studying history we deal with time and chronology, change and continuity, multiperspectivity, you will help learners to be able to see a particular point of view in a particular way. You help learners think in a particular way to become responsible citizens, respect and uphold the constitution of the republic of South Africa and its values and also to fight against prejudice such as racism and to have religious tolerance and oppose xenophobia.

Facilitator: What is the relationship between the past and history?

History is the study of the past. The past is what has already occurred and history is written using primary sources. It is based on change and continuity.

Facilitator: Is History an art or a science?

Respondent: In history we deal with painting and visual material and this is the reason why it's an art and it also deals with interpretation and representation

Facilitator: Can objectivity be achieved in the study of history? Can the study of history present the past as it really was?

History is objective – depends on how you view it, to me it is a subject that helps us to understand how the world of today came to existence and it provides answers to the problems of our time, it helps us to understand the past to change the present, it promotes human rights and religious tolerance and help us to be politically conscious. You cannot be objective when you deal with history. If you are objective you are neutral and you do not consider different perspectives and when studying history you need to take a perspective and it should be supported by evidence.

Facilitator: What is the importance of using primary Sources?

Respondent: The importance of primary sources they assist the historians to extract, identify and analyse, they give insight into the past, they reveal the people's attitude and emotion, they were made by people who were involved in the event as they happened primary sources help to develop knowledge based on the evidence.

When you read the textbook, I use different textbooks, if something you will realize the story has been rewritten in a particular way, totally different from the primary sources the interpretation may not be accurate, it depends whether the textbook writers use the primary sources or he wrote it from his own perspective.

I show my learners the difference between primary and secondary sources. I form debate groups and say to learners how do you see the events as they see them in the textbooks and in the primary sources.

Facilitator: Are learners comparing the two sources based on the same event?

Respondent: If something is written in the textbook I try to analyse also check it in the primary sources and sometimes an event is presented differently from the primary source. We are dealing sources by showing the differences "How do they see the events in the primary source and in the text and how does the presentation of the event differ"

I will copy sources and distribute to learners I will write a question on the board and question is saying write a paragraph of more than eight lines explaining the influence of Truman doctrine on American I will write the question on the chalk board and will ask them to identify the key words and then we go through the sources and ask the learners to identify key words on the sources that is responding to the key words and these words are assisting in answering the question.

Facilitator: Do you compare sources?

Yes, we compare sources so that this where the concept of multi-perspectivity, this Truman's view point and this Stalin view, we will compare and the learners should indicate the similarities and differences and they should explain why the sources differ.

Facilitator: What is empathy?

Empathy has to do with the feelings. It is an important historical skill. For example under the TRC you need to use emotive language to encourage learners. For example, Steve Biko was arrested in a road block, he was beaten in prison and killed in prison. Explain how Steve Biko felt in Prison when his human rights were violated

Facilitator: What is the appropriate method of teaching history?

The best method of teaching history is through the usage of historical sources, by engaging learners in interrogating, analysing them, integrating and evaluating those sources. Sometimes learners analysed the sources in groups and sometimes as individual. The dominant method of teaching in front of the class leading, facilitating and guiding the learners because the time is limited and we want to complete the syllabus in preparation of common test. I always encourage the learners to participate by engaging them in analysing and interpreting sources.

Facilitator: What is critical thinking?

Respondent: Thinking that cuts beyond the prescription that conforms to the prescribed rules, to see facts in a large way of thinking and not be confined to a particular territory of thinking and boundaries of a country where you think beyond the boundary. It is mostly stifled by the documents prepared by the state and for the teacher to expand on that document, like a teacher of history you are confined to content and sometimes you need to compare it with the present circumstances. We need to cut what is prescribed work.

Facilitator: In your teaching of history as a subject, which topics do you consider to be more appropriate for the cultivation of critical thinking?

Respondent: The concept of democracy in the African way, most African countries. In Tanzania there was a multiparty democracy, the people tended to vote regionally and this stifled growth and Nyerere wanted to destroy it and he burned all other political parties and formed a one-party state on the form of national building.

This topic will encourage learners to find out how different countries approach nation building and the destruction of parties, multi-parties that were created regionally, but they appoint representatives from all regions. There are states and not nations so a western-type democracy was difficult to implement.

In the Congo there was no party that won an absolute majority because people voted ethnically and this division may cause a civil war. This was resolved through a one-party state, Katanga, Kasai populated by different ethnic groups, Kasai minerals and they wanted to increase development. The Europeans sponsored federalism because they wanted minerals.

Learners can see things differently and learners can question the townships of mines such as gold and platinum, by seeing how minerals almost led to civil war. The learners can be given the opportunity to explore this issue because the freedom of South Africa came through compromises and this led to status

Topics – TRC is a controversial topic because is about justice, because the word justice is seen differently by different people, some people feel that the TRC will open the wounds of the past, some to recover financially or emotionally, some wanted closer cooperation. The learners may critique the issue of the TRC, there were people who disagreed with the testimonies of the perpetrators- The TRC's objective was to deal with all violations committed during apartheid and others were not satisfied because they viewed justice in a different way, some did not attend the TRC.

Facilitator: To what extent is the school environment encouraging you to teaching critical-thinking skills?

Respondent: At the school there is a no obstacle and this depends on the individual teacher and obstacles are brought by bureaucracy and they rubricate the teaching methodology, because of the completion and league table and this makes teachers result-driven and they do not focus on knowledge construction, centrally set tests. Common tests, work schedule which dictate the pace of teaching

End of the interview.

INTERVIEW PROFILE: MOEMI

Facilitator: What is History?

Respondent: His is the study of the past that is recorded or unrecorded, history is not only what is written form or verbally. It does mean what is written in certain book or newspaper but what is transferred from one generation to the other in a written form or verbally. There are histories that are recorded and that are systematic but there are histories that are known by certain individual within certain communities or a history of certain village known by a particular elder and may be transferred from one generation to another generation doing it verbally, therefore, it is not recorded but it is still credible. The person can be used a primary source who has witnessed what ever happened within the community and he or she may relate it to others.

Facilitator: So you think that information related by person is more reliable than the information provided by the historian or recorded history

Yes, the person is the primary source bearing in mind the issues subjectivity or objectivity in the study of history it would be more credible compared to a historian who come from somewhere and who sit down and try to understand the situation and get a point of view sometimes he may not get the primary sources and will rely on the secondary sources.

Facilitator: Why Study History?

Respondent: In order to establish where we coming from, how the world was previously before we were born, what happened around, the world that we have today is the world of tomorrow. To plan better we might know certain issues that happened and we might avoid certain issues, to some people it might be new and somebody who studied the independence of Africa, in the 1950 would understand that this is not new what South Africa is going through is similar to what African countries have gone through, one may say it resembles what happened in Africa.

Facilitator: Can we be able to draw parallel without offending Empathy, some historian's belief that you may impose presentism into the activities of the past, comparing the Russian revolution in 1917 and Marikana in 2012 which are distance from each other, can they be compared.

Respondent: In 1932 Rand strike where Smuts had to instruct the army to shoot the people and that incident can be compared to the killing that happened in Marikana in 2012 where 36 workers were killed by the police. Look at the grievances, I understand the issue of empathy, but look at the grievances they are almost central can be compared to this struggle, the demands are almost the same, there are similarities. Conditions of service and the money that is being paid to the workers so forth and so on, so when you draw the reference you might find that there are similarities, even though they may not be exact but almost because times have changed but South African government and Smuts protected the capitalist.

Facilitator: Can objectivity be achieved in the study of history? Can the past be presented as it really was?

Respondent: I partially agree, there are incidents that can be created, like the Marikana incidents might be with the technology that we have it may be easier to reconstruct them, however, it may be difficult to recreate events such as the Blood River battle in the 1880s, because over time some of the information is lost, and to say we can recreate them objectively it is difficult, the issue of the objective hovers around the issue of time, facts and sources.

Facilitator: Journalist, police and workers and government gave testimonies about the Marikana incident where 36 people were killed, which testimony can be trusted?

I would gravitate much to journalists with cameras, that is, an unaligned source unlike workers, police and, government. Marikana people were fighting for better wages, capitalist and the governments were protecting certain interests, the man with the camera would tell you the more impartial story. Television visuals gave us clear views of what happened, looking at different television channels reflecting the events from different angles showing people being killed by a hail of bullets from the police it provides a fair reflection.

One of the people who related the story of Marikana to me said that the police killed workers for nothing. The journalist and a neutral member of the society can be able to give a fair account of what happened.

Facilitator: What is the importance of using primary sources in the teaching of history?

The idea is to get as close as possible to the historical event. Here we are not only speaking about a picture and this includes the speeches like the speech by Martin Luther King, he said it in from of the people and it is a fair reflection of the fact. The witness account may be subjective to a certain extent because the onlooker may have a certain relationship with the event.

Public Broadcast such as the SABC which is advancing the interest of Zuma, current President of South Africa and the ANC would reveal the incident differently from ENCA-new (independent new channel) which is independent and not aligned with government.

Like I said some cameras may be focused in particular parts of the events in order to suit their agenda.

Facilitator: What is Empathy and how is it important in the study of history?

I can be wrong but I equate empathy with sentiment where people can empathise with certain events because they relate somehow with those events, that's what I consider empathy in history, if we speak about the TRC, I personally never lost any body specifically that relate to me but I have empathised with the victims as they relate their stories. If you do not cut yourself out of the situation, if you as a historian who want to understand what happened between a historian who is investigating what happen between Botha and Mandela they cannot help but empathise with one of them and the situation around them.

Facilitator: Would you empathise with Botha when he crafted total strategy? Would you see him as advancing a particular government programme?

I tell my learners that when this man came up with total onslaught we came with total strategy, it was propaganda to a certain extent. If you look at the pressure that he got from the national party, the pressure that he got from outside and the availability of communism in Mozambique and Angola communism to large extent you cannot shy away from empathising him, he was telling the truth about the fact that communism was closer to South Africa more than ever before.

Over a course of years when I taught history I realised that textbooks are written by different individuals with different points of view and therefore let me to the conclusion that whenever you want to find objectivity in the study of history, you cannot rely on one textbook. Then you will be saying I understand the battle of Blood River from the perspective a white man or Zulu.

Facilitator: What is the importance of primary sources in the teaching of history?

Respondent: I use sources that I can access, it might be through the textbooks or the internet or newspaper

Facilitator: Do you use Cartoon?

Respondent: Yes even though they are difficult to understand

Facilitator: Why are there different interpretations of historical events?

Respondent: Whoever it is a producer of the primary sources may have had a lapse in memory and this may lead to different interpretation of the same event.

Facilitator: What type of method can be used to teach historical skills?

Respondent: We can only teach what we can assess. No assessment is assessing specifically the skills this is content – based and content-driven approach to teaching.

Facilitator: Do you succumb to the government controls?

The programme does not allow us to teach the skills and no question, it tries when you look at the source based questions and essays but it does not provide room for the teaching of the skills. It tells you by and large that it is not giving us the time to teach skills; it is just content, content and content. It is content based and content driven

Facilitator: Tell me about yourself, Do you succumb to this?

Respondent: Yes, it is a balancing act and sometimes I move away from the norm by teaching learners the skills specifically, that's why, by bringing methods such as group discussions and debate, so that I shy away from what this government is expecting from me. You will have to keep the balance otherwise you learners would answer the questions at the end of the year but they would never understand what you were trying to achieve throughout the year

Facilitator: Is History a Science or an art? According to Ranke analyzing sources, evidence and primary sources the past can be represented as it really was

When I was at the University, I found out that history is a science, for us to recreate the past we need to find out information, we need to research the information, to interrogate the information, Mabungubwe which is an archaeological site about the ancient past people and the finding is science.

Facilitator: What is critical thinking?

Respondent: When you teach learners to think for themselves, the proper words to use are analysis, interpretation, discussion and explain and the showing of critical thinking will arise when learners can note certain terms and will be able to use them in another situation

Facilitator: Can you provide an example?

Respondent: When learners understand the term “tyrant” do they understand the characteristics of tyrant and can they use example in another situation, these characteristics of tyrant in order to apply conceptual knowledge? In the transformation of Southern Africa, they learn about Moshoeshoe as the king of the Sotho and compare him with King Shaka. If they can understand the word diplomatic then they can apply high-level thinking. In many textbooks Shaka was a warmonger, but he was also a diplomat and King Moshoeshoe was known to be friendly and many people thought he was peaceful and not dangerous but they were surprised when he showed his other side. Learners need to access accurate evidence that brings a new light to challenge established opinions about Shaka and Moshoeshoe as being a diplomat as well.

Multiple perspectivity is required by the curriculum – you can only teach this. You look at one individual from a different perspective, although many textbooks considered Shaka a tyrant, he was also a diplomat and many historians missed this perspective.

Facilitator: In your teaching of history as a subject, which topics do you consider to be more appropriate for the cultivation of critical thinking?

Respondent: TRC is not a straightforward topic because there were many people who were not affected, other people were left outside. I was engaged by a little girl who comes from Soweto who said that her uncle told her a story that he was not counted among the victims of apartheid. When learners bring the evidence to light, this is not recognized, and another girl told the teacher that she does not know where her uncle is. The uncle was not called to the TRC. Do you think the TRC achieved its objective of nation-building such as uniting the South African people? Learners realised this on their own and applied it in class and this is evidence outside the conventional sources such as textbooks.

Facilitator: Do you think that those that setting question papers are looking at the TRC in a mechanical manner?

Respondent: The question may ask learners to evaluate the success of the TRC?

End of the Interview

INTERVIEW PROFILE: MODISE

Facilitator: What is history?

Respondent: How do the vents of the past influence the events of the future, we looking at cause and effect and that can be interpreted differently by people in history we study change and development over time

We need to know what happen in the past in order to be able to plan for the future so that we can plan ahead, to have an overall understanding as how the events happen and why they happened

Facilitator: What is the relationship between history and the past?

Respondent: History is mainly contextualised because in history we do not have everything that happened we study particular events, there is a difference between the past and history and we select certain events in the past and not everything. Some of the things are not mentioned; people who were there did not see them as worth recording and archiving. Why are we not recoding everything, people have chosen to select and neglect some of the things because they have interest?

Facilitator: Can objectivity be achieved in the study of History? Can the past be presented as it really was?

Respondent: It is difficult to obtain total objectivity and a person is influenced by his personality and emotion and it is an ideal and it is impossible to achieve objectivity but we can strive to achieve objectivity.

Facilitator: How can we strive to achieve it?

Respondent: By being as neutral as possible which is very difficult for people?

Facilitator: What is the importance of using primary sources in the teaching of History?

When we teach history we are teaching certain skills, some of the learners will become police, layers, prosecutors and so on, they should be able to differentiate the sources of information whether person can rely on source or we can't rely on the source, should be able to detect whether source is bias or not bias whether the information is reliable, objective, or one sided, they provide primary information which may be, we thinking the producer of the primary sources is a person who was watching the event as it was

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happening we mostly encourage learners to look at the nature of the primary sources and notwithstanding the fact that the primary source could also be bias, sometimes a person may be influenced by his belief.

A primary source can sometimes be bias, if somebody is not reporting objectively, try to sort of influence the viewer to adopt a particular view or approach, you can see the person is talking from one perspective, which point view is he talking from whether capitalist or communist and why he is not giving the other side this is why you try and check whether the person is bias or not. Why is he not giving the other side?

Facilitator: Is that a problem when you look at the positioning of the onlooker? Whether an onlooker or participants?

No, it is not necessary, primary sources material are made up of people who were there, it is into about the distance, people who were around when the events were taking place. Sometimes a person might be blind by his own subjectivity.

Facilitator: The testimonies of the events of Marikana are varied, why?

Depending on which side, if somebody who was very much worried about the workers, concern about conditions of the workers he will speak about the fact that workers were right, if it is a police concern with the safety of everyone he will speak from another perspective and the government official who is worried about the government reputation may speak from another perspective.

Facilitator: What is empathy and how is it important in the study of the History?

Respondent: Empathy is important, you need to put yourself in the situation, where may be the people who lived in the period you are studying you can put yourself in their roles, if it was me how was I going to react. So that you understand why people reacted in a particular way. Learners should be able to put themselves in the position of the people they are studying

Facilitator: How do we teach empathy?

Respondent: Ask them to put themselves in the shoes of the people of the past; ask a learner who has the full grasp of the content to role play the event. If is somebody who grasp what has actually happened, for example, people blame Mandela for letting Winnie down.

When people present the context people may understand why Mandela took the action he took.

Facilitator: Empathy is not adequately taught, why? Do you think textbooks and question papers provide adequate guideline for the teaching of empathy.

Respondent: Learners have a poor language, learners cannot read, we try most of the time. Textbooks and papers are exam driven and neglect some aspects of the primary sources.

Facilitator: When you teach, do you use primary sources?

I rely on the textbooks and can give different type of textbooks, I can use primary sources and secondary sources, there are there in the textbooks and I even use the primary sources in the question papers.

Facilitator: Why are there different perspectives in the study of history?

Respondent: A question of subjectivity and ability of the people to be objective and it is bias

Facilitator: What is the impact of government control of syllabus coverage? Is content extensive?

At the moment, I am able to teach what I want learners to know, but time is limited I have to complete the syllabus in June, the content is not huge but there is no time,

I do not think the content is too much, the problem is time, you say in six months you must have completed a year's work then you need to jump some themes and you can then undermine sequence and chronology which is important in the study of history

Facilitator: Do the language abilities of learners affect your methodology?

We are encouraged to get in the class and you ask a question and learners just look at you, the type of learners that we have nowadays, learners that are not committed, do not read, and we try to encourage them, but today's learners are not so much into reading.

Facilitator: What is critical thinking? (How teachers articulate and demonstrate critical thinking).

Respondent: It is not swallowing the information as it comes and it has to do with questioning and taking a line of argument and supporting it, drawing conclusions based on evidence.

Cartoons, written resources and oral sources, primary and secondary resources should be analysed. In primary sources, the person who provides the evidence, is the person who was there close to the event, and the learners should know that the onlooker may be biased, and need to find out what caused the onlooker to be biased, fair, or loyal, to use the skill of analysis of sources or evidence, policeman, journalist, judges.

Facilitator: When you are engaging learners in high-level thinking, what kind of questions can you ask? Give an example.

Respondent "Democracy in South African was brought about by the sole efforts of Mandela" Do you agree or disagree? History is based on the knowledge that he acquired in class, and can be able to choose sides.

Facilitator: This can be an appropriate question if it is constructed in terms of degrees and a more suitable instructional phrase may be, "To what extent to you agree or disagree with statement?" It would be better if you say Mandela played the most important role in the road to democracy

Respondent: I agree that learners can respond in degrees.

Facilitator: Do you have two sources when presenting sources from different perspectives?

Respondent: I give them question papers, after completing the topic and they use national questions to answer and it may be an open book. I want to test whether they can understand the topic and whether they are able to select relevant possible answers in the sources, if they get the source-based question right they are likely to excel in the essay.

Facilitator: Is this source-based or essay?

Respondent: My experience is that if they can answer the source-based correctly, they are likely to well in essays.

Facilitator: Are there questions in national papers or common tests that are challenging learners critically?

Respondent: Yes, for example, what are the similarities between sources A and B, whether the learner understands whether two sources, comprehension, are for analysis and “how do two sources agree or differ?” I am trying to assess learners to understand that the same sources are looking at the ideas.

Facilitator: In your teaching of history, which topics do you consider to be more appropriate for the cultivation of critical thinking?

Respondent: Cold war and Uhuru. Sources that are presented in the cold war are letters written by two presidents of the two superpowers USA and USSR, learners are working with primary sources. Learners will see correspondence between the two superpowers and will look at the one who was correct. Between the two superpowers in terms of the Cuban missile crisis who was arrogant and provocative between USSR and the USA.

Facilitator: What is the purpose of these letters?

Respondent: Letters are important because learners read and make up their minds. Another topic is Uhuru. The president of Tanzania implemented a socialist policy – Ujamaa and there are results, successes and failures and learners will weigh the successes and failures of these social policies.

Facilitator: What standards do you use to evaluate the learners’ higher-order thinking?

Respondent: Multiple perspectives, no indoctrination, explanation of historical events, accuracy of the evidence, interpretation or opinion should be supported by facts, reliable sources, incorporation of evidence. Inference needs to be supported by accurate evidence; learners should advance a valid argument.

Facilitator: To what extent are you incorporating the elements and standards of critical thinking in the assessment tasks that you developed and administered in your classroom?

Respondent: Teachers do develop tasks – in Grade 11 and sometimes the teacher deviates a little bit but will ultimately conform and you are driven by the standards of the districts. This

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does not compromise higher-order thinking from learners. There is no flexibility for teachers, but for learners there is flexibility because teachers teach in accordance with standardised instruments. Teaching is influenced by common tests and tasks. Teachers explain terms or instructional words that are used in question papers. Most of the learners perform poorly and they are not motivated. There is a problem of language and most of them are not able to express themselves in the language of teaching. History is a language intensive subject, when responding to resources learners make direct extractions from the sentences from the sources to answer which is somehow an indication of the low level of understanding, given the low level of language in which learners are not able to reconstruct the sentences to make their answers more precise. Grounding learners in the language of teaching and learning is necessary because learners that are proficient are more successful than those that are less proficient. It has been made easier now that learners just make direct extraction and are able to pass without expressing their thinking. It is easy to work with the learner who are conversant with the language because they are afraid to participate because of the language and you end up talking to a few learners.

End of the Interview.

APPENDIX B

INSTRUMENT FOR LESSON OBSERVATIONS

Instructions

Moderator must have familiarised with the aspects of historical thinking as articulated by Wineburg and Seixas before engaging in the evaluation of the teachers. The moderator must analyse all recorded lessons and use the criteria in this instrument to evaluate the lessons presented by teachers.

Name of the Participant: Masina

1. Analysis of evidence

ITEM	Performance description	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Sourcing</i>	Student makes an insightful inferences from primary sources	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners ask good questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners analyse document about the when and why the source was created and also establish the position of the author	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Contextualising</i>	Learners contextualise sources by keeping in mind the conditions and world views prevalent at the time the source was created	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Corroboration</i>	Learners corroborate inferences from a single source with information from other sources (primary and secondary) and express the degree of certainty about those inferences.	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						32%

2. Empathy

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
	Learners exercises caution when drawing on universal human experiences to understand historical actors	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Paradox between the present and</i>	Learners identifies examples of a vast difference between worldviews prevalent	1√	2	3	4	5

<i>past</i>	today and those prevalent in the past					
	Learners ask excellent questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Moral Judgement</i>	Learners explains or illustrate perspectives of people in their historical context	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Content and Context</i>	Sufficient background information is gathered about historical actors and this include exploring diversity of sources showing their strengths and weaknesses to enable learners to reach a reasoned ethical judgement based on evidence	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Multiple perspectives</i>	Learners distinguishes a variety of perspectives among historical actors participating in a given event	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						20%

3. Cause and Consequences

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Multiple causes</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long term causes	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Multiple consequences</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long terms consequences	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Classification of causes</i>	Learners identify causes and rank them according to the their influences	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Conditions and Actors</i>	Learners identify the interplay between historical actors and conditions at the time	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Unintended consequences</i>	Learners differentiate between intended and unintended consequences	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						52%

1. POOR means that the teacher or learner is confused and has a zero understanding of the concept
2. LIMITED means that the Teacher or learners have elementary understanding of the concept which cannot be applied
3. MODERATE means that the teacher has a satisfactory level of understanding and cannot apply or teach the concept
4. GOOD means the learner has an adequate understanding of the concept and can apply or teacher it
5. POWERFUL means the learner or teacher has an extensive grasp of the concept and can apply it or teacher it effectively in class using a dialogical approach

4. Migration to a Dialogical approach

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Group Discussion</i>	Group discussions was used throughout the lessons and it elicited active participation by all learners	1	2	3	4√	5
<i>Diversified teaching methods</i>	The teacher used debates, talk shows and simulations to integrate historical skills in a lesson and there is active participations	1	2	3	4	5√
<i>Use of additional sources including primary sources</i>	The teacher uses primary sources extensively to engage learners in historical thinking activities	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						80%

These criteria were adapted from criteria provided by Seixas (2013) and Wineburg (2001).

1. POOR means that the teacher uses an authoritarian and transmission model of teaching and there is no participation by the teachers
2. LIMITED means that the use of lecturing method with limited participation of learners
3. MODERATE There is a minimal use of group discussions with limited participation
4. GOOD means the use of debate, talk shows and simulations that lead participations and the reflection of conceptual knowledge
5. POWERFUL the use of debates, simulations to display historical concepts such as empathy

Declaration by the Moderator

1. *I am a subject specialist in history with an extensive experience of teaching history for form than six years*
2. *I have a university Degree and have majored in history*
3. *I have familiarized myself with all the criteria relating to the three concepts and the dialogical approach*
4. *I have observed all the lessons and my judgement is based on evidence*

First Moderator

Researcher: D Ramoroka

INSTRUMENT FOR LESSON OBSERVATIONS Instructions

Moderator must have familiarised with the aspects of historical thinking as articulated by Wineburg and Seixas before engaging in the evaluation of the teachers. The moderator must analyse all recorded lessons and use the criteria in this instrument to evaluate the lessons presented by teachers.

Name of the Participant: Moemi

1. Analysis of evidence

ITEM	Performance description	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Sourcing</i>	Student makes an insightful inferences from primary sources	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners ask good questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1	2	3√	4	5
	Learners analyse document about the when and why the source was created and also establish the position of the author	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Contextualising</i>	Learners contextualise sources by keeping in mind the conditions and world views prevalent at the time the source was created	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Corroboration</i>	Learners corroborate inferences from a single source with information from other sources (primary and secondary) and expresses the degree of certainty about those inferences.	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						44%

2. Empathy

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
	Learners exercises caution when drawing on universal human experiences to understand historical actors	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Paradox between the present and past</i>	Learners identifies examples of a vast difference between worldviews prevalent today and those prevalent in the past	1	2√	3	4	5

	Learners ask excellent questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Moral Judgement</i>	Learners explains or illustrate perspectives of people in their historical context	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Content and Context</i>	Sufficient background information is gathered about historical actors and this include exploring diversity of sources showing their strengths and weaknesses to enable learners to reach a reasoned ethical judgement based on evidence	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Multiple perspectives</i>	Learners distinguishes a variety of perspectives among historical actors participating in a given event	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						56%

3. Cause and Consequences

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Multiple causes</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long term causes	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Multiple consequences</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long terms consequences	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Classification of causes</i>	Learners identify causes and rank them according to the their influences	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Conditions and Actors</i>	Learners identify the interplay between historical actors and conditions at the time	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Unintended consequences</i>	Learners differentiate between intended and unintended consequences	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						52%

6. POOR means that the teacher or learner is confused and has a zero understanding of the concept
7. Limited means that the Teacher or learners have elementary understanding of the concept which cannot be applied
8. Moderate means that the teacher has a satisfactory level of understanding and cannot apply or teach the concept
9. Good means the learner has an adequate understanding of the concept and can apply or teacher it
10. Powerful means the learner or teacher has an extensive grasp of the concept and can apply it or teacher it effectively in class using a dialogical approach

4. Migration to a Dialogical approach

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Group Discussion</i>	Group discussions was used throughout the lessons and it elicited active participation by all learners	1	2	3	4√	5
<i>Diversified teaching methods</i>	The teacher used debates, talk shows and simulations to integrate historical skills in a lesson and there is active participations	1	2	3	4√	5
<i>Use of additional sources including primary sources</i>	The teacher uses primary sources extensively to engage learners in historical thinking activities	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						73%

These criteria were adapted from criteria provided by Seixas (2013) and Wineburg (2001).

1. POOR means that the teacher uses an authoritarian and transmission method of teaching and there is no participation by the learners
2. LIMITED means that the use of lecturing method with limited participation of learners
3. MODERATE There is a minimal use of group discussions with limited participation
4. GOOD means the use of debate, talk shows and simulations that lead participations and the reflection of conceptual knowledge
5. POWERFUL the use of debates, simulations to display historical concepts such as empathy

Declaration by the Moderator

1. *I am a subject specialist in history with an extensive experience of teaching history for form than six years*
2. *I have a university Degree and have majored in history*
3. *I have familiarized myself with all the criteria relating to the three concepts and the dialogical approach*
4. *I have observed all the lessons and my judgement is based on evidence*

First Moderator

Researcher: D Ramoroka

INSTRUMENT FOR LESSON OBSERVATIONS

Instructions

Moderator must have familiarised with the aspects of historical thinking as articulated by Wineburg and Seixas before engaging in the evaluation of the teachers. The moderator must analyse all recorded lessons and use the criteria in this instrument to evaluate the lessons presented by teachers.

Name of the Participant: Modise

1. Analysis of evidence

ITEM	Performance description	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Sourcing</i>	Student makes an insightful inferences from primary sources	1	2	3√	4	5
	Learners ask good questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners analyse document about the when and why the source was created and also establish the position of the author	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Contextualising</i>	Learners contextualise sources by keeping in mind the conditions and world views prevalent at the time the source was created	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Corroboration</i>	Learners corroborate inferences from a single source with information from other sources (primary and secondary) and expresses the degree of certainty about those inferences.	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						33%

2. Empathy

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
	Learners exercises caution when drawing on universal human experiences to understand historical actors	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Paradox between the present and past</i>	Learners identifies examples of a vast difference between worldviews prevalent today and those prevalent in the past	1√	2	3	4	5

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	Learners ask excellent questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Moral Judgement</i>	Learners explains or illustrate perspectives of people in their historical context	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Content and Context</i>	Sufficient background information is gathered about historical actors and this include exploring diversity of sources showing their strengths and weaknesses to enable learners to reach a reasoned ethical judgement based on evidence	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Multiple perspectives</i>	Learners distinguishes a variety of perspectives among historical actors participating in a given event	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						20%

3. Cause and Consequences

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Multiple causes</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long term causes	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Multiple consequences</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long terms consequences	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Classification of causes</i>	Learners identify causes and rank them according to the their influences	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Conditions and Actors</i>	Learners identify the interplay between historical actors and conditions at the time	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Unintended consequences</i>	Learners differentiate between intended and unintended consequences	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						40%

11. POOR means that the teacher or learner is confused and has a zero understanding of the concept
12. Limited means that the Teacher or learners have elementary understanding of the concept which cannot be applied
13. Moderate means that the teacher has a satisfactory level of understanding and cannot apply or teach the concept
14. Good means the learner has an adequate understanding of the concept and can apply or teacher it
15. Powerful means the learner or teacher has an extensive grasp of the concept and can apply it or teach it effectively in class using a dialogical approach

4. Migration to a Dialogical approach

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Group Discussion</i>	Group discussions was used throughout the lessons and it elicited active participation by all learners	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Diversified teaching methods</i>	The teacher used debates, talk shows and simulations to integrate historical skills in a lesson and there is active participations	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Use of additional sources including primary sources</i>	The teacher uses primary sources extensively to engage learners in historical thinking activities	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						40%

These criteria were adapted from criteria provided by Seixas (2013) and Wineburg (2001).

6. POOR means that the teacher uses an authoritarian and transmission model of teaching and there is no participation by the teachers
7. LIMITED means that the use of lecturing method with limited participation of learners
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10. POWERFUL the use of debates, simulations to display historical concepts such as empathy

Declaration by the Moderator

5. *I am a subject specialist in history with an extensive experience of teaching history for form than six years*
6. *I have a university Degree and have majored in history*
7. *I have familiarized myself with all the criteria relating to the three concepts and the dialogical approach*
8. *I have observed all the lessons and my judgement is based on evidence*

First Moderator

Researcher: D Ramoroka

INSTRUMENT FOR LESSON OBSERVATIONS

Instructions

Moderator must have familiarised with the aspects of historical thinking as articulated by Wineburg and Seixas before engaging in the evaluation of the teachers. The moderator must analyse all recorded lessons and use the criteria in this instrument to evaluate the lessons presented by teachers.

Name of the Participant: Masina

1. Analysis of evidence

ITEM	Performance description	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Sourcing</i>	Student makes an insightful inferences from primary sources	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners ask good questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners analyse document about the when and why the source was created and also establish the position of the author	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Contextualising</i>	Learners contextualise sources by keeping in mind the conditions and world views prevalent at the time the source was created	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Corroboration</i>	Learners corroborate inferences from a single source with information from other sources (primary and secondary) and express the degree of certainty about those inferences.	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						28%

2. Empathy

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
	Learners exercises caution when drawing on universal human experiences to understand historical actors	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Paradox between the present and past</i>	Learners identifies examples of a vast difference between worldviews prevalent today and those prevalent in the past	1√	2	3	4	5

	Learners ask excellent questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Moral Judgement</i>	Learners explains or illustrate perspectives of people in their historical context	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Content and Context</i>	Sufficient background information is gathered about historical actors and this include exploring diversity of sources showing their strengths and weaknesses to enable learners to reach a reasoned ethical judgement based on evidence	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Multiple perspectives</i>	Learners distinguishes a variety of perspectives among historical actors participating in a given event	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						20%

3. Cause and Consequences

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Multiple causes</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long term causes	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Multiple consequences</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long terms consequences	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Classification of causes</i>	Learners identify causes and rank them according to the their influences	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Conditions and Actors</i>	Learners identify the interplay between historical actors and conditions at the time	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Unintended consequences</i>	Learners differentiate between intended and unintended consequences	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						44%

16. POOR means that the teacher or learner is confused and has a zero understanding of the concept
17. LIMITED means that the Teacher or learners have elementary understanding of the concept which cannot be applied
18. MODERATE means that the teacher has a satisfactory level of understanding and cannot apply or teach the concept
19. GOOD means the learner has an adequate understanding of the concept and can apply or teacher it
20. POWERFUL means the learner or teacher has an extensive grasp of the concept and can apply it or teacher it effectively in class using a dialogical approach

4. Migration to a Dialogical approach

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Group Discussion</i>	Group discussions was used throughout the lessons and it elicited active participation by all learners	1	2	3	4√	5
<i>Diversified teaching methods</i>	The teacher used debates, talk shows and simulations to integrate historical skills in a lesson and there is active participations	1	2	3	4√	5
<i>Use of additional sources including primary sources</i>	The teacher uses primary sources extensively to engage learners in historical thinking activities	1	2	3	4√	5
<i>Total score</i>						80%

These criteria were adapted from criteria provided by Seixas (2013) and Wineburg (2001).

11. POOR means that the teacher uses an authoritarian and transmission model of teaching and there is no participation by the teachers
12. LIMITED means that the use of lecturing method with limited participation of learners
13. MODERATE There is a minimal use of group discussions with limited participation
14. GOOD means the use of debate, talk shows and simulations that lead participations and the reflection of conceptual knowledge
15. POWERFUL the use of debates, simulations to display historical concepts such as empathy

Declaration by the Moderator

9. *I am a subject specialist in history with an extensive experience of teaching history for form than six years*
10. *I have a university Degree and have majored in history*
11. *I have familiarized myself with all the criteria relating to the three concepts and the dialogical approach*
12. *I have observed all the lessons and my judgement is based on evidence*

Second Moderator

 Provincial and National Moderator School Based Assessment: Moema

INSTRUMENT FOR LESSON OBSERVATIONS

Instructions

Moderator must have familiarised with the aspects of historical thinking as articulated by Wineburg and Seixas before engaging in the evaluation of the teachers. The moderator must analyse all recorded lessons and use the criteria in this instrument to evaluate the lessons presented by teachers.

Name of the Participant: Moemi

1. Analysis of evidence

ITEM	Performance description	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Sourcing</i>	Student makes an insightful inferences from primary sources	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners ask good questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1	2	3√	4	5
	Learners analyse document about the when and why the source was created and also establish the position of the author	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Contextualising</i>	Learners contextualise sources by keeping in mind the conditions and world views prevalent at the time the source was created	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Corroboration</i>	Learners corroborate inferences from a single source with information from other sources (primary and secondary) and expresses the degree of certainty about those inferences.	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						44%

2. Empathy

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
	Learners exercises caution when drawing on universal human experiences to understand historical actors	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Paradox between the present and</i>	Learners identifies examples of a vast difference between worldviews prevalent today and those prevalent in the past	1	2	3√	4	5

<i>past</i>						
	Learners ask excellent questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Moral Judgement</i>	Learners explains or illustrate perspectives of people in their historical context	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Content and Context</i>	Sufficient background information is gathered about historical actors and this include exploring diversity of sources showing their strengths and weaknesses to enable learners to reach a reasoned ethical judgement based on evidence	1	2	3	4√	5
<i>Multiple perspectives</i>	Learners distinguishes a variety of perspectives among historical actors participating in a given event	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						63%

3. Cause and Consequences

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Multiple causes</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long term causes	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Multiple consequences</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long terms consequences	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Classification of causes</i>	Learners identify causes and rank them according to the their influences	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Conditions and Actors</i>	Learners identify the interplay between historical actors and conditions at the time	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Unintended consequences</i>	Learners differentiate between intended and unintended consequences	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						52%

21. POOR means that the teacher or learner is confused and has a zero understanding of the concept
22. Limited means that the Teacher or learners have elementary understanding of the concept which cannot be applied
23. Moderate means that the teacher has a satisfactory level of understanding and cannot apply or teach the concept
24. Good means the learner has an adequate understanding of the concept and can apply or teacher it
25. Powerful means the learner or teacher has an extensive grasp of the concept and can apply it or teacher it effectively in class using a dialogical approach

4. Migration to a Dialogical approach

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Group Discussion</i>	Group discussions was used throughout the lessons and it elicited active participation by all learners	1	2	3	4√	5
<i>Diversified teaching methods</i>	The teacher used debates, talk shows and simulations to integrate historical skills in a lesson and there is active participations	1	2	3	4	5√
<i>Use of additional sources including primary sources</i>	The teacher uses primary sources extensively to engage learners in historical thinking activities	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						80%

These criteria were adapted from criteria provided by Seixas (2013) and Wineburg (2001).

6. POOR means that the teacher uses an authoritarian and transmission method of teaching and there is no participation by the learners
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10. POWERFUL the use of debates, simulations to display historical concepts such as empathy

Declaration by the Moderator

5. *I am a subject specialist in history with an extensive experience of teaching history for form than six years*
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Second Moderator

Provincial and National Moderator School Based Assessment: Moema

INSTRUMENT FOR LESSON OBSERVATIONS

Instructions

Moderator must have familiarised with the aspects of historical thinking as articulated by Wineburg and Seixas before engaging in the evaluation of the teachers. The moderator must analyse all recorded lessons and use the criteria in this instrument to evaluate the lessons presented by teachers.

Name of the Participant: Modise

1. Analysis of evidence

ITEM	Performance description	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Sourcing</i>	Student makes an insightful inferences from primary sources	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners ask good questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1	2√	3	4	5
	Learners analyse document about the when and why the source was created and also establish the position of the author	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Contextualising</i>	Learners contextualise sources by keeping in mind the conditions and world views prevalent at the time the source was created	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Corroboration</i>	Learners corroborate inferences from a single source with information from other sources (primary and secondary) and expresses the degree of certainty about those inferences.	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						36%

2. Empathy

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
	Learners exercises caution when drawing on universal human experiences to understand historical actors	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Paradox between the present and past</i>	Learners identifies examples of a vast difference between worldviews prevalent today and those prevalent in the past	1√	2	3	4	5

	Learners ask excellent questions about the sources in order to generate evidence to support their point of views	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Moral Judgement</i>	Learners explains or illustrate perspectives of people in their historical context	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Content and Context</i>	Sufficient background information is gathered about historical actors and this include exploring diversity of sources showing their strengths and weaknesses to enable learners to reach a reasoned ethical judgement based on evidence	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Multiple perspectives</i>	Learners distinguishes a variety of perspectives among historical actors participating in a given event	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Total Score</i>						20%

3. Cause and Consequences

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Multiple causes</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long term causes	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Multiple consequences</i>	Learners identified multiple short term and long terms consequences	1	2	3√	4	5
<i>Classification of causes</i>	Learners identify causes and rank them according to the their influences	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Conditions and Actors</i>	Learners identify the interplay between historical actors and conditions at the time	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Unintended consequences</i>	Learners differentiate between intended and unintended consequences	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						44%

26. POOR means that the teacher or learner is confused and has a zero understanding of the concept
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29. Good means the learner has an adequate understanding of the concept and can apply or teacher it
30. Powerful means the learner or teacher has an extensive grasp of the concept and can apply it or teach it effectively in class using a dialogical approach

4. Migration to a Dialogical approach

ITEM	Performance descriptors	Poor	Limited	Moderate	Good	Powerful
<i>Group Discussion</i>	Group discussions was used throughout the lessons and it elicited active participation by all learners	1√	2	3	4	5
<i>Diversified teaching methods</i>	The teacher used debates, talk shows and simulations to integrate historical skills in a lesson and there is active participations	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Use of additional sources including primary sources</i>	The teacher uses primary sources extensively to engage learners in historical thinking activities	1	2√	3	4	5
<i>Total score</i>						33%

These criteria were adapted from criteria provided by Seixas (2013) and Wineburg (2001).

16. POOR means that the teacher uses an authoritarian and transmission model of teaching and there is no participation by the teachers
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20. POWERFUL the use of debates, simulations to display historical concepts such as empathy

Declaration by the Moderator

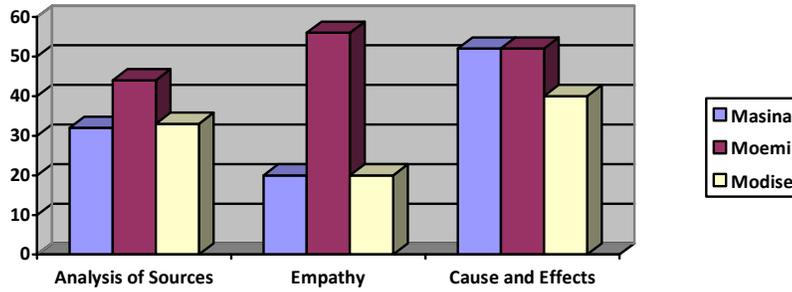
13. *I am a subject specialist in history with an extensive experience of teaching history for form than six years*
14. *I have a university Degree and have majored in history*
15. *I have familiarized myself with all the criteria relating to the three concepts and the dialogical approach*
16. *I have observed all the lessons and my judgement is based on evidence*

Second Moderator

Provincial and National Moderator School Based Assessment: Moema

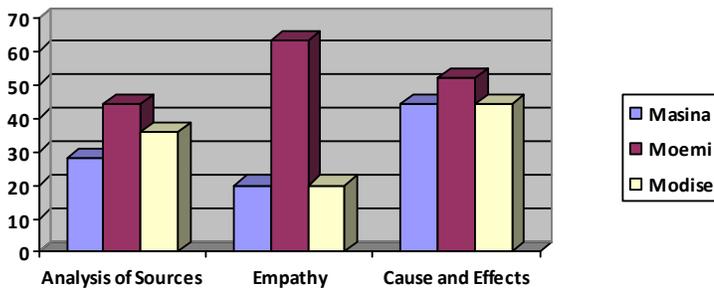
**First Moderator
Scores**

Sampled teachers	Analysis of Sources	Empathy	Cause and Effects
Masina	32	20	52
Moemi	44	56	52
Modise	33	20	40



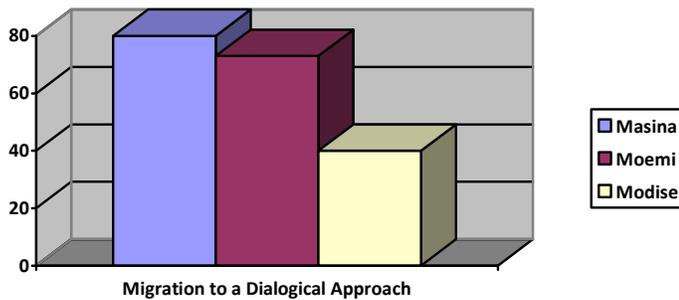
Second Moderator

Sampled teachers	Analysis of Sources	Empathy	Cause and Effects
Masina	28	20	44
Moemi	44	63	52
Modise	36	20	44



First Moderator

Sampled teachers	Migration to a Dialogical Approach
Masina	80
Moemi	73
Modise	40



Second Moderator

Sampled teachers	Migration to a Dialogical Approach
Masina	80
Moemi	80
Modise	33

