THE CONSTRUCTION, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF KING SHAKA: A CASE STUDY OF FOUR IN-SERVICE HISTORY EDUCATORS IN FOUR GAUTENG SCHOOLS

Paul Maluleka

A thesis submitted to the Wits School of Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in History Education

Johannesburg

2018

DECLARATION

I declare that this **HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE CONSTRUCTION, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF KING SHAKA: A CASE STUDY OF FOUR IN-SERVICE HISTORY EDUCATORS IN FOUR GAUTENG SCHOOLS** is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of **Master of Education (History Education)** at Wits School of Education, Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

_____

Paul Maluleka (Mr)

March 2018

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the following people:

1. My mother, Goodness Ngonya Maluleka, for all the sacrifices you had to make as a single parent to make sure that I receive an education.
2. My sister, Ofentse Maluleka, may this dissertation inspire you to one day take up academia as a career.
3. My Spongko, Frank Dikgang Modise, without you by my side this dissertation would not be a success. Thank you very much for the support.
4. Ronnie 'Morena' Maluleka, thank you for the support you have given me throughout this journey. I will always love you. May your beautiful soul rest in eternal peace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge with gratitude the following people whose invaluable contribution made this study a success:

1. My supervisor, Dr Sipokazi Madida for her clear guidance and unwavering support throughout the study. Thank so very much!
2. The in-service history educators, their learners, parents, guardians and schools for allowing me to work with them. Without them this dissertation was not going to be a success.

ABSTRACT

This study explores and discusses how in-service history educators in four Gauteng schools re-interpret, *re*construct and re-present images of Shaka in light of their individual and collective memories of him, varied academic and popular accounts, CAPS, as well the influence of history textbooks and other teaching and learning materials. It also explores the nature of history, its uses, as well as the development of the history curriculum in South Africa post-1994 in relation to the proposed compulsory history curriculum for the FET phase by the likes of African National Congress (ANC), ANC-led government and South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU).

The findings of the study reveal that the participants under study did share and/or have similar collective memory of Shaka which was 'negative', even though they came from different backgrounds or are informed by different individual memories. This highlights the embeddedness of traditional, liberal and Afrikaner-Christian nationalist, as well Zulu nationalist *re*constructions of images of Shaka in our popular as well as institutional imaginations.

Furthermore, the findings revealed that although the participants presented themselves as aware of revisionist thinking around images of Shaka and were willing to incorporate these in their teaching; what transpired during the observations were tensions between this awareness and the implementation of such and the practicalities around it. Moreover, it seems that although all participants seemed consciously or subconsciously aware of memories embedded in their own *re*constructions of images of Shaka, and sought means to open Shaka to new imaginings and further debates by their learners, this was not easy in practice. It seems that the embeddedness of individual and collective memories (with all their layers – from home to school days to university days and beyond) could not easily be transcended. This was most evident in the educators' responses to 'challenging' questions or comments by their learners. There seemed to be an element of defensiveness and tendency to want to instil views rather than allow open-endedness in interpreting Shaka's actions. So, while re-interpretation, *re*construction and re-presentation were seemingly allowed, with the exploration of teaching strategies like debates, the choice of textbooks, selection of sources to engage with, themes and topics to cover, questions to post to the learners etc. still reflected this embeddedness.

Therefore, the overall findings highlight that the practice teaching of history is a complex exercise. It requires qualified professional educators with a strong subject matter who are innovative in their pedagogical orientations, as well responded to the demands of the curriculum. These, are some of

the things that the ANC, SADTU and other interest groups need to take into account when proposing a 'new' history curriculum.

Keywords: *King Shaka; individual memory; collective memory; historiography; mfecane; revisionist historical accounts; traditional historical accounts; compulsory history curriculum; history textbooks; history educators; imagings of Shaka; CAPS*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC African National Congress

B.ED Bachelor of Education

CAPS Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements

C2005 Curriculum 2005

DBE Department of Basic Education

DHET Department of Higher Education and Training

FET Further Education and Training

GDE Gauteng Department of Education

GET General Education and Training

HMTT History Ministerial Task Team

HSRC Human Sciences Research Council

NCS National Curriculum Statement

OBE Outcome Based Education

PGCE Post Graduate Certificate in Education

RNCS Revised National Curriculum Statement

SADTU South African Democratic Teachers' Union

SASHT South Africa Society of History Teachers

SAHP South African history project

UNISA University of South Africa

WITS University of the Witwatersrand

WSoE Wits School of Education

LIST OF FIGURES

Contents

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

I have several objectives in this study prompted by various scholarly debates about or around images of Shaka and how they have come to be re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented over the years. One such objective is centred on the notion of *collective memory*, primarily because there is currently no study at all that focuses on collective memories of Shaka in history education. Hence, this study examined how in-service history educators come to re-interpret, *re*construct, organise and re-present their collective memories of Shaka.

This study contends that Shaka has acquired a special place in the collective memories of many South Africans. Some people, including in-service history educators are aware of scholarly debates about the biased and stereotypical perceptions and representations of Shaka. Yet factors such as the *Zuluised* ethnic nationalism obstinately form the basis of many memories and historical accounts, through which many South Africans, irrespective of academic standing, view Shaka.

What is novel about this study is its investigation into the often contradictory and complex social perspectives that have been brought to bear on accounts of Shaka. In addition, although there is a lot that has been written on Shaka, there is a lack of academic work done on how he is presented in classrooms. Indeed, this lack might take a different turn in light of calls for a new compulsory history curriculum in South African schools by the likes of South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), African National Congress (ANC) and the the ANC-led government through its Department of Basic Education (DBE), which might stimulate new historical thinking and representations. But there remains no scholarly work with a focus on how the different perceptions of Shaka play out in South African schools. As such, this study sought to explore how in-service history educators in some Gauteng schools deal with the multiple representations of images of Shaka and memories attached to those images and thus present it to their learners.

In general, concessions to theories of representation have enlarged and invigorated the historical discussion and thus provided opportunities to include figurative dimensions into historical interpretation. Thus methodologically, this study engaged theories of individual and collective

memory, and considered the works of Funkenstein (1993), Kansteiner (2002), and Schwartz and Schuman (2005), Tosh (1991; 2010), to name a few.

In this study, collective memory was approached as a representation of the past shared by a group or community (Kansteiner, 2002). People tend to communicate about collective memory by referring to individual memory, because collective memories result from memories of individuals within a group or groups. Basically, individuals knit together their past experiences to form collective memories. Hence, Brown, Kouri and Hirst (2012, p.1) argue that "… a memory can only be considered collective if it is widely shared and if it helps to define and bind together a group (Assmann, 1995)".

A single person's memories of his or her life and experiences give him or her sense of where s/he has come from and who s/he is, and can guide his/her decisions about the future (Gillis, 1994). Hence, Tosh (2010, p. 1) asserts that "all groups have a sense of the past, but they tend to use it to reinforce their own beliefs and sense of identity". But Brown et al (2012, p.1) also argue that "the identity-constructing function of collective memories implies that not all shared memories are collective memories". This implies that memory can only be regarded collective provided it is widely established and accepted and thus result in defining and bringing together that particular group (Assmann, 1995).

The concepts of individual and collective memory also speak to what Hall (1997) calls 'representation'. Hall viewed representation as a process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture using language, signs and images which stand for or represent things and people. If this is the case, then individual and collective memories that in-service history educators involved in this study might hold about images of Shaka might be a direct result of their cultures, which are embedded in their socioeconomic, political, geographical and historical realities – all of which are communicated through the languages, signs (symbols) and images associated with that culture. Hence, memories in this study were interpreted through the lens of individuals within a group or groups.

Furthermore, this study approached individual and collective memories that the participants possessed about images of Shaka as contradictory and complex. Hence, Tosh's claim about memory is relevant:

> Memory is neither fixed nor infallible: we forget, we overlay early memories with later experience, we shift the emphasis, we entertain false memories, and so on (2010, p. 2).

These contradictory and complex episodes are informed by the diverse realities that participants are engaged with, which are socio-economic, political, geographical and historical in their character. Therefore, and to a large extent, the individual and collective memories that many South Africans and to some extent other people around the world possess about Shaka are based largely on myths and stereotypes that are in circulation. These myths and stereotypes are circulated in schools and elsewhere, and they are mainly contained in what is known to professional historians as traditional, liberal, Afrikaner-Christian nationalist and Zulu nationalist accounts, as well as 'biographical' texts which are more popular than scholarly literature (Leśniewski, 2011). These accounts about Shaka are largely rooted in colonial traditions that have shown some continuity within the colonial and apartheid historical record and have continued to *re*construct Shaka as a 'monster' (Isaacs, 1836), 'satanic mass murderer' (Watt, 1962), 'aggressive and brutal militarian' (Ritter, 1955), 'despot' Cohen (1973); and 'sexually perverse' (Du Preez, 2004). Some have *re*constructed him as a villain, despotic, merciless, bloodthirsty, tyrant, dictator, despoiler, destroyer, murderer, backward and primitive savage, barbarian, as Wright (2006b) and Mvenene (2014) pointed out. The reason why these accounts are conceptualised and written from a colonial perspective is that; Africa was viewed as a 'dark continent' and her people were seen as having no history; they were backward, uncivilised and barbaric (Ngcongco, 1980). This was a continent characterised by polygamists, rapists, poverty, ignorance, slavery, and spiritual darkness (Richner, 2005).

All these attitudes about Africa were also institutionalised through pseudo-scientific studies which established "the ground work ... for the racial doctrines which were to dominate Western thought" (Curtin, 1964, p.363). This found expression in many statements made by colonial authorities in Africa and elsewhere. For example, Sir Philip Mitchell, a British administrator in East and Central Africa, who was the governor of Kenya between 1944 and 1952, pronounced the following about Africa:

> The forty-two years I have spent in Africa-cover a large part of the history of Sub-Saharan Africa, for it can hardly be said to extend much back than about 1870[1].

Robinson, Gallagher and Denny (1961) through their 'scientific studies' presented African histories as an extension of European history. German philosopher Hegel (1956) in his lectures on *the philosophy of history* declared that "[Africa] is no historical part of the world; it has no movement or development to exhibit… [it] is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions

[1] Sir Philip Mitchell, "Africa and the West in perspective," in C. G. Haines, ed., Africa today (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 3.

of mere nature". Hugh Trevor-Roper (1965) Oxford University professor sustained what Hegel had argued before in a series of lectures at Sussex University that were transmitted by BBC television and, subsequently published both in a popular periodical and in a book (Fuglasted, 2005) and later reprinted in *The Listener* in November and December and then with changes in *The Rise of Christian Europe* in 1965. Trevor-Roper asserted that:

> Undergraduates, seduced, as always, by the changing breath of journalistic fashion, demand that they should be taught the history of black Africa. Perhaps, in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none, or very little: There is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is largely darkness-and darkness is not a subject for history[2].

This led to European intellectuals "exercis[ing] dominance over African knowledge" (Carruthers, 1996, p.6). According to Ogot (1992, p.71) "any historical process or movement in the continent was explained as the work of outsiders, whether these be the mythical Hamites or the Caucasoids". As such, little or no attention was focused on the role of indigenous Africans in global developments, structures and processes (Ogot, 2009). Hence, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) in his *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* stressed the need to 'decolonise' Europe's "dominance over African knowledge". Walter Rodney (1973) in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* argued extensively that on-going developments existed in Africa until Europeans came and truncated them.

Therefore, the fact that for many years Europeans and Americans primarily encountered Africa through stereotypes and myths should be viewed as the foundation for many of the 'negative' accounts about Shaka and Africa. These accounts were conceptualised and written from those encounters to reinforce the myths and stereotypes that Europe and the West had about the continent and her people.

These myths and stereotypes, and their origins prompted revisionist historians such as; Hamilton (1985; 1987; 1989; 1992; 1993; 1995; 1998); Hamilton & Wright (1989a; 2001); Wright (1971; 1977; 1989b; 2006a; 2006b;) and Wylie (1995; 2000; 2006; 2011) and many other historians to challenge how they conceptualised and presented Africa, particularly images of Shaka. This kind of historiography of southern Africa started around the 1970s because of the work by radical historians (mainly Black Africans), who went against the hegemonic nature of earlier liberal revisionist (mainly white) tradition, which emphasised mainly race relations (Chanaiwa, 1980; Saunders, 1988). The liberal revisionist historians "...studied history through a Euro-centric view of people 'in possession

[2] H. Trevor-Roper. The Rise of Christian Europe, Thames and Hudson, 1965, p. 9 (originally published in The Listener, November 28, 1963, p. 871).

of political power, privileged social status, economic and cultural superiority, in a land the majority of the inhabitants of which are non-Europeans, over whom they have gained mastery by conquest' (Hoernle, p. xii and xiii)" (Chanaiwa, 1980, p.38).

This resulted in radical historians being frustrated by the Afrikaner political hegemony that existed in South Africa and the colonial hegemony that existed in the rest of the African continent. They felt as though the decolonisation of South Africa and the rest of Africa would not be achieved if African history continued to be written from a colonial eye. This new breed of revisionist historians:

> …Are now pursing an integrationist historiography that treats southern African history as the result of a give-and-take interaction among blacks, whites, coloureds and Asians – people of diverse origins, languages, technologies, ideologies and social systems. They are attempting to counter the pseudo-scientific cultural chauvinism of their forebears, the racist exclusivity of colonialist historians, and also the present-mindedness and 'emotionalism' of the nationalists (Chanaiwa, 1980, p.40)

Interestingly, most of these revisionist historians such as Carolyn Hamilton, John Wright, and Dan Wylie are white. Their accounts of Shaka have not gone unchallenged. For example, Biyela (2006, p.78) argues that "in the post-apartheid era, the *re*construction of King Shaka's image has, to date, received little in the way of contributions from indigenous African oral historians".

Furthermore, many black nationalist historians argue that the work done by revisionist historians proves to be rather problematic even though, they might come across as going against the colonial and apartheid historical records as white revisionists. They further argue that white revisionist historians in southern Africa or anywhere in the world cannot fully articulate black experiences mainly because they are not black, and have never been and will never experience the socio-political, economic, historical as well as material conditions like that of black people. They also argue that these white revisionists cannot clearly reflect, in their writings, black peoples' conceptions of the past. Hence, Carr (1964, p.15) asserted that "before you study the history, study the historian, and before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment". Exploring and understanding why historians write what they wrote, it becomes imperative to understand the historians themselves; their political, cultural, socio-political, religious and economic realities. Because in any given society, especially a society like South Africa, there can never be neutral nor objective historical accounts.

Nevertheless, scholars like Hamilton, Wright and Wylie have over the years written accounts about Shaka that challenged traditional and other accounts, with Wylie (2006, p.481) arguing that "the material for a trustworthy 'biography' of Shaka simply does not exist". Implying that all accounts

that claimed to be presenting a biography account of Shaka were based on non-existence historical evidence. In addition, these revisionists have also recognised and embraced in their writings *re*constructions of Shaka that recognises both the 'negative' and 'positive' construction of him. Unlike other traditions of history writing; these revisionist historians are not in any way wanting to portray or present images of Shaka the 'great' only. They recognise contradictory representations of Shaka in their writings (Fuerle, 1999). Hence, Wright (2006a, p.139) has argued that Shaka has been constructed in many ways by different people with different views of him and these constructions included Shaka being a:

> founder of a kingdom, nation-builder, uniter of black peoples, warrior leader, general, politician, bringer of peace, bringer of law and order, visionary, diplomat, resistance leader, prophet, philosopher, or as conqueror, despot, tyrant, dictator, despoiler, destroyer, murderer, savage, barbarian", by both black and white authors.

More on these debates shall be discussed in Chapter three. The brief introduction of the study has been articulated for the reader to know the kind of discussions to expect in this study, since perceptions and representations of images of Shaka are subject to faulty, subjective memories. The introduction also operates as a mechanism meant to confirm the credibility of this study in its pursuit to contribute to existing knowledge gaps in the field of history education.

1.2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXTUALISATION

This study was inspired by calls for a compulsory history curriculum in the basic education system in South Africa by those who occupy political office and their allies. This made me wonder if those calls were to become a reality, what kind of images of Shaka would emerge from this process. Are in-service history educators going to be expected to teach more officialised representations of Shaka in line with the proposed compulsory history curriculum that seems to be more nationalistic in its approach? Given this, this study sought to bring to the fore perceptions that some in-service history educators in South Africa hold about images of Shaka with the hope of contributing to debates around a compulsory history curriculum.

A compulsory or any other form of history curriculum is always under scrutiny everywhere around the world and for a good reason. It is perfectly natural and sane to want the "best education" for children. When it starts to become a little more irrational, even potentially problematic, is when politicians begin associating the education of children with their own agenda (Maluleka, 2014).

There have been many calls by those who are part of the ANC-led government for history to become a compulsory subject for all learners in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase. SADTU's

utterances in 2014 in their discussion document titled: *The Importance of Teaching History as a Compulsory Subject* argued that; history teaching should seek to advance nation-building through the democratic constitution and heal the wounds of the past with the hope of fostering social cohesion. SADTU believes that given the wave of xenophobic outbreaks in 2008 and that of recent, through compulsory history teaching such social ills could be addressed. They further argue that the compulsory history curriculum is meant to further expose more learners to more South African history (Kukard, 2015). Indeed, compulsory history teaching "could enhance nation-building, national pride, patriotism, social cohesion and cultural heritage" (Davids, 2016, p.87). Thus, our learners and South Africans in general, will start viewing African foreigners in a more 'humane' way. Those utterances by SADTU informed the Minister of DBE Angie Motshekga's argument that history should be a compulsory subject to all as part of "citizenship education in the senior secondary school level" (Motshekga, 2015, p.3). Moreover, the highest political office in government: President Jacob Zuma - during a gala dinner in Midrand, Zuma addressed parents in an aim to call for support of the campaign to have History declared compulsory at all schools (SABC TV, Morning Live 26th June 2015).

Subsequently, the History Ministerial Task Team (HMTT) was established to consider how history could be made compulsory in South Africa in light of what had happened in other parts of the world. This HMTT consisted of history experts who were appointed by the DBE Minister in 2015, whose task was to come up with detailed report based on the following terms of reference:

> To conduct a research study on how best to implement the introduction of compulsory History in FET schools as part of citizenship located within Life Orientation; 2- to strengthen the content of History in the FET band; 3- to review content in the GET band; 4- to present proposals regarding teacher development in initial professional education and continuous professional development, to prepare a public participation plan and draft implementation and management plan with time frames indicating: alignment with History textbooks according to the reviewed curriculum, key concerns for the implementation in the FET band and policy amendments and recommendations emanating from this process (DBE, 2015, p.4).

This move was supported by the ANC in their National Policy Conference (2017) discussion document on *Education, Health, Science and Technology* when they asserted that "A Task Team has been appointed to develop a framework for the compulsory offering of History in the Further Education and Training (FET) Band, in addition to History provision in the General Education and Training (GET) Band" (2017, p.12).

However, drawing from statement made by the Minister Motshekga in 2015 and the terms of reference that the HMTT was expected to work within, it seemed that there was a desire from the part of government to treat history and life orientation as one, to realise a compulsory history curriculum in FET phase. This view is problematic because even though history and life orientation

can be viewed as interrelated, they are still two different disciplines with different mandates. As such, this propelled the different stakeholders involved in history education, notably the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) to release a statement on this issue with the hope of making the HMTT and government aware of why history and life orientation should not be viewed as one. Amongst other reasons they claimed that:

> Given the somewhat contentious position and status of Life Orientation in the FET curriculum, the Society draws the attention of the Task Team to the need to investigate what the inclusion of History in Life Orientation might do to the status and reputation of History as a whole and to the existing elective FET subject History. Issues to investigate regarding the addition of History to the Life Orientation curriculum include that it might be counter-productive if it causes resentment among students because of the extra burden of work involved (which does not normally count towards admission to higher education); that it might have the (likely?) result that the numbers of candidates for History as an elective subject drop, as learners might be reluctant to take both the compulsory and the elective History; and that, given a possible resultant shortage of History teachers, schools might take it upon themselves to stop offering History as an elective subject (SASHT, 2015).

Moreover, the establishment of the HMTT saw the exclusion of life orientation experts which reinforced "the assumption that citizenship education ranges across life orientation and history" problematic (Davids, 2016, p.90). The team concluded its work in June 2018 with strong recommendations that history should indeed be made a compulsory school subject, and that it be more Afrocentric in its curriculum design and teaching approach. Nevertheless, some people in the country remain very wary of this sudden proposed curriculum change, and rightfully so. They are wary because of the uncertain historiographical direction this might take, especially having had the violent epistemological and pedagogical injustices that were experienced under the apartheid history curriculum. This wariness is informed partly by SADTU's arguments in their discussion document which seems to be advocating for a 'nationalist history curriculum'. As well as the belief that the ANC's led government might want to legitimise their political power through the teaching of history.

In addition, they are also wary because they wonder if the system will have adequate human resources in qualified history educators to implement this desired curriculum reform. Qualified history educators are considered a necessity because the teaching of history is complex and difficult, and thus requires educators with a strong pedagogical content knowledge of the subject, as well as the subject matter (Davids, 2016; Fleisch, Moloi, & Van der Elst 2017). Moreover, they are wary because curriculum reform involves spending resources which could be better employed to improve a failing educational system, especially in poor and rural communities.

Furthermore, if history and life orientation are treated as one under the banner of 'citizenship education', it would mean that in-service educators who are currently teaching life orientation will

be expected to teach history without any formal training, and this will also exert additional pressures on existing school staff establishments and financial resources. Thus, many learners might not be exposed to crucial historical skills such as; continuity and change, cause and effect, multi-perspectivism, empathetic understanding, and significance. If this were to be case, then many learners would be unable to appreciate and understand complex on-going debates by historians regarding images of Shaka and other histories.

What seems to be the issue is that fact that there are no enough qualified in-service history educators in the system, as well as initial teacher-training students taking up history as a major. This is the case because:

> While universities experience large numbers of students in first and second year Social Sciences, the number of education students taking history as a major subject is declining. Of concern is the lack of equitable funding for history students at Higher Education Institutions. The DBE offers the Funza Lusaka Bursary for education students. The aim of the bursary is to promote teaching as a profession. Yet history education students are not eligible for this bursary (Fleisch et al, 2017, p.35).

Furthermore, the work of Edward Said (1978) shows us that a nationalist history curriculum has the potential to lead to "othering" of groups of people. This is done through not only the use of language but also through the perpetuation of stereotypes and myths in popular media, news and discourses. Said (1978) further argues through his theory of *Orientalism* that people would begin to build their own identity based on the perceptions of other people's constructions of their history and identity.

In the South African context, we must be very careful to ensure that we do not "other" all white people through the construction of their identity as the oppressors, and thus "other" all black people through the construction of their identity as the oppressed. This is because, there were black people under apartheid who were state agents and were part of the oppressing group to some extent, and in the current dispensation it can be argued that some black political elites are doing exactly what the apartheid government did, insofar as corruption is concerned, which could be viewed as the oppression of the masses because they are excluded in partaking in the economic activities of the nation. "Othering" of white people in South Africa might lead to further tensions between races, and as we have seen in the Middle East and Balkans. The biggest risk of teaching a nationalist history curriculum as the 'proper' curriculum, and as a grand narrative is that it could lead to civil war based on extreme opposing nationalisms. At the same time, we must be careful not to have just one grand narrative, at the risk of excluding others. If South Africa were to adopt a nationalist curriculum, we would need to be careful that we do not leave out marginalised groups (like women or workers) and that we do not perpetuate intolerance or legitimise agendas of the powerful. Teaching history should

allow learners to think critically, and not just accept the status quo or grand narrative of history. Chapter two explores the teaching of history as a school subject in more detail.

Given this background, what will be of images of Shaka if this proposed compulsory history curriculum reform becomes a reality? Will in-service history educators be confronted with new interpretations of his images that they have to deal with? What will be the pedagogical and epistemological implications of all of this? The context and background to this study should be viewed as forming the mirror in which the ongoing debates around images of Shaka and how the individual and collective memories that in-service history educators possess about him inform how they come to re-interpret, *re*construct, and re-present him was investigated. This was done bearing in mind the role of postmodernist thought in the construction of revisionist images of Shaka in textbooks and other teacher-learner supporting materials that in-service history educators' use in their classrooms.

1.3. RATIONALE AND MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

As an African homosexual history educator in South Africa having taught history in various former Model C schools in Johannesburg and tutoring for the History Department at the Wits School of Education (WSoE): I am interested in knowing about individual and collective memories that in-service history educators have or *re*construct about Shaka who without doubt has had and still has an impact on our histories and present realities as South Africans, and how those memories are entrenched (if they are) in their minds and hearts, challenged or perpetuated by certain historical accounts especially revisionist accounts.

This interest was sparked by a course on Shaka and the Zulu offered at WSoE second year undergraduate level by retired Dr Elizabeth Helen Ludlow, which without a doubt exposed me to different discourses around the man that was Shaka. This course focused on debate*s* amongst professional historians regarding varied images of Shaka and their relevance in South Africa's academic and public discourses on memory and heritage.

Hence, the question posed in this research was: how do South African in-service history educators re-interpret, *re*construct, organise and re-present images of Shaka in 2016-7 informed by their individual and collective memories?

For my Bachelor of Education with Honours Research Report[3], I explored how Social Science II initial teacher-training students at WSoE understand the 'role' King Shaka played in the 'development' of Africa before and after they were exposed to different historical accounts. The objective of the study was to highlight how initial teacher-training students (Social Science II in particular) construct their individual and collective memories about Shaka and how those constructed perceptions are reinforced, challenged or even changed after being exposed to different historical accounts, especially revisionist historical accounts. And in the process how the students react to these representations. This was done through; tracing different historical accounts of Shaka, investigating the importance attached to the history of Shaka and the Zulu, determining how students interpret different historical accounts and examining how the students deal with the challenges presented by different historical accounts, especially revisionist accounts.

Although this study was an extension of the honours study; it is different to the former because it involved in-service history educators rather than Social Science II teacher training students. It is also different from the former because it sought to explore how in-service history educators *re*construct, re-interpret, re-present, as well as understand images of Shaka. It is also different from the former because it involved learners as indirect participants in that; during the unobtrusive classroom observations those learners' participations in the lessons through their responses informed the manner in which each educator *re*constructed images of Shaka.

The data collected through a questionnaire in the former study revealed that "…the participants that took part in the answering of the questionnaire did not have or share similar collective memory as a group in its entirety. However, individuals within that particular group shared or had similar collective memory about Shaka" (Maluleka, 2015, p.37). Furthermore, what this data revealed were complexities involved when one *re*constructs images of Shaka and how those complexities come to have an impact in the way in which one comes to interpret the CAPS (2011) and eventually teach the topic on Shaka and the Zulu.

With the use of focus-group interviews – it was concluded that "the manner in which the participants *re*constructed Shaka in the focus-group sessions is similar to the manner, in which they constructed him in the questionnaire answers in relations to themes that emerged" (Maluleka, 2015, p.47).

[3] Maluleka, P. (2015). How Social Science II (Second year; History & Geography) initial teacher-training students understand the 'role' King Shaka played, before and after they are exposed to historical accounts. University of the Witwatersrand. Unpublished.

These findings, to some extent, mirror how in-service history educators in this study came to re-interpret, *re*construct, re-present images of Shaka. Hence, like the previous study; this research investigated how in-service history educators deal with the multiple complexities that confront them when dealing with images of Shaka. Because all these complexities have a huge impact on pedagogical as well as the epistemological strategies that they employ, the manner in which they come to assess their learners and the knowledge they render to their learners.

On a professional level, one of the objectives behind this study is to further my career by not only obtaining a Master's degree in history education, but also developing myself intellectually and making a valuable contribution to a body of literature that is increasingly looking at issues of memory within history education. The fact that I interact with young people on a daily basis dealing with complex issues around history, memory and identity; this study enabled me to better understand my own re-interpretations, *re*constructions and representations of images of Shaka. In addition, I have taken keen interest in finding out how in-service history educators organise their individual and collective memories and in the process how they *re*construct images of Shaka – considering recent Xenophobic/Afrophobic attacks of 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2017 in some instances images of Shaka being evoked.

This interest was narrowed down to a dual focus in this research: educators' individual and collective memories and the re-interpretations, *re*constructions and representations of images of Shaka in school textbooks. The reason behind in-service history educators is that; how they come to conceptualize and/or *re*construct images of Shaka and what informs those conceptions or *re*constructions does not only have an impact on the epistemologies, pedagogies and assessment tools that they might employ but also how they come to make sense (interpret) of CAPS and the varied textbooks and other teacher-aids that they may use.

Furthermore, the fact that there is very limited literature on individual and collective memories of Shaka by in-service history educators; with this study I wish to contribute to the discourse on Shaka in history education by engaging with in-service history educators and producing more exciting data that those in history education and the history discipline (broadly speaking) can use in meaningful ways.

This study was positioned more within the cultural history space, which is different in its approach to other histories. This is the case because Rubin (2008, p.1) argues that "… cultural historians have often also been innovators in the search for sound and visible ways of approaching and identifying

ways into the daily lives of people who did not generate a great deal of documentation". This is not to say that Shaka does not enjoy a great deal of documentation, in fact he does! However, in-service history educators who are expected to learn and teach about him do not and that is why a cultural historical approach was employed for this study.

This study does not pretend to provide an inclusive survey of how all in-service history educators in South Africa come re-interpret, *re*construct, organise and represent images of Shaka informed by their individual and collective memories. One of its most obvious inadequacies related to exclusion is the disregard or marginalization of in-service history educators in remote or rural areas, who without a doubt could have contributed immensely to this study. So, the data that will be presented and discussed in Chapter six and seven is only representative of what the participants involved in this study had to say, even though some generalised comprehensive conclusions can be made.

Moreover, the number of educators involved in this study as voluntary participants is also a limitation, because four educators cannot be regarded as fully representing all in-service history educators in South Africa, let alone the Gauteng Province.

1.4. PURPOSE AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

My emphasis in this study is on how in-service History educators *re*construct images of Shaka and how the complexities involved impact on the way these educators interpret CAPS, the teacher-learner support materials they use, as well as how they come to teach the topic. With this, I aim to contribute to scholarship related to individual and collective memories of images of Shaka.

Furthermore, this study sought to provide a better understanding how different historical accounts, especially revisionist inform how in-service history educators *re*construct images of Shaka. This was done by analysing presentations made by the participants in the classroom and the textbooks that they work with, as well the questionnaire and interview questions they answered. This was done to gain a better understanding of how and why the select participants *re*construct images of Shaka. This was conducted within the study of history education and memory.

Munslow (2002, p.18) argued that "history and the past are substantially different". The past for him refers to past realities that happened and can never be relived, whereas history is a construct of those past realities. Memory in schools seems to be transmitted through the interaction of the educator and his or her learners with their immediate physical environment and their imagined realities and vice versa. And "history as a disciplined enquiry aims to sustain the widest possible

definition of memory, and to make the process of recall as accurate as possible, so that our knowledge of the past is not confined to what is immediately relevant" (Tosh 2010, p.2).

Given that, this research sought to highlight how the participants *re*construct their individual and collective memories of images of Shaka and how those *re*constructed perceptions are challenged or even perpetuated by different historical accounts, especially revisionist historical accounts and in the process how the educators react to these representations and eventually come to interpret the CAPS and textbooks that they use in their classrooms.

1.5. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To investigate the importance attached to the history of Shaka and the Zulu, specifically by working in-service history educators.
- To determine how in-service history educators, interpret and engage different historical accounts of Shaka
- To examine how the in-service history educators, deal with the challenges presented by their learners and different historical accounts, especially revisionist accounts.

1.6. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To accomplish the above objectives five major questions will be asked:

1. Did the in-service history educators (under study) have collective memory: similar prior knowledge about Shaka before they were exposed to different historical accounts about him?
1. If no collective memory, what individual memories shaped their perceptions of Shaka, and might these have shaped their reconstructions of him?
2. How entrenched is their collective memory about Shaka, if any?
3. When exposed to different historical accounts, does this collective memory about Shaka change over time or it is reinforced?
4. How has Shaka been depicted in various history textbooks under CAPS, and how might these depictions shape or inform the way educators come to *re*construct him?

1.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Calls for a compulsory history curriculum have been prominent in South Africa's political and social discourses. With SADTU (2014), DBE (2015), and the ANC (2017) leading the discussions. However, many university-based history scholars and some in-service history educators are very much wary of

history being introduced as a compulsory subject for all in the basic-education sector. Their criticism emanates from the fact that there are no enough initial and in-service history educators to implement this demanding task. To the fact that the teaching of history is difficult and demands well-trained educators, who are specialists in the field, to teach it effectively. They also argue that there are inherent dangers in using history not only to legitimise the state's narrative of the past, but to also use that narrative to legitimise those who occupy that state power. Given these developments, all stakeholders involved in history education need to be part of this process if history is to be made compulsory for all. Hence, this study not only wanted to bring to the fore 'problematic' and/or 'acceptable' perceptions that some in-service history educators might hold about images of Shaka. It also sought to provide some solutions that might address those held problematic perceptions by in-service history educators considering the proposed national compulsory history curriculum. By so doing, it will be contributing to the development of history education in South Africa.

1.8. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study was undertaken in four schools in the Gauteng province; two public schools and two independent schools. Gauteng is the smallest of nine provinces in South Africa. Yet, it is the richest province of all provinces. Its schools are generally the most resourced when compared to schools from other provinces and they generally perform very well in the National Senior Certificate (NSC) examinations when compared to schools from other provinces (DBE, 2007, 2016; StatsSA, 2011, 2016a, 2016b).

The research was undertaken in schools situated at the following districts: Johannesburg East, Tshwane North and Johannesburg South. All schools offer history as an elective subject.

1.9. LAYOUT OF THE STUDY

The structure of the thesis consists of eight chapters and will be presented in the following manner:

CHAPTER ONE

This chapter provided discussions around the overview of the study. In this chapter discussions are centred on the background and contextualisation of the study, rationale and motivation of the study, purpose and focus of the study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, purview of the study, and the layout of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

A review of local and international related literature is presented in this chapter. The literature review pertaining to this study is presented in the following manner:

- The nature of history: interpretation, representation and discipline.
- Uses of history.
- Teaching of history as a school subject.
- Collective memory vs. Individual memory.

CHAPTER THREE

This chapter is a continuation of the literature reviewed and it outlines the constructions of images of Shaka – how Shaka is portrayed by those who consider him in a 'bad' light. This includes the traditional accounts of *mfecane* where he is singled out as the cause. It also includes Afrikaner nationalists' perspectives amongst others. As well as, the deconstruction and *re*construction of images of Shaka– attempts by those scholars (specifically the liberals and revisionists) to present Shaka in a 'balanced' way.

CHAPTER FOUR

This chapter outlines the nature of history textbooks by briefly looking at their political, ideological, economic, and cultural nature. It further explores representations of images of Shaka in select CAPS history textbooks – here examples of class activities from the select textbooks are explored to see how images of Shaka is presented, as well as the pedagogic role of history textbooks. Lastly, it explores the official discourse of Shaka contained in the CAPS document.

CHAPTER FIVE

This chapter outlines the research paradigm, research methodology, design as well as theoretical perspectives employed in this study. It provides a detailed description of the research approach and methods that were employed, and the justification of these choices based on the purpose of the study. Qualitative approach was employed because it enabled the researcher to explore, understand and explain how some in-service history educators come to re-interpret, reconstruct, and re-present the image of Shaka and memories attached to that. Unlike quantitative approach which does not necessarily promote the explanation of data in depth, the qualitative approach further provided this

study with the opportunity to present detailed insights into the factors that shape the participants' conceptions of the varied images of Shaka, as well as insights that describe why and how the phenomena was approached. This chapter also outlines the context in which the extensive literature reviewed applied to the study. It also explores consideration that was given to data analysis, ethical issues such as confidentiality, informed consent, and anonymity as well as a right to withdraw, as well as the theories that rationalize the use of these.

CHAPTER SIX

This chapter presents the data of this study. The chapter is divided in the following sequence:

- Data from the questionnaire.
- Data from the unobtrusive classroom observations.
- Data from semi-structured individual interviews.

CHAPTER SEVEN

This chapter discusses the main findings of the study in relation to existing literature that was reviewed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

This chapter outlines the conclusions, and recommendations of the study. It further makes suggestions for further research.

1.10. CONCLUSION

This chapter highlights a broad overview of the study by presenting some background on the image of Shaka, issues around individual and collective memories, the background and contextualisation of the study, problem statement, rationale and motivation for the study, purpose and focus of the study, research design and methodology, objectives of the study, the research questions and the layout of the study

CHAPTER TWO

THE NATURE OF HISTORY, TEACHING OF HISTORY AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT AND INDIVIDUAL & COLLECTIVE MEMORIES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

There are volumes of literature regarding the nature of history as a discipline, its uses, the teaching of history as a school subject, and individual and collective memories. Munslow (2000; 2002; 2006; 2007; 2012; 2016), and Jenkins (2003), just to name a few, have written extensively on the nature of history and its uses. Vansledright & James (2002), Monte-Sano (2008) and others have written a lot on the teaching of history as a school subject. The likes of Durkheim (1912), Halbwachs (1952), Assmann, (1995), and Anderson (2006) to name of few – have written extensively on individual and collective memories. However, little (if not any) has been written on how these relate to perceptions held by in-service history educators regarding images of Shaka. Hence, part of this study intended to highlight how the nature of history, its uses, how history is taught in schools, as well as individual and collective memories held by in-service history educators inform and shape the many images of Shaka that are in circulation. These discussions will be addressed in the following manner:

- The nature of history: interpretation, representation and discipline.
- Uses of history.
- Teaching of history as a school subject.
- Collective memory vs. Individual memory.

2.2. THE NATURE OF HISTORY – INTERPRETATION, REPRESENTATION & DISCIPLINE

The most relevant sources that relate to this study are those dealing with the nature of history. The one helpful source relating to the nature of history is a book by Munslow (2012) titled *A History of History*. This source is relevant to the study because it provides a general background. The main argument by Munslow is that the nature of history as a discipline is a matter of ongoing reflection and debates among academics, which is the subject of this study. Though this source does not deal with images of Shaka, it helps in understanding the nature of history as an ongoing debate amongst scholars. Munslow's argument challenges one to ask the following: what is history? What is the relationship between history and the past? How are both history and the past constructed?

With the most recent debates on knowledge production within the broader field of social sciences, history as a discipline can longer be viewed as the past. Postmodernists scholars as such Munslow (2000; 2002; 2006; 2007; 2012; 2016), Jenkins (2003), and Carr (2008; 2010) construct history and the past as distinctively different, although not all historians agree with this distinction – notably the empiricists. They argue that history is written as a complex narrative discourse, moulded by the rhetoric, metaphors and ideological strategies of explanation employed by the historian. Thus, the definition of history is a subject under constant debate without definitive answers (Swoboda & Wiersma, 2009).

The 'past' is viewed by these scholars as historical events that took place and cannot be relived, the people who lived and the thoughts they had. They view history as re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of the past. This can take the form of narratives written in present times by historians with their own view of the world informed by certain schools of history and the context they find themselves in. This implies that "historians are not neutral and are influenced by their contemporary societies" (Swoboda & Wiersma, 2009, p.15) and historical knowledge is the outcome of a process of enquiry (Smuts, 2006) – the process of 'doing history' (Bertram, 2008). Furthermore, history is also viewed as existing in other forms, such as; artefacts, and individual or collective memories.

Moreover, these scholars go against the empiricist approach of history that is associated with positivism, which argues that history as an area of knowledge is an attempt to know the objective past. And this "objective past" can only be accessed through sensory observations and "systematic archival research into material documents" (Green & Troup, 2016, p.1). Leopold von Ranke is seen by some as the pioneer of this empiricist approach because of the long histories contained in the numerous volumes he authored; where he had argued that historians should stop interpreting the past and document what had happened (Tosh, 2005). However, Anbalakan (2016, p.22) argues that "the yearning to write objective history had always been a practice among historians since the time of Herodotus itself".

Nevertheless, Ranke encouraged historians to stop working with many sources such as personal memoirs and other secondary sources, and only use primary sources (Tosh, 2005; Green & Troup, 2016). Ranke's approach to history was an attempt to explain the past in terms of "how it actually was" without making any judgments (Yılmaz, 2007).

According to Iggers (1997, p.5) cited in (Yılmaz, 2007) the limitations of the Rankean School were:

a) Its failure to recognise economic and social influences and
b) Its strong emphasis on the political aspect of events with almost exclusive reliance on official documents of state.

This led to the development of what was known as the "linguistic turn" pioneered by the likes of Foucault, White, Derrida, Lacan, Rorty, Kristeva, Lyotard, Baudrillard, Schrag, and Barthes, and the "the narrative turn" pioneered by Hayden White and others. These 'turns' were rooted in postmodernist thinking which challenged the "old essentialist assumptions concerning objectivity, truth, industrial growth, rising economic expectations, and traditional middle-class norms have been shaken (Iggers, 1997: 13-14, Munslow, 1997)" (Yılmaz, 2007, p.180) – they explored the textuality of history. What characterised the post-modern thought were notions of decontextualising and de-centring language in order to highlight that historians invert or make meanings through their use of language (White, 1978; 1999; 2000; 2005). That is, they question the way historians try to know the past (Yılmaz, 2010).

Hence, Munslow (2002) asserted that historical narratives are "that written composition of historians that encompasses their source-based data founded on certain principles of selection and organization" (p.18). White (1978), Carr (1964, 2008, 2010) and Jenkins (1991, 1995, 2003) concur with the notion that history is a narrative discourse. They argued that any narrated historical account would have an assembly consisting of series of historical events into a narrative with a plot, which for White et al this process is known as 'emplotment'. In order words, emplotment is the act of giving something a plot, of placing it within a narrative structure. To do this, De la Paz (2005) assert that professional historians use discipline-specific methods of analysis to evaluate and interpret different kinds of evidence to represent the past. These include comparing or corroborating information across documents, using contextual knowledge of the situation to evaluate the accuracy, reliability of the sources, interpreting sources, continuity and change, cause and effect, multi-perspectivism, empathetic understand, and significance (CAPS, 2011; Wineburg, 2001).

Moreover, history as narrative discourse of the now absent past raises questions about objectivity and the truth-acquiring character of history (Munslow, 2002). Postmodernists assert that since language is used to communicate the past; historical accounts should never be regard as the 'truth' or 'objective'; because language conceals a lot of meanings and thus fails to construct the world as is or was (Collins cited in Jenkins, 2003).

Postmodernists "encourage historians to embrace demystification approach to history in order to allow those whose voices are ignored in history the opportunity to write their own histories" (Yılmaz, 2010, p.787) and to "free up historians to tell many equally legitimate stories from various viewpoints and types of synthesis" (Windschuttle, 2002, p.275). Thus, this study sought to bring to light experiences, re-interpretations, *re*constructions and representations of images of Shaka by in-service history educators who can be regarded as marginalised voices within historical records – since their experiences with these images have been largely marginalised at most, and ignored at best.

What follows are discussions on the usage of history considering varied images of Shaka.

2.3. USES OF HISTORY

South African politicians have used school history for many years for their own selfish political gains. For example, white colonial settlers of the 1600s and 1800s used the history of 'European Western civilisation' as a justification of imperialism and colonisation of the global south. Following that, the apartheid architects used Afrikaner-Christian nationalist historiographies to justify their racist, brutal and segregationist system of apartheid drawing from their white colonial settler ancestors. The current crop of political elites who seem to use the liberation struggle historiographies not only to legitimise their political power but to also divert public attention away from their corrupt dealings and failure to deliver basic services to 'their people'.

Ndlovu (2009, p.69) asserts that "the history syllabus is closely followed by politicians and policy makers to make sure that the history that is taught is in line with the ideology of the ruling elite". This is because those in power seek to provide new narratives (which are seen and presented as being 'positive' in nature) through the history curriculum. This is because they seek to *re*construct new national identities that might allow them to hold on to power for long by inculcating in young people a sense of loyalty and pride to the state, and a reassuring and positive sense of identity and belonging to a nation (Low-Beer, 2003; Ndlovu, 2009; MacMillan, 2009; Sneider, 2012). In contrast, the history curriculum can also be used to foster 'positive' memory and identity of a nation (Weldon, 2009).

Considering this, images of Shaka have been used in South African history curriculums, both in apartheid history education and the democratic history education, to benefit those who are in power at that specific time. In his Master's dissertation titled *An analysis of the depiction of "big men" in apartheid and post-apartheid school history textbooks*; Anand Naidoo (2014) provides a general background on how images of Shaka has been represented in apartheid and post-apartheid history textbooks – by extension the history curriculum in both eras. The main argument by Naidoo is that

images of Shaka used in some apartheid history textbooks were that of a hegemonic "big man", a tyrant, blood-thirsty despot, violent, ruthless, an autocrat, a patriarch and warmongering, and they were the only "big" African images appearing in the apartheid history textbooks. This was because of the Afrikaner-Christian nationalist historiographies of the time operating as extensions of traditional historiographies, which were geared towards highlighting the actions and achievements of white men (Naidoo, 2014), and in the process demonise African people in general using images of Shaka to further perpetuate myths and stereotypes that were in circulation. The one myth that the apartheid government was so determined to perpetuate using the images of Shaka according to Weldon (2009) was the 'empty land' myth in which mfecane or the "wars of Shaka" as it was commonly known was solely blamed on Shaka. These "wars of Shaka" according those Afrikaner-Christian nationalist historians resulted in large parts of the country being depopulated and thus, several "White pioneers" occupied or settled in these empty areas (Lintvelt et al, 1987). As such, these narratives were meant to legitimise illegitimate land occupations by European settlers at the expense of the indigenous Africa majority (Weldon, 2009).

Moreover, Naidoo argues that in some post-apartheid history textbooks images of Shaka appear again and this time these images derived from Zulu nationalist historiographies. He argues that these images are *re*constructed and represented in a 'positive' light; Shaka is fierce, a powerful leader, a symbol of Zulu history, heritage and culture, role model and a symbol of Zulu success and achievement, a brilliant military leader, a courageous, intelligent and powerful king. He further argues that these images were used as political and propaganda tools to promote the African renaissance agenda - "African nationalism, which was previously relegated to the position of terrorism and communism, is now studied as emancipatory development" (Ndlovu, 2009, p.72).

However, Naidoo seems to overlook revisionist and other *re*constructions and representations of images of Shaka in apartheid and post-apartheid history textbooks (curriculum) which seems to challenge both the traditionalistic and nationalistic images of Shaka, as well as other *re*constructions. Thus, these will be highlighted in chapter three. But what one can draw from the arguments made by Naidoo is that, school history in South Africa has been used by those who occupy political power and other powerful interest groups to legitimise their dominance over others through notions of 'nationalism' and 'nation-states' which are inclusive and exclusive at the same time and thus, reinforce dominant ideologies of the state.

This is very important to highlight especially considering calls for a compulsory school history curriculum for the FET phase. This proposed compulsory school history curriculum seems to initiate

a new national narrative centred on notions of 'nationalism', new 'nation-state' and new 'national identity'. These notions are highly dangerous if they are not treated with caution. This is because it is dangerous to approach school history in a democracy unquestioningly in a similar way to that of apartheid (Kallaway, 2012). We might end up with a history curriculum that does not consider other approaches to doing history. We might also end up with "narrow history teaching, which cannot do justice to either its substantive or procedural nature" (Kukard, 2015, p.34).

Hence, Ndlovu (2009) cautioned us by arguing that South Africa can learn from that likes of Zimbabwe that have sought to use the school history curriculum to advance the interests of the political elites or other powerful interest groups. He argued that "the obvious danger of any history curriculum that is politically subordinate [sic] is that it does not produce critical history graduates, but instead extremely biased and dangerous citizens who cannot embrace difference and diversity" (p.73). Kallaway (2012) on the other hand, argues that effective revision of the history curriculum in South Africa requires a careful study of the history of history education that have taken place in the country. Rather than a narrow nationalistic history curriculum; the current South African government should rather explore a history curriculum that considers all approaches to history because a solely nationalistic history curriculum should not be something we aspire to introduce to our schools as it will lead to more harm than good.

The following section deals with the notions of teaching history as a school subject in relation to varied images of Shaka.

2.4. TEACHING OF HISTORY AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT

Teaching history is quite different to teaching other subjects (Quanchi & So'o, 2003). In the sense that it is a difficult task that requires educators that are not only professionally trained but those that love and are passionate about the survival and promotion of the subject. This is not to say that other school subjects do not require professionally trained and passionate educators. If fact, all subjects require these kinds of educators. However, history requires a special kind of educator. The ten traits of highly effective teachers highlighted by McEwan (2002) best describe the special kind of history educator referred to her.

Levstik & Barton (1997) argue that it is important for any in-service history educator to acknowledge that historical accounts involve interpretation, which might be an extremely difficult task to impart

on to learners. Beyond this, the difficulty stems from the intervention of policy in the form of curriculum imperatives, which can aid or complicate teaching history (Ludlow, 2012).

However, difficulty does not mean that it is unattainable. Since, interpretation in the classroom is an attribute of understanding (Mazibuko, 2008). What this means is that; the teaching (and learning) of history should move beyond the recollection of facts to a point whereby learners are engaged in the process of critical thinking, high level historical thinking, use of analytical skills (Mazibuko, 2008; Giliomee, 2010; Van Eeden, 2012; Fru, 2010, 2015) and thus acquire important historical knowledge and understanding and begin to think, read and write like historians (Jenkins, 1991; Seixas, 2004; Quanchi & So'o, 2003; Rael, 2005; Carr, 2008; Mazibuko, 2008; Reisman, 2011). This, according to Fru (2015), will result in learners being "responsible, reflective, and active citizens who can make informed and reasoned decisions about issues confronting their societies from local to global levels".

Considering this, South Africa claims to have shifted from using history as a way of conversation (narrative) only, but incorporated its narrative nature with enquiry nature of history as evident in CAPS (2011). The curriculum now demands of in-service history educators to strengthen equally the inquiry and narrative part of history to enable their learners to understand events from multiple perspectives of those times, recognize differing interpretations and arrive at conclusions only after considering both primary and secondary evidence (Barton & McCully 2005).

In relation to teaching the history of Shaka and the Zulu; this kind of understanding of history propels in-service history educators to move away from the 'facts only' approach that is informed by traditional teacher-centred methods. To social constructivist learner-centred methods that will in turn expose their learners to historiographical trends that inform this topic, because "historiography as a metatheoretical discourse … extends the gaze of the historian to everything, even themselves, revealing the historical specificity of all forms of historical knowledge and practice" (Parkes, 2011, p.102). This will, in turn, nurture what Bunt (2013) called "creative thinking skills" when he investigated the extent to which educators nurture the development of creative thinking through the choice of teaching methods, which include the application of teaching strategies and the utilisation of resources, in the Grade 9 Social Sciences classroom.

2.5. COLLECTIVE MEMORY VS. INDIVIDUAL MEMORY

Memory is perhaps the most central aspect of human thought. Memory has been studied through a multidisciplinary approach which taps into disciplines such as; anthropology, education, literature, history, philosophy, psychology and sociology, among others (Wertsch & Roediger, 2008). Thus,

memory has been defined in various ways and has become central in the understanding of what it means to do history (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2008). Many historians study memory, particularly collective memory, drawing from the work of theoreticians, sociologists, historians and philosophers such as Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora and Paul Ricoeur.

Memory should be viewed as interpreted through the lens of an individual, as well as the perspective of a group (Hanneman, 2010). In other words, similar memory of an event can be shared by individuals with in particular social groupings (collective memory) and a memory can be personal interpretations of an event by an individual (individual memory) within that particular social grouping (Schacter et al, 2009). This makes individual and collective memory interrelated. Hence, Halbwachs (cited in Donohoe, 2014, p.33) argued that "the collective memory . . . encompasses individual memories while remaining distinct from them. It evolves according to its own laws, and any individual re-membrances that may penetrate are transformed within a totality having no per-sonal consciousness". But, at times individual and collective memory are often in tension, and the recollections of individuals frequently challenge the construction of partial accounts designed primarily to achieve collective unity (Green, 2004).

History and memory inform and shape one another through a complementary process (Boodry, 2005). They form an entangled relationship (Rusu, 2013). Rusu argues that to "…define their conceptual content by isolating them from each other is rather the result of a process of Abstractisation", (p. 262).

The main argument made by Rusu seems to be that history and memory are interdependent phenomena and the attempt to disentangle them is an intellectual/mental/cognitive process or operation. This is because the conventional stance is that history is objective, and memory is subjective (see Pierre Nora's argument on this matter). Rusu's point seems to suggest that the relationship between the two phenomena is more sophisticated than a simple antagonism between objective (history) and subjective (memory). He seems to view the two as shaping each other continuously through a dialectical process, in which memory is influenced by official history and in the same time official history (sometimes) draws on individual remembrance and collective memories in articulating a standard narrative of the past.

By exploring notions of individual and collective memory in relation to history as a discipline assisted me in understanding how the in-service history educators involved in this study re-interpret, *re*construct and re-present the varied images of Shaka. It also assisted me in establishing whether

the select participants shared and/or had similar individual and collective memory regarding images of Shaka, as well as to establish the roots of such *re*constructions.

2.6. CONCLUSION

There are different understandings amongst scholars on the nature of history, historiography, teaching of history as a school, and individual and collective memory. These understandings have a bearing in the way in which professional historians and other authors come to re-interpret, *re*construct and re-present the images of Shaka. Hence, it was important to first explore, in detail, the relationship between these complex concepts in relation to varied historiographies of images of Shaka.

The following chapter, however, is a continuation of the literature reviewed and it outlines the constructions and deconstructions of varied images of Shaka image - how Shaka is portrayed by those who consider him in a 'bad' light. This includes the traditional accounts of mfecane where he is singled out as the cause. It also includes Afrikaner-Christian nationalist perspectives amongst others. As well as, attempts by those scholars (specifically the liberals and revisionists) to present images of Shaka in a 'balanced' way.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSTRUCTIONS, DECONSTRUCTIONS & RECONSTRUCTIONS OF IMAGES OF SHAKA

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Taylor (2016) argues that South Africa has experienced three historiographical shifts because of the transition from colonialism, to apartheid, and to democracy. These historiographical shifts gave birth to different historiographical schools, namely a British imperialist, settler and/or colonialist, an Afrikaner-Christian nationalist, a liberal, an African nationalist, and a revisionist or 'radical' school (Wright, 1977; Visser, 2004). The colonialist tradition in southern Africa is not the only tradition that has been comprehensively studied, critiqued, analysed, and challenged (Chanaiwa, 1980). Equally, the Afrikaner-Christian nationalist and other historiographical schools have, over the last half a century, been comprehensively studied, critiqued, analysed, and challenged – even though more still needs to be done.

This chapter first presents discussions about historiographies related to traditional also known as British imperialist, as well as Afrikaner-Christian nationalist *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka. These accounts can be viewed as single stories of images of Shaka that in turn project the African continent. These traditional accounts derive from British historiography that emerged in the Cape (1806-1910) aimed at asserting British colonial power and expand the empire. These histories were "concentrate[d] on particular people and the processes founded in the distinction between 'reality', the material occurrences of events, and 'representations', the term in which the story is told and acted on" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991, p.34).

This chapter also presents Afrikaner-Christian nationalist accounts that derive from the rise of Afrikaner nationalism (1889-1994). These accounts, according to Richner (2005, p.20) were "developed first by amateurs at the beginning of the century and then by professional historians at Afrikaans Universities". Their authors were mandated by the state and the secret organization called the *Broederbond*, to challenge and change the British narrative regarding the Afrikaners. Hence, "locally written histories came increasingly to adopt an anti-imperial stance" (Wright, 1977, p.14). However, they also collaborated and corroborated the imperialist narrative of Africa and her people, which was beneficial to the Afrikaner-Christian nationalist project.

This chapter also presents discussions of historiographies related to white liberals of 1920s to 1950s who, according to Wright (2006a, p.142) challenged "important aspects of settlerist historiography" but in the process "had little effect on established notions about the history of Shaka and his times". As well as, historiographies by radical academics of 1960s to 1990s who, according to Wright (2006a, p.145) "became widely involved for the first time in the imaging of Shaka". As well as, nationalist [African and Zulu] historiographies of the 1960s to the 1990s who sought to challenge traditional, white liberals and academics (black and white) historiographies and thus, wanting to historically portray Africans as a people with a sense of agency considering the various independence movements developing throughout the continent at the time were also engaged.

Lastly, this chapter presents revisionist historiographies of Shaka that sought to challenge all interpretations and representations of images of Shaka by other historiographical schools that came before them were also engaged. These debates presented by revisionist historians are part of a large postcolonial project, which seeks to counter "… the brute facts of colonialisation; but beyond that it also represents an analysis of its own relation to colonialism, a reckoning or coming-to-terms with what has happened (and is happening) under the banner of the colonial" (López, 2001, p. 3).

3.2. THE CONSTRUCTION OF SHAKA'S IMAGES: HOW SHAKA IS PORTRAYED BY THOSE WHO CONSIDER HIM IN A BAD LIGHT

Renowned Nigerian novelist, Chimamanda Adichie, spoke in 2009 during a TED Talk session on —*The Danger of a Single Story*. During her presentation she recalled how, at a young age, European literature was the only literature she was exposed to – which informed the stories she authored at the time. Later in her life she was introduced to African literature, and that is when she realised that she was only exposed to single stories of Africa. Her conclusion was that a single story becomes dangerous because it creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. When we hear the same story repeatedly, it becomes the only story we ever believe. This stands especially true for the story of Africa. A single story of Africa exists in the West and Europe and it is negative. Africa is re-presented as unprogressive, a continent filled with spiritual darkness, rapists, danger, violence, poverty, slavery, polygamy and hopelessness (Richner, 2005).

According to Hamilton (1985, p.1) "the rise of the Zulu state in the early nineteenth century under its most famous king, Shaka, is probably the best-known event in the precolonial history of southern Africa". The history of Shaka and the Zulu is arguably one of the most documented histories ever to come out of Africa. White colonial settlers such as Francis Farewell, King James, Nathaniel Isaacs, Robert Moffat, John Melvill, and Henry Fynn (Leech, 2000) were amongst the firsts to author stories of Shaka that were 'negative', and thus projected the entire continent of Africa in a 'negative' light. Images of Shaka at the time were part of the European concepts of Africa (Leech, 1997). Their writings, according to Wright (1977, p.14) were "mainly narrative and descriptive, with little by way of analysis and interpretation, and tended to be written from a decidedly British imperial point of view".

Hence, their sole purpose was to justify white colonial occupation and exploitation of the African continent. Their work is part of a large colonial and apartheid project that attempted to project Africa as a continent of darkness and/or a heart of darkness[4], a continent which was [still is] meant to be 'saved' by European settlers, imperialists and colonists. These authors were traders, amateur historians, missionaries, settlers and travel writers whose work are contained in mainly biographies that are more popular than scholarly (Leśniewski, 2011). Wylie (1995) in his doctoral thesis titled *White writers and Shaka Zulu*, details a comprehensive account on the possible genealogy of white Shakan literature, including eyewitness accounts, histories, fictions and poetry that this study briefly explores. Wylie asserts that the way in which traditional and Afrikaner-Christianist nationalist authors came to *re*construct and re-present images of Shaka concerns with their own self-image.

The single negative story of Shaka that emerged from the two camps mentioned above was underpinned by myths and stereotypes. Although myths and stereotypes can be understood as being interrelated; they are not interchangeable synonyms. Blum (2004) views stereotypes as false or misleading generalisations about groups held in a manner that renders them largely, though not entirely, immune to counterevidence. They are 'reductive' and attempt to 'essentialise' those they rigidly label (Pickering, 2001). They, however, change overtime (Bordalo, Coffman, Gennaioli, & Shleifer, 2016). But those who are stereotyped continue to suffer through bad stereotyping, because those in power want to perpetuate false beliefs about them (Glaeser, 2005; Steele, 2010). Whereas, myths are complex notions interpreted from multiple and complementary perspectives (Morales,

[4] Joseph Conrad. (1899). *Heart of Darkness.,* California: Coyote Canyon Press

2013; Shalaeva, 2015). They are narratives or beliefs that are untrue or merely fanciful (Leeming, 2010); thus, an alternative world is created through myths (Shalaeva, 2015). Myths embody cultural attitudes, values, and behaviours (Curtin, 1964; Leonard, 2004).

Through myths and stereotypes these two camps were able to appropriate and manipulate the images of Shaka to serve various political causes (Buthelezi, 2004). These political causes amongst others included; sociopolitical, economic and cultural dominance, as well as justification for Europeans' occupation of Africa and the 'empty land' narrative. Shaka was thus constructed and presented as a 'monster' or 'a tyrannical Attila' (Isaacs, 1836), 'Satanic mass murderer' (1962), 'aggressive and brutal militarian' (Ritter, 1955), and some have constructed him as a villain, despotic, merciless, bloodthirsty, tyrant, dictator, despoiler, destroyer, murderer, backward and primitive savage, barbarian as White (2006a) and Mvenene (2014) point it out.

Hamilton (1998, p.16) argues that:

> The writing of history conceived of in disciplinary terms, that is, the production of professional history — not necessarily by academy-trained historians or full-time historians, but by researchers who viewed their task as a scholarly and autonomous exercise — began in South Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the work of George McCall Theal, George Cory, and Eric Walker. Largely concerned with the emergence of colonial society these works treated African societies as peripheral to colonial history.

George McCall Theal wrote accounts that projected Africans [Shaka] as inherently violent and inferior to Europeans (Maylam, 2001) – savages (Wylie, 2000). His work was influenced by the likes of George W. Stow (1822-1882). He constructed Africans as being a hindrance to the progression of European civilisation. In his writings, Theal also propagated the 'empty land' myth which was later adopted by Afrikaner-Christian nationalist historians and the apartheid government. He argued that southern Africa was empty before the arrival of the white settlers and the Bantu speaking Africans, who had arrived at roughly the same time (Babrow, 1962). His ideas found expression in an eleven-volume series *History of South Africa* and school textbooks that he wrote. These school textbooks were sanctioned by the Cape and Orange Free State education departments, which were published in English and Dutch (Babrow, 1962). They included; the *Compendium of South African History and Geography* (1876) and *his Korte Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika 1486-1835* (1891).

His ideas also found expression in a book titled *A History of South Africa* by E.A. Walker (1928). In this account, Walker took it upon himself to re-examine and re-interpret the writings of his predecessors (Lacey, 2007). According to Lacey (2007, p.5) "it remained the only scholarly synthesis of our history until it was supplemented by C.F.J. Muller's *Five Hundred Years* and M. Wilson and L. Thompson's two *volume Oxford History of South Africa*". He, thus, standardised the term 'mfecane' that he translated to mean 'the crushing' (Cobbing, 1984). According to Cobbing (1984) the term existed in many forms; from MacGregor's 1904 nineteenth century, the written traditions in the 1820s along the 'eastern frontier', as well as other Nineteenth-century forms.

This term was used to describe the period of mass migrations, cannibalism, upheavals, famine, state-building and killings in southern Africa. Traditional and Afrikaner-Christian nationalist accounts of the mfecane put the blame on Shaka and Shaka alone as being responsible for the upheavals. The violence that occurred during this period was viewed as justifying 'African savagery' that white settlers and colonists of the time needed to counter by Christianising or civilising Africans (Epprecht, 1994). This historiography was underpinned by political, ideological and cultural bias and was taken up by different political groupings to serve their own interests. In other words, this historiography was highly politicised (Epprecht, 1994).

Theal-inspired [Afrikaner] historians propagated the view that this period of turbulence was caused by black inter-tribal warfare, leaving vast stretches of land open to Boer, British and Portuguese trekkers and settlers (Hamilton, 1995; Richner, 2005; Wright, 2006a). Epprecht (1994) argues that it was also a way for the nationalist regime at the time to justify the 'tribal nature' of Africans and justify its Bantustan and other apartheid policies. The apartheid history curriculum was thus used as a tool of separation and oppression. Contained in it were interpretations of the mfecane that argued that "whites were actually doing Africans a favour by separating "tribes" whose bloodlust had in the past wreaked such havoc" (Epprecht, 1994, p.115).

Weldon (2009, p.17) cites a myth presented as a 'fact' in a Grade 12 apartheid history textbook:

> The most significant of [the major tribal wars] was the Mfecane, initiated by Shaka in the region between the Drakensberg and the Limpopo River in 1818. Large numbers of Blacks were put to death, tribes were annihilated or so disintegrated that they became part of other Black groups. Large parts of the country were depopulated as a result of the Mfecane and several White pioneers settled in these areas.

Furthermore, they mainly referred to the history of Dutch-Afrikaner societies from the Great Trek to the South African war of 1899 (Wright, 1989). They only ever referred to precolonial African past when it had a direct impact on Cape Dutch or Voortrekker history (Richner, 2005). The history of mfecane was viewed from Theal's Zulu-centric, geographically-integrated mfecane narrative, because "it disregard[ed] all other interacting aspects of the mfecane" (Mvenene, 2014, p.60).

What led to these historians to be inspired by Theal's interpretations is that "the academic study of precolonial history was left by default largely to archaeologists and anthropologists. The notions of Shaka the Mighty and his wars that had become entrenched in the previous decades lived on largely unchallenged on the works of most [these] historians" (Wright, 2006a, p.114). As a result, these historians ignored critically engaging and researching the mfecane and thus accepting narratives presented by Theal et al which were a compressed and deracialised form (Wright, 1988). This was because those narratives suited the status quo at the time. This, however, gave rise to a new breed of historians that challenged the traditionalist, as well as the Afrikaner-Christian nationalist narratives of Shaka, Africa and her people. These historians include amongst others; revisionist and African nationalist-inspired interpretations of images of Shaka.

The section above presented constructions and presentation of images of Shaka by those who viewed him in a 'negative' light. What is to follow are discussions around *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka by those who wanted to portray him in a 'balanced' way.

3.3. THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DECONSTRUCTION OF SHAKA'S IMAGES: ATTEMPTS BY THOSE SCHOLARS (SPECIFICALLY THE LIBERALS AND REVISIONISTS) TO PRESENT SHAKA IN A 'BALANCED' WAY

White liberal historiographies of the Oxford History School during 1920s to 1950s were the first to emerge as 'challenging' Theal's Eurocentric, patronising, and paternalistic approach to African histories (Saunders, 2008). This is because academic historians in South Africa were more interested in 'race relations' rather precolonial history, and thus archaeologists and anthropologists were there only ones who mainly studied precolonial history (Wright, 2006a). However, at later stage historians from mainly English-medium universities in South Africa began re-interpreting South African historiography from a liberal perspective.

The first liberal historians included the likes of William Miller Macmillan (1885-1974) and Cornelis Willem de Kiewiet (1902-1986). Who, according to Leech (2000), their work was criticised, by many, as lacking detailed empirical research. Although they appeared to be presenting images of Shaka, and Africans in general, that were 'positive' – they were inadequate (Peires, 2009). This inadequacy was prompted by deeply negative attitudes they held about Africa and her people. Unlike traditional authors they [white liberals] 'recognised' Africans as a people but at the same time believed that for Africans to be considered 'civilised' they needed help from Europeans (Richner, 2005; Wright, 2006b). They were, consciously or unconsciously, propagating the very same Eurocentric, patronising, and paternalistic approach to Africa that they claimed they were against and challenging. In addition, few of these white liberal historians focused on mfecane because of "an overwhelming concern for the contemporary political, economic and social issues, race relations and a focus on the progression of events whereby Africans and colonists were drawn into a common society" (Richner, 2005, p.19).

However, J.D. Omer-Cooper's *Zulu Aftermath: a Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa of 1966* was the first reworked mfecane history since Theal – it was partly made out of older interpretations of mfecane (Cobbing, 1984). "It was part of a corpus of academic histories whose broad aim, we can see with hindsight, was to lend support to the process of building new, modern nations in the continent." (Wright, 2006b, p.6). Omer-Cooper's interpretation became the 'new' orthodoxy because the ideas he proposed on mfecane were seen unproblematically as rooted in empirical evidence. Wright (2006b, p.6) argues that:

> In fairness to Omer-Cooper the point should be made that in writing on the wars of Shaka, he, like other academic historians of his generation, was deeply concerned to demonstrate that African history, like other histories, had patterns to it, at a time, we need to remember, when metropolitan historians like Hugh Trevor-Roper could dismissively assert the opposite.

However, Omer-Cooper was uncritical about the evidence (or lack thereof) that he used in constructing his argument (Richner, 2005). Nevertheless, his work symbolised a historiographical shift (Mvenene, 2014). As Wright (1989, p.285) skilfully asserts, "liberals, radicals, African nationalists, and Afrikaner nationalists remain in an unlikely, if unwitting, alliance, some propounding, some accepting, some bypassing, but virtually none challenging the validity of the notion of the mfecane". Omer-Cooper was viewed as being against the settler paradigm which sought to affirm itself by being self-serving and thus, including the supposed innate "tribalism" of Africans (Epprecht, 1994; Mvenene, 2014). He argued that mfecane was no different from the wars which were fought against Africans

and European settlers (Mvenene, 2014), while casting Africans as having a sense of agency and pride in themselves. His work drew largely from the work by Ellenberger, Ayliff and Whiteside, Theal, Cory and Walker, Stuart and Bryant – whose work has been deemed problematic. His work became the new orthodoxy that went unchallenged for years, because the term mfecane "explained a twenty-year period of violence" (Morton, 1997, p.101).

It was uprooted by Cobbing in the often fierce "mfecane debates" (Richner, 2005; Wright, 2006b) – contained first in various unpublished seminar and conference papers, and then in Cobbing's famous article titled *The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithankong and Mbolompo, in the Journal of African History; (1988)*. According to Morton (1997, p.99) this article was "the most original, most hard-hitting, most controversial, most revisionist, and most challenging work of southern African history". Cobbing (1984) viewed Omer-Cooper's analysis of that period as subjective and contradictory.

Cobbing challenged Omer-Cooper's interpretation of the mfecane and saw it as an alibi – suggesting that Afrikaners, British, as well as some historians were sympathetic to their cause, created the mfecane myth to justify their aggressive incursions and later claims that the land lay empty when they got there (Mvenene, 2014). In order words, Cobbing was suggesting that the accepted idea of mfecane was a deliberate falsification by Europeans to blame the violence and disorder on the African people to avoid accountability for the impact of the slave trade and justify taking African land. Thus, the wars and migrations that occurred, for Cobbing, were the results of the expansion of European colonial settlement and trade in southern Africa - "the wars and migrations of the period had primarily been caused not by ravages of Zulu armies but, to put it at its simplest, by the impact of the expansion of the frontiers of European colonial settlement and southern Africa", (Cobbing, 1984, p.1).

However, revisionist historians such as Wright (1989, 1991, 1995, 2006ab), Sévry (1991), Eldredge (1992), Hamilton (1992), Golan (1994) and Wylie (2000, 2006) just to name a few, have since disputed claims presented by Cobbing and other historiographies of images of Shaka. Eldredge (1992) argued that violence that characterised mfecane resulted from increasing inequalities within and between societies and from various environmental crises. With Wright (1995) arguing that Cobbing's argument was also based on the expansion of the slave-raid and slave-trade, which could have contributed to the upheavals of 1820s and 1830s. What Cobbing argued portrayed the expansion of the Zulu Kingdom under King Shaka as a scapegoat to cover up the violence and disorder that was caused by the slave-

raid and slave-trade. Wright (1995, p.4) argued that Cobbing's "… notion of the mfecane as an invented alibi based on heavily reductionist view of the processes in which views of the past have been constructed in South Africa over the past 150 years".

In addition, Hamilton (1998) also viewed the argument that was presented by Cobbing being partly wrong in some of its articulation, in that – "on many empirical counts Cobbing was wrong" and for Cobbing to also claim that the invention of the mfecane concept was because of white historians was "ill-informed". This is because he never recognised the role that African communities of that time played in establishing the concept. What Hamilton did was to question the empirical evidence that Cobbing had used to establish his argument and she discovered that within the evidence and argument itself, there were loopholes that have been neglected. Hence, Wright (1995, p.2) proposed that "the idea of the 'Shakan wars' was a product not of a conspiracy of white writers but of a complex historical interaction between European and African dealers in history".

In the mist of J.D. Omer-Cooper's *Zulu Aftermath: a Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa of 1966* release; there were calls to decolonise Africa in the 1960s (Wright, 2006b). This gave birth to radical academics of 1960s to 1990s within Africa and abroad taking interest in documenting histories of emerging pre-colonial African societies (Wright, 1988). This was done with the hope of not only "rescue[ing] Africans from the virtual oblivion to which they had been consigned by colonial historiography" (Richner, 2005, p.22). But through histories of Shaka start to cast achievements by African people before and during occupation of Africa by European settlers, imperialists and colonists (Wright, 2002; 2006b). In their pursuit to portray Shaka, Africa and her people in a 'positive' light; their focus of documenting these histories changed from the history of Shaka, to the history of images of Shaka (Peires, 2009). This shift in approach was propelled by the fact that in previous academic, as well as popular literature; images of Shaka were *re*constructed and re-presented in a negative light, which in turn, was used to project Africa and her people negatively.

On the other hand, [African and Zulu] nationalist-inspired interpretations of this period also emerged and were meant to elevate African agency and self-determination to the fore, creating the Shaka-as-hero myth. This was done with the hope of creating a sense of common identity among Africans and Zulus, even among people who have never met one another and probably never will (Anderson, 2006). Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, nephew to Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, adopted a Zulu nationalist interpretation of images of Shaka in 1980s as

symbolism against the brutal system of apartheid's ideology. The leader argued that "all members of the Zulu nation are automatically members of Inkatha if they are Zulus" (Maré & Hamilton, 1987, p.57). This he was saying while many Zulus at the time and even now do not identify as nationalists (Piper, 2002). Thus, many viewed this brand of nationalism as nothing but 'political tribalism' (Lonsdale, 1994; Berman, 1998) or 'political nationalism' (Hutchinson, 1994).

Its symbolism was charactised by militancy and confrontational tactics which were ethnically defined. This ethically defined nationalism found expressions in many of Buthelezi's speeches. For an example, when he argued that:

> The Zulus are a closely knit political unit which has reached a state of nationhood that no other black group has reached in the whole of South Africa. In fulfilling the destiny of this country for all its people, the importance of Zulu coherence must never be underestimated by anyone (Mzala, 1988, p.121).

Buthelezi's constant invocation of Zulu nationalism or 'superiority' was underpinned by nationalistic histories of Shaka. By using images that were derived from this historiography, they demanded self-determination for the 'Zulu nation'. That escalated political violence and a potential civil war, especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

However, some revisionist historians have argued that Zulu nationalism cannot be traced back to raise of the Zulu kingdom under Shaka, but rather, it was established in response to the rising pressures inflicted by British imperialism and settler colonialism from the late nineteenth century onward on African people, Zulus.

From the discussions presented above, in-service history educators are exposed to, and expected to engage with these extensive, complex and contradictory historiographies at various academic levels i.e. schools, universities, and the 'home'. All of which form bases from which individual and collective memories about images of Shaka can be viewed. This is because the discussions around these historiographies at various universities or teacher-training institutions, schools, and the 'home' differ according to the identities and inclinations of the lecturers, educators, and parents – thus they informed varied individual and collective memories.

Furthermore, these extensive, complex and contradictory historiographies ought to be reconciled to produce historically sound and coherent accounts that would be meaningful to learners.

3.4. CONCLUSION

Shaka as a famous historical figure is one of the most written about king in Africa, if not the entire world. Traditional accounts of him are clouded by myths and stereotypes. In most recent years, revisionist historians have challenged the accuracy of traditional and other accounts. This is not to say that revisionist accounts are short of any controversy. Given this, this chapter has, through discussions, highlighted how images of Shaka have been re-interpreted, *re*constructed, and re-presented by those who mainly occupy positions of power in the hope of advancing their vested interests.

The following chapter deals with *presentation of Shaka* by looking into select grade 10 CAPS history textbooks and their varied natures, and re-presentations of Shaka in select grade 10 caps history textbooks, the pedagogic role of history textbooks, and Shaka in official discourse: CAPS.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF SHAKA IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOL'S TEXTBOOKS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Mikk (2000) defines a textbook as a book or sets of books that can be divided into a set of study aids, consisting of a textbook, workbook and teacher's handbook. It consists of printed artefacts for each academic year of study with 'facts' and ideas around a certain subject, authored and published by various stakeholders in line with national government policies such as the national curriculum. They are "a consequence of the curriculum, as its applicable and concrete advancement" (Henning, 2016, p.60). History textbooks are viewed by many scholars in history education as sites of educational, ideological, economic, cultural and political conflict (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Marsden, 2001; Crawford, 2004) – "a playground for ideologues and politicians" (Polakow-Suransky, 2002, p.3). They do not present facts but author's opinions about historical events (see: Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011). But the conflict and opinions in history textbooks are generally overlooked.

Moreover, history textbooks are still highly regarded and frequently used in South Africa because they are that which enables educators [and learners] to gain access to specialised knowledge (Villaverde, 2003). Many in-service history educators rely solely on them because they are either inadequately qualified or have no access to any other media or subject knowledge (Cocking, Mestre and Brown, 2000; Huber and Moore, 2001; Reddy, 2005; Newton and Newton, 2006; Taylor, 2008; DBE, 2009; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Morgan & Henning, 2011). Thus, history textbooks are core resources, sources of supplementary material, curriculum in themselves, inspiration for classroom activities[5], and can positively influence teacher beliefs and practices (McKenney, 2001; Davis, 2003; Izsak and Sherin, 2003; McKinney, 2005; Newton and Newton, 2006; Green & Naidoo, 2008; Davis, 2009; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Chisholm, 2013; Umalusi, 2017).

Given this, this chapter outlines the varied natures of history textbooks which are; political, ideological, economic, and cultural. It further explores re-presentations of images of Shaka in three

[5] Report of the History/Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education, 2000, available online at http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=70331 (accessed 24 November 2017).

select CAPS history textbooks. Here examples of class activities from these select grade 10 CAPS textbooks are explored to see how images of Shaka are re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented, as well as the pedagogic role of history textbooks. Lastly, it explores the official discourse of Shaka contained in the CAPS document – this is done by tracing how images of Shaka have been re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented in post-1994 history curriculums.

4.2. NATURE OF TEXTBOOKS

To fully comprehend and appreciate how images of Shaka have beenre-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented in select grade 10 CAPS history textbooks, it was important to first explore and understand the nature of history textbooks. Olivo (2012) in a book chapter titled: *The exclusion and inclusion of women in American government textbooks* – argues that women's political experiences in America's politics textbooks written for introductory university-level courses are deemphasised at best, overlooked at worst. Drawing from this argument; it can be argued that history textbooks play a vital role in achieving the curriculum goals of any country by constructing official narratives proposed by the state, and can be viewed as crucial sites of memory (Crawford, 2003; Rodden, 2009). Thus, textbooks "…participate in creating what a society has recognised as legitimate and truthful" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p.4). This makes history textbooks inclusive and at the same time exclusive, all which depends on the dominant narrative at the time (Crawford, 2004; Crawford, 2006). For example; texts found in textbooks could include instances of political, ideological, economic, and cultural inclusivity and exclusivity that have the potential of impacting on how educators [and learners] imagine themselves in relation to varied images of Shaka. Hence, Johnsen (1993) argues that history textbooks impact on collective memory – by extension on individual memory too.

Therefore, the following sections explain the nature of history by examining varied natures of history textbooks.

4.2.1. THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL NATURE OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

There is more to the nature of history textbooks than being mere classroom resources (Chiponda, 2014). They are conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests and are published within political, ideological, cultural, social and economic constraints (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991; Osborne, 2004; Karlsson, 2007; Rodgers, 2008; Bertram & Wassermann, 2015; Henning,

2016). This for Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) are "the politics of the textbook" and Karlsson (2007) refers to this as the "politics of memory". The knowledge construction within the production of textbooks by authors (generally university intellectuals), editors, state, and publishing houses, is a profoundly political activity – informed by continuous debates, controversies and tensions over who at the end controls the popular memory of a nation (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991, 1993; Marsden, 2001; Polakow-Suransky, 2002; Barnes, 2003; Crawford, 2004; Roger, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph, 2005; Foster and Crawford, 2007; Weldon, 2009; Thornton and Barton, 2010; Morgan and Henning, 2011; Hugo, 2013; Morgan, 2015).

Analysing the Canadian history curricula, Osborne (2004) asserts that while the Canadian state proposed an academic history project aimed at transmitting knowledge and skills; within this process there was a 'hidden curriculum' geared towards advancing specific state-sanctioned concepts of citizenship and identity. Similar occurrences took place in apartheid South Africa, in which the state commissioned the establishment of various history curriculums geared towards constructing different concepts of citizenship and identity aimed at the different sectors of the South African population. Thus, history textbooks were used as a tool to realise these state-sanctioned objectives in both countries and other countries such as the USA, Japan, China and South Korea (Lin, Zhao, Ogawa, Hoge, & Kim, 2009; Pingel, 2010).

Weldon (2003, 2009) asserts that history textbooks under apartheid were systematically used to legitimise apartheid ideology. Thus, images of Shaka in apartheid history textbooks were re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented as violent and autocratic (Naidoo, 2014). This was because a specific identity and citizenship associated with backwardness, unbecoming, incapable, ugly, rude, and barbaric and so on – was perpetuated by the state using images of Shaka as extension to all African people. Crude stereotyping of ethnic groups was also used in those history textbooks (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983).

Sewall (2005) studying the American publishing industry argued that editors of history textbooks in America "give the nation's students a misshapen view of the global past and a false view of the global future" (p.500). This is obviously in line with the political project of the American government. However, this practice of using history textbooks as political tools undermines the disciplinary nature of history that advocates for multiplicity of views when dealing with the past. This is because political imperatives tend to advocate for an ideological view.

Therefore, it could be argued that the political nature of history textbooks and their role as political tools enable state-sanctioned political imperatives that cannot be neutral. This is because by the virtue of being biased towards a certain political agenda, they tend to perpetuate an ideology that informs that agenda. Thus, it becomes difficult to separate the ideological and political nature of textbooks.

Moreover, history textbooks are believed to be crucial organs in the process of constructing legitimated ideologies and beliefs of powerful groups in society (Marsden, 2001). They serve an important ideological role (Nozaki, 2002; Barnes, 2003; Naseem, 2008; Chiponda, 2014). They also contain and transmit the knowledge, cultures, beliefs and values or, ideologies in general that a state recognises as legitimate and truthful (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Polakow-Suranski, 2002; Nicholls, 2003; 2006; Lin et al, 2009) – this is referred to as the 'hidden curriculum' (Cornbleth, 1984; Myles, Trautman, and Shelvan, 2004; Jerald, 2006; Myles, 2011). Apple (1979, p.20) describes ideology as a "system of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments, or values about social reality" and Giroux (1983, p.66) characterizes ideology as a process of "production, interpretation, and effectivity of meaning". The school is thus constructed as a site in which individuals are exposed to varied ideologies imposed, at most, by the state (Pinto, 2007).

For an example, before the South African War of 1899-1902 Anglicisation policies and the establishment of the British education system at the Cape saw the production of history textbooks that were pro-British and their empire (Polakow-Suranski, 2002). This was in line with the Cape government's ideology of the time. However, the birth of Afrikaner nationalism was thus a response to the British narrative of the time. Hence, apartheid's history curriculum (by extension: history textbooks) was underpinned by apartheid theology and eugenics ideologies (Weldon, 2009) - apartheid ideology of Afrikaner white supremacy (Engelbrecht, 2006, 2008). It was used as a tool to divide the South African society (similar to British ideology) by constructing certain forms of identity among learners (Msila, 2007). It was also used to unite the Afrikaner 'nation'. Textbooks such as that authored by Joubert & Britz (1975) *History for standard 6*, were specifically aimed at promoting European civilisation and Afrikaner white supremacy at the expense of African civilisations.

Dean and Siebörger (1995, p.32) argue that "… there was no fundamental separation of history curriculum. Black pupils were made to study the same history, from the same Christian National perspective, as white pupils, no matter how inappropriate it was to their own background". Thus, history textbooks became ideological tools that presented opinions and knowledge of the powerful

in a dogmatic fashion that undermined the notion of critical thinking and thus, constructed learners to view the world through the lens of their governments' ideology (Morgan, 2010; Chiponda, 2014). This can be viewed as a form of indoctrination that is "problematic and elusive" (Hare and Portelli, 2001; Pinto, 2007).

Moreover, history textbooks that were produced post-1994 in South Africa were aimed at "creat[ing] a new South African identity that encompasses critical consciousness, to transform South African society, to promote democracy and to magnify learner involvement in education" (Msila, 2007, p.151). A *Human Sciences Research Council* (HSRC) funded study titled: *Textbooks for Diverse Learners: A critical analysis of learning materials used in South African schools* (McKinney, 2005) is one example of recent studies in South Africa that explore whether officialised textbooks "reflect and reinforce the post-apartheid vision of a non-racist, non-sexist, equitable society" (McKinney, 2005, p.11). This symbolised a shift in ideological orientation (Chiponda, 2014). This speaks to the power embedded in history textbooks in that; they can transmit the state's ideologies regardless of time and context. This ideological shift was qualified by the former Minister of the DBE in 2004, Professor Kader Asmal, when he argued that:

> In Africa, in the struggle between the hunter and the lion, the hunter has written the history. The lion, we have always hoped, will one day have its day. The lion will one day have its say. The lion will one day rise up and write the history of Africa. We know, very well, the kinds of histories that have been written by the hunter. Those books only serve the hunter's interests. But those books are so often also boring and stultifying. We now want to hear the lion's story. We now want to hear the lion's roar (Asmal, 2004).

By putting this argument forward, the minister sought to highlight the plans by the democratic government to embark on a process that was to see the historically marginalised and oppressed people of South Africa finding a voice in officialised history textbooks, the documentation of their histories or lived experiences. This was an act of transforming history education in South Africa. Hence, the current Minister of the DBE, Angie Motshekga in 2009 (cited in Morgan and Henning, 2011) argued that:

> History textbooks cannot but remain central to the cause of an improved history education.

By "improved history education", the Minister, seems to suggest that there needs to be an ideological shift – away from apartheid ideology if we are to achieve an improved history education in South Africa. Hence, history textbooks in post-apartheid South Africa challenge images of Shaka that were presented by settlers, colonists, and apartheidists, which were based on mythologies and stereotypes (Naidoo, 2014). This move is seen, by some, as an act of undoing what the apartheid (and its colonial

parent) state have perpetuated over the years (Engelbrecht, 2006, 2008). That is, to bring to the fore histories that were previously neglected to counter myths and stereotypes that were officialised by the oppressive systems.

By so doing, the democratic state is also believed to be officialising new stereotypes, deliberately, to challenge apartheid stereotypes (Crawford, 2004; 2006; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Engelbrecht, 2008). This signals the power of ideology embedded in history curricula and history textbooks that tends to favour those who occupy political office (by extension: captains of industry) at the expense of others. The advantage that powerful people have over the production of school textbooks, their political and ideological positioning is informed by economic factors. Hence, the following section explores the economic nature of history textbooks.

4.2.2. THE ECONOMIC NATURE OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

According to an Action Plan (2012, p.124) by the DBE titled: *Action plan to 2014 towards the realisation of schooling 2025* issued by DBE, government has the obligation to:

> Ensure that every learner has access to the minimum set of textbooks and workbooks required according to the national policy...This goal is one of five goals reflecting the emphasis in the Minister's Delivery Agreement.

This admission by the DBE highlights the importance of textbooks within the South African education system. History textbooks in particular "… remain central to the cause of an improved history education"[6]. This is because history textbooks "serve as the cheap, accessible and portable accessory for the teacher of history [and their learners] and is a valuable resource in the classroom regardless of approaches used" (Bharath, 2015, p.22). They are enhancing classroom practice cost effectively (Asmal, 2002; Lubben, Campbell, Kasanda, Kapenda, Gaoseb, & Kandjeo-marenga, 2003).

With South Africa being a capitalist economy textbook production go beyond educational imperatives, they are also produced for economic gains (Crawford, 2004; Foster & Crawford, 2006). For an example, analysing the textbook publishing industry in Canada, Pinto (2007) argues that the textbook industry is worth multi-billion US dollars. Chiponda (2014) cites a similar trend in the USA and other parts of the world. The South African government spends well over R100 million on textbooks annually (DBE, 2003; McCallum, 2004).

[6] Report of the History/Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education, 2000, available online at http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=70331 (accessed 28 November 2017).

However, the free-market economy (capitalism) informs the nature of textbook productions, which in turn, determines the contents contained in these textbooks (Foster and Crawford, 2006). Since most authors and publishers are profit-driven, they tend to overlook the political, cultural, and ideological imperatives that governments impose to profit from selling what they have produced. They neglect the inclusion of controversial content (Apple, 1991) or "information not deemed attractive to consumers is excluded" (Chiponda, 2014, p.35).

However, some are consciously aware that they are propagating state-sanctioned ideologies and thus include controversial and/or problematic and potentially dangerous content to score a place on the list of approved state-preferred textbooks (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Hence, it can be argued that history textbooks in pre-apartheid, during-apartheid, and post-apartheid South Africa included and/or excluded images of Shaka that were state-sanctioned with the hope of making profits. Such textbooks include:

- *History for Standard 6-10* (Joubert and Britz, 1975)
- *Looking into the Past, Grade 10* (Seleti, Delius, and Clacherty., 1999).

The state in collaboration with the publishing industry controls the several phases of textbook production (Naidoo, 2014). Pinto (2007, p.108) based on her experiences as a textbook author cites four such processes. Two of these four process standout as relevant to this study, and these include:

1. *Aggressive timelines*. Because of the fast-paced environment that authors are expected to work in, the quality of the work they produce might be compromised.
2. *The need to adhere to curriculum expectations*. Because of curriculum expectations, the state does inform and influence knowledge (content) that is to be included or excluded from the textbook, its scope and how it should be presented (Crawford, 2004; Foster and Crawford, 2006). Thus, on the one hand it can be argued that state has undue influence over the ideology of the system, popular (and/or public [collective] memory), and officialised narratives. On the other hand, it can be argued that the state's role in this regard is justified in the sense that the government oversees designing and implementing curricula according to 'national ideals', and that whoever participates in such processes must be regulated accordingly. In some ways this makes the role of the state necessarily subtle but obvious and determined.

Therefore, it could be argued that varied natures of history textbooks discussed thus far have a huge impact on the cultural nature of history textbooks. Hence, the following section of this chapter explores the cultural nature of history textbooks.

4.2.3. THE CULTURAL NATURE OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

In terms of their cultural nature, history textbooks carry strong cultural messages (Foster & Crawford, 2006). According to Kirkgöz and Ağçam (2001, p.154) culture should be understood as "the complex whole that includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871)".

These cultural messages tend to be from the dominant groups in society. These messages are aimed at making sure that those dominant groups can sustain and perpetuate their cultural dominance in society through the usage of officialised history textbooks. Hence, Apple (1992) argues that history textbooks play an important role in defining whose culture is taught – they "tell children what their elders want them to know" (Fitzgerald, 1979, p.47) and "represent to each generation of students a sanctioned version of human knowledge and culture" (De Castell, 1991 p.78).

For example, before the arrival of European colonists and settlers in southern Africa education existed. But this education received by African people at the time was different in its approach and design to that introduced by European colonists and settlers. Their education was thought and administered by those considered as leaders, by a way of storytelling underpinned by cultural transmission that strongly reflected real life experiences. Similarly, in the early 20th century that is when African people were exposed and subjected to missionary education which was European in its conception and was aimed at converting African people into adopting European culture(s). What both education systems reflected are culturally important artefacts determined by dominant individuals in society. For example, images of Shaka under the mission education system were that of a person without culture – a person who needed to be 'saved' and assimilated into 'European culture'. This thinking found expression under apartheid history education. Images of Shaka were used to portray African people as "people to be feared and not admired" (Taylor, 2016, p.4). By implication, images of Shaka were used by the apartheid state to symbolise the 'darkness' that came with African cultures that needed not to be admired but feared. This was done to culturally dominate the African populace, as well assimilate them into 'European culture'.

This, reflects the cultural nature of history textbooks since they are part of an education systems. Thus, this makes history textbooks discriminatory in nature as they largely represent knowledge and culture of the dominant groups in society and in the process, marginalise the knowledge and culture of groups considered as subservient (Regueiro, 2000).

4.2.4. REPRESENTATIONS OF SHAKA IN SELECT GRADE 10 CAPS HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

A recent study conducted by de Souza Santos, de Almeida, Amaral, & Santos (2017) in Brazil, titled: *The Representation of Black People in History Textbooks,* found that colonial stereotypes and myths that were used to *re*construct, describe, identify and re-present the black population in Brazil such as ugly, uncivilized, barbaric, unbecoming, incapable, rude and dirty were still prevalent in history textbooks. This, they argue, "reproduces a figure of a belittled and stereotyped black individual, ties the black people to a world of prejudice and racist practices, represented as a social problem, with a social condition of abandoned or beggar people" (p.144). In his Masters dissertation titled: *An analysis of the depiction of "big men" in apartheid and post-apartheid school history textbooks*, Naidoo (2014) observed that images of Shaka as a patriarch in both the apartheid and post-aparthied eras prevailed, even though in post-apartheid textbooks Shaka's characterisation was nuanced. This highlights the power of textbooks in transmitting state-sanctioned political, ideological, economic and cultural imperatives.

This study, on the other hand, sought to present some activities in three select grade 10 CAPS history textbooks to highlight how images of Shaka have been *re*constructed and re-presented. This understanding will shed some light to how these textbooks are used by the state and other interest groups to advance their socioeconomic, political, cultural and ideological interests. As already agued by Chiponda (2009, 2014) and others, the democratic dispensation in South Africa saw a shift in ideological orientation and new curriculums that were conceived at the time were expected to reflect this fundamental shift. The CAPS grade 10 history textbooks are expected and required by law to conform to these new democratic ideals. Engelbrecht (2006, 2008) argues that these textbooks focus on mainly histories that were marginalised and/or omitted under apartheid. They are informed by post-modernist thought under the banner of revisionism.

The three textbooks reviewed were selected because in-service history educators involved in this study recommended them, as well as the fact that they are generally popular choices in various senior secondary schools. These were also selected based on their accessibility and availability. They were selected using both purposive and convenient sampling. This is because qualitative researchers generally employ purposive and convenient sampling (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Palys, 2008; Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016), unlike random sampling which advocates for quantitative studies. Chapter five elaborates in detail on purposive and convenient sampling. Purposive and convenient sampling are

limited in that, findings generated cannot be generalised. However, since this study is qualitative in nature, issues of generalisation do not pose a problem as the researcher intended to describe, in detail, the images of Shaka and memories attached to them as presented in the textbooks.

These textbooks were also subjected to a process of content analysis with the hope of better understanding the *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to them. According to Elo and Kyngä (2008, p.108) "content analysis is a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action". It is a method used by many qualitative researchers to analyse documents, which in this case textbooks were analysed (Naidoo, 2014). This method was used to highlight the *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to them.

Textual analysis was also used as a method used in conducting content analysis. Bauer, Süerdem and Bicquelet (2014, p.1) argue that:

> A social scientific text analysis aims to explain the life-world within which the text is embedded; to open up the perspective of the author that is delineated by his/her social and cultural context and to draw attention to the structural aspect of everyday practices and meaning patterns.

Since this study is concerned with the textual analysis of historical material which are school history textbooks. Qualitative textual analysis and coding were employed as research methods for analysing the select CAPS history textbooks. Chapter five elaborates coding in detail. In terms of qualitative textual analysis, it was employed to highlight the *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to them in an inductive way. This is because inductive content analysis is used in cases where there are no previous studies dealing with the phenomenon or when it is fragmented (Elo and Kyngä, 2007). Although, there are some studies in history and history education dealing with Shaka as a historical figure, there are limited studies dealing with his varied images and memories attached to them in relation to how in-service history educators deal with these varied images in the classroom. Hence, inductive content analysis approach was employed.

The sample was limited to a manageable quantity of three textbooks due to time and scope of the study, as well as the fact that no research assistants could be hired to assist with the analysis. The sample is a fair re-presentation of some of the approved history textbooks by the DBE, which are CAPS compliant. These textbooks are all dated 2011 because that is when CAPS was introduced in

the FET phase, and there has never been new and/or revised textbooks for history grade 10 in South Africa ever since.

Figure 4.1. The research sample of three select grade 10 CAPS history textbooks used for the study displayed alphabetically by first author.

Authors	Date	Title	Publishers
Angier, K. L., Hobbs, J. T., Horner, E. A., Mowatt, R. L., Nattrass, G., & Wallace, J A	2011	VIVA HISTORY. Grade 10 learner's book	Vivlia Publishers & Booksellers (Pty) Ltd
Johanneson, B., Fernandez, M., Roberts., B., Jacobs, M., & Seleti, Y	2011	Focus history: Grade 10 Learner's book	Maskew Miller Longman (Pty) Ltd
Stephenson, C. A., Sikhakhane, L., Frank, F., Hlongwane, J., Subramony, R., Virasamy C., Collier, C., Govender, K., & Mbansini, T	2011	New generation: History grade 10 learner's book	New generation publishers

What is to follow are three activities that learners are expected to engage with contained in the textbooks. From each textbook, one activity was chosen. The researcher began by examining how images of Shaka and memories attached to them were *re*constructed and re-presented in select textbooks. This was done in relation to literature reviewed and was encapsulated in the research methods employed. Furthermore, the researcher immersed himself in the data (select history textbooks) allowing it to speak to the research questions for the study. However, before this could be done the activities chosen and presented need to be contextualised. As such, a consolidated contextualisation across the three textbooks is presented to create a rounded picture of how images of Shaka are re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented in these textbooks. This will be done by analysing verbal texts of the textbooks to determine how images of Shaka are re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented using the data analysis instrument mentioned above.

It should be noted that all select textbooks present the debate*s* around the images of Shaka under a topic titled: *Transformations in southern Africa after 1750* (Angier, Hobbs, Horner, Mowatt, Nattrass, & Wallace, 2011; Johanneson, Fernandez, Roberts, Jacobs, & Seleti, 2011; Stephenson, Sikhakhane, Frank, Hlongwane, Subramony, Virasamy, Collier, Govender, & Mbansini, 2011).

4.2.4.1. THE PORTRAYAL OF IMAGES OF SHAKA IN THE VERBAL TEXTS OF SELECT TEXTBOOKS

As already stated, this section will focus on what the verbal texts of the three selected history textbooks re-interpret, *re*construct, and re-presents images of Shaka. Three particular sections in the textbooks were identified and selected for analysis because they deal with 'legacies' of Shaka. These sections include:

- *VIVA HISTORY. Grade 10 learner's book* (2011, p.218): Legacies: How has Shaka been remembered?
- *Focus history: Grade 10 Learner's book* (2011, p.146): How the history of Shaka has been written.
- *New generation: History grade 10 learner's book* (2011, p.144): Legacies: How has King Shaka been remembered?

4.2.4.1.1. VIVA HISTORY. Grade 10 learner's book

In this book, a lengthy introduction of how Shaka has been remembered is given. According to Wright (2004, p.1) "among black people and white people, among lay people and among most academics, inside South Africa and outside, Shaka the Mighty is counted as one of the most famous of Africans". The textbook also acknowledges the international status of Shaka by stating that; if non-history students were asked to name "great African leaders of the past" Shaka would be the first leader they name (p.218). The textbook acknowledges that varied re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of Shaka will always emerge. This is articulated under the heading: *How Has Shaka been portrayed – the past and the present?* (p.219). The textbook also goes on to frame this history as debates among professional historians by presenting varied sources and evidence on histories of Shaka by educators (and learners) ought to engage and review (p.221). This is in line with calls made by Wright and other revisionist historians hoping to raise awareness about the fact that historiographies around images of Shaka are complex and contradictory accounts from professional historians and commentators.

This textbook has a section dealing with *re*construction and re-presentations of images of Shaka in popular culture by citing SABC's Shaka Zulu series (p.219). There is also a section on Shaka as part of the South African heritage (p.221).

4.2.4.1.2. Focus history: Grade 10 Learner's book

The 'legacies' of Shaka in this textbook is presented under a different heading when compared to the other two textbooks. In this textbook, a brief introduction is presented that explores the status that Shaka enjoys, as well as the different re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of his images (p.146). A section on the kind of leader Shaka was is also presented under the heading: *What kind of leader was Shaka?* (p.146).

This brief section presents the varied *re*constructions and re-presentations of Shaka the leader from the different historiographical camps presented in Chapter three.

This is followed by sections devoted to portrayals of Shaka by traditional historians and other historians and authors. This is done under the headings: *Portrayals of Shaka in the past* (p.147) and *Sources of evidence for our histories of Shaka* (148). Oral histories which are in line with Zulu nationalist historiography are also featured under the heading: *Oral sources of Shaka* (149). Other sections are devoted on re-presentations of Shaka in popular culture (p.151), as well as Shaka as part of the South African heritage (p.152).

4.2.4.1.3. New generation: History grade 10 learner's book

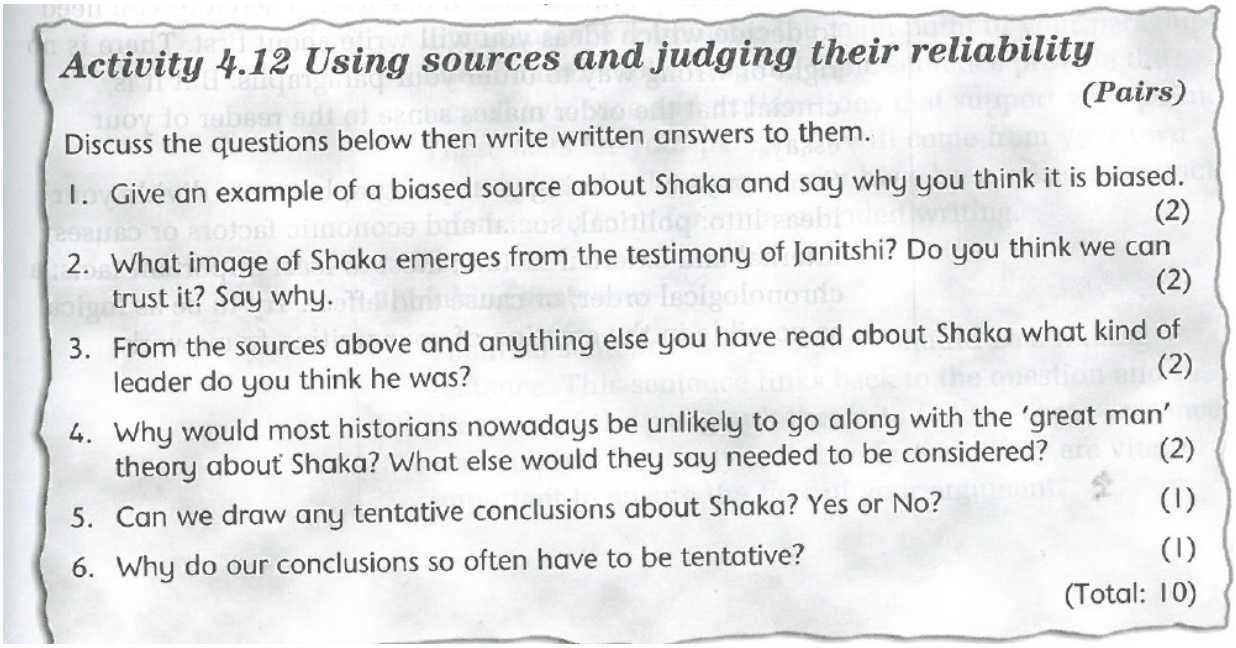
The 'legacies' of Shaka in this textbook are presented under the same heading to that of VIVA HISTORY - Grade 10 learner's book. The textbook starts by exploring the varied re-presentations of Shaka (p.144). This is followed by a section that questions the white settler accounts of images of Shaka under the heading: *Why are the white settler accounts of the Zulu kingdom difficult to believe?* (p.145).

The textbook continues to examine traditional accounts of Shaka under the heading: *Why was Shaka portrayed this way?* (p.146). Brief sections under the same heading are devoted on African nationalist historiography of Shaka. However, other historiographies either than that of traditionalists and African nationalists are neglected. A comment is made on the re-presentation of Shaka in popular culture in relation to the SABC's Shaka Zulu series (p.146). No section deals with Shaka as part of the South African heritage.

In conclusion, there are similarities and differences in how images of Shaka are approached in the three select textbooks. Collectively, all these textbooks recognise and embrace the fact that images of Shaka are complex and contradictory. Moreover, the textbooks seem to be in agreement that images of Shaka should be understood within processes underpinned by debates from professional historians and other commentators. What is to follow are discussions on activities from the selected textbooks.

4.2.4.1.4. DISCUSSIONS OF ACTIVITIES FROM SELECT CAPS HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Figure 4.2. An activity from Angier et al (2011, p.225)



Activity 4.12 Using sources and judging their reliability

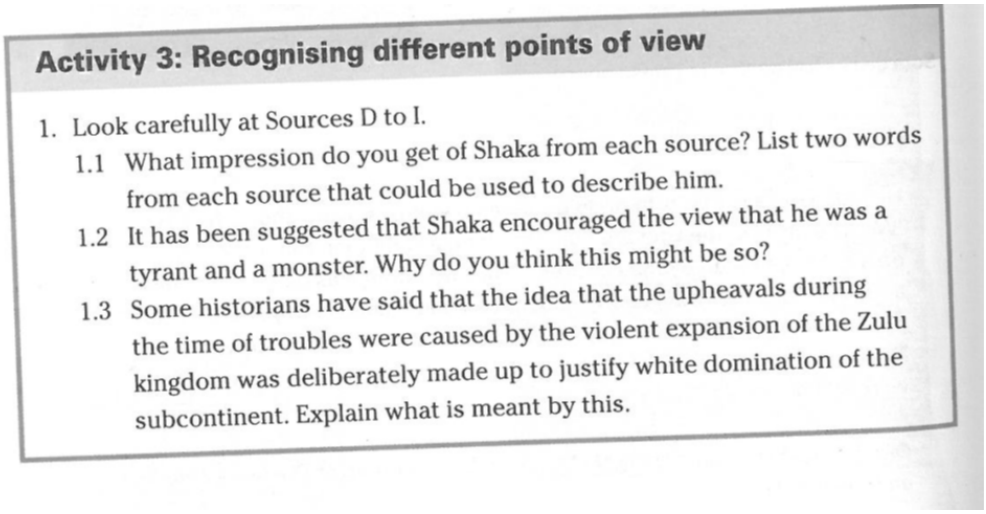
(Pairs)

Discuss the questions below then write written answers to them.

1. Give an example of a biased source about Shaka and say why you think it is biased. (2)
2. What image of Shaka emerges from the testimony of Janitshi? Do you think we can trust it? Say why. (2)
3. From the sources above and anything else you have read about Shaka what kind of leader do you think he was? (2)
4. Why would most historians nowadays be unlikely to go along with the 'great man' theory about Shaka? What else would they say needed to be considered? (2)
5. Can we draw any tentative conclusions about Shaka? Yes or No? (1)
6. Why do our conclusions so often have to be tentative? (1)

(Total: 10)

Figure 4.3. An activity from Johanneson et al (2011, p.150)



Activity 3: Recognising different points of view

1. Look carefully at Sources D to I.
   - 1.1 What impression do you get of Shaka from each source? List two words from each source that could be used to describe him.
   - 1.2 It has been suggested that Shaka encouraged the view that he was a tyrant and a monster. Why do you think this might be so?
   - 1.3 Some historians have said that the idea that the upheavals during the time of troubles were caused by the violent expansion of the Zulu kingdom was deliberately made up to justify white domination of the subcontinent. Explain what is meant by this.

Figure 4.4. An activity from Stephenson (2011, p.147)

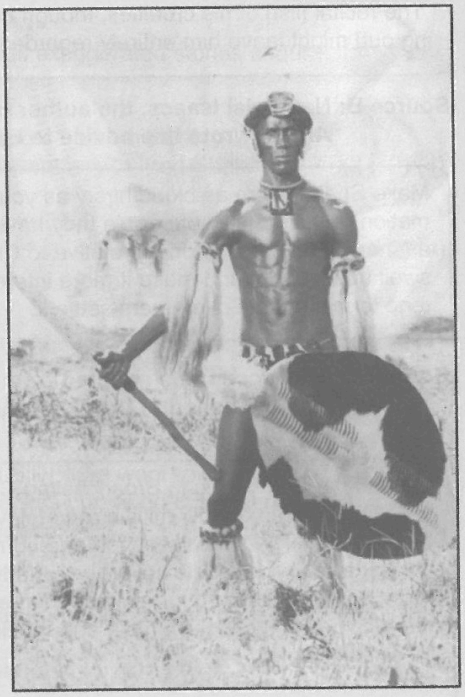
ACTIVITY 4.8

How has King Shaka been portrayed?

The sources below have been taken from *Savage Delight: White Myths of Shaka* by Dan Wylie. Study the pictures and answer the questions that follow.

Source A: An illustration from *A history of Battles and Adventures of the British, the Boers and the Zulus* by DCF Moodie that was published in 1888.

Source B: Henry Cele as Shaka in the SABC series, Shaka Zulu.



1. Refer to Source A.

(a) How has the artist portrayed King Shaka? (1 x 3) (3)

(b) Explain what message about the Zulu this picture gives the viewer. (1 x 3) (3)

2. Use Source B.

(a) What impression of King Shaka is given by this picture? (1 x 3) (3)

(b) Explain whether this would be considered a reliable source by an historian. (2 x 2) (4)

3. Compare Sources A and B. Explain the differences between them. (2 x 2) (4)

The select history textbooks re-interepreted, *re*constructed and re-presented images of Shaka and memories attached to them in similar, yet different ways. What is similar about the textbooks and the highlighted activities is the approach employed in engaging varied histories of images of Shaka and memories attached to them. In other words, all the textbooks and highlighted activities seem to be addressing the same questions in different ways. This speaks to the idea that history textbooks are sites of state-sanctioned ideologies and that of other interest groups (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Marsden, 2001; Crawford, 2004). This comes without a surprise, because all the textbooks are CAPS compliant, which means that for them to be used in South African schools the state needs to put a stamp of approval first. What is different, to some degree, about these textbooks and the highlighted activities is the historical evidence used and writing up of the texts - even though they arrive at the same conclusions regarding images of Shaka.

All the highlighted activities require from educators, among other things, to expose learners to sourcing – whether they are reliable or useful. They also require attention to the importance of multi-perspectivism. These are historical skills that CAPS (2011) advocates for, as well as Seixas (2000, 2010), Wineburg (2001) and others. This approach is in line with postmodern thought because; educators are required to encourage their learners to understand the phenomena under investigation through their own realities, and thus deconstruct that phenomena with the hope of appreciating the complexities underpinning the phenomena. This will in turn allow learners to *re*construct that phenomena using what they bring from the outside along with what they are exposed to by their educators. Chisholm (2004b, p.7) explains this process in this manner:

> They (learners) would learn source interpretation, and influences on interpretation and representation of the past. In learning about history, children would also learn about how knowledge and history are constructed.

Another critical finding from the highlighted activities and the textbooks in general was the choice of language used. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), Crawford (2004), and Engelbrecht (2008) foreground the importance of language in perpetuating state-sanction socio-cultural, political and ideological imperatives. This is because these imperatives are, most of the time, masked by language. Hence, in Chapter one language drawing from Hall (1997) was understood as a critical factor in the development of society's collective memory. One category of language use is identified in the highlighted activities. This speaks to the use of specific kinds of pronouns which contributes in the understanding of varied images of Shaka and memories attached to them as re-presented in select textbooks.

In the terms of pronouns, the highlighted activities mostly made use of the first-person plural to encourage those engaging with the texts to question them – thus, this is in line with postmodernism. This involved lexicons such as 'you' and 'we'. This use of lexicons reveals the revisionist *re*constructions of images of Shaka underpinned by individual and shared collective memories that cut across societal lines, including but not limited to gender, race, and ethnicity.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the highlighted activities and their textbooks adopted a revisionist approach to understanding histories associated with the images of Shaka and memories attached to them. This is in line with postmodernist ideas of understanding the world. Furthermore, it can also be argued that through the activities (and the textbooks), the state and other interest groups (i.e. revisionist historians) are perpetuating their own narratives of how images of Shaka and memories attached to them should be understood. Therefore, this has a bearing in how in-service history educators come to re-interpret, *re*construct, re-present the image of Shaka.

4.2.5. THE PEDAGOGIC ROLE OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Quanchi and So'o (2003, p.1) argued that:

> Teaching history is quite different to teaching other subjects. The History classroom is different to Science and Mathematics classrooms and is even quite different to classrooms in the humanities such as English, Social Studies, Geography and Politics.

Roberts (2011) refers to this as a "unique pedagogy" and history textbooks are seen by some as central to the effective teaching of history as an academic discipline (Johannesson, 2002; Sewall, 2004; Wakefield, 2006; Pogelschek, 2008; Lin et al 2009; Schoeman, 2009; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Bharath, 2015). History textbooks are a major "dominating pedagogical tool" and they "…impact on collective memory (Johnsen, 1993:173)" (Valverde, Bianchi, Wolfe, Houang, & Schmidt, 2002; Wojdon, 2014, p.78; Naidoo, 2014). They are also spaces where pedagogical intentions of the curriculum are translated, sometimes even before the curriculum reaches the classroom (Rodríguez-gómez and Sayed, 2016). According to *Facing history and ourselves* ([online]):

> Pedagogy is not a set of teaching techniques that can be used to get across particular ideas or encourage effective practice of specified skills. It is an active process of engaging young people with challenging content through a process that builds the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of deep civic learning.

In South African classrooms history textbooks remain the only source of access to specialised knowledge for both educators and their learners (Cocking, Mestre and Brown, 2000; Huber and Moore, 2001; Villaverde, 2003; Sewall, 2000, 2004; Reddy, 2005; Newton and Newton, 2006; Lavere, 2008;

Taylor, 2008; Bloch, 2009; DBE, 2009; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Morgan & Henning, 2011). This is because some history educators in South Africa have no professional training in history or history content knowledge, they tend to rely heavily on textbooks to deliver on what the curriculum requires from them (Wineburg & Martin, 2004; Bharath, 2015). In addition, the lack of other source materials plays a role in making educators to be heavily reliant on textbooks. Thus, textbooks are containing 'useful' and 'reliable' "pedagogical exercises" (Garcia-Barros et al., 2001; Litz, 2001; UNESCO, 2006; Lavere, 2008, p.3).

Their selection is informed by the state curriculum (Rushohora, 2015) to meet the requirements envisioned by the state and policy-makers (Ornstein, 1994). This is because "at the present time textbooks continue to be important resources in history lessons in many countries, their production, distribution and usage tied to major economic, political and ideological interests" (Nicholls, 2003, p.180).

However, some educators tend to misuse and/or overuse textbooks (Klassen, 2006; Ewing, 2006) as a means of bringing about 'order' and 'discipline' in the classroom (Brändström, 2005). Bharath (2015, p.22) notes that "teachers implementing a new curriculum may be unsure about their own knowledge and may utilise textbooks even though they are inadequate". Horsley (2008) and Sikorova (2008) sustain this view by arguing that textbooks are beneficial to new history educators who are not confident enough with their subject knowledge and thus, see textbooks as simplified and practical interpretation of the curriculum.

So then, how should educators teach their learners history using textbooks and/or other teaching materials? Seixas & Peck (2004) argue that there are three different approaches to teaching history. The first is "enhancing collective memory". This approach uses the notion of a grand narrative as the 'single best story'. The approach to this kind of history is generally political and nationalistic in nature. Learners are encouraged to study history without questioning what is presented to them. This is done with the hope of forging a 'national identity', a 'nation-state' that everyone takes pride in and be patriotic about.

One of the issues surrounding this approach is that the 'single best story' tends to exclude other stories by officialising and legitimising a single story. In the case of the proposed compulsory history curriculum in South Africa for the FET phase; that is presented as the answer to fighting against xenophobia and forgoing social cohesion; some critics argue that those who occupy political office neglect the possibility that the problem of poor historical knowledge among some South Africans

could be a result of a dysfunctional education system (Spaull, 2012), and not necessarily school history.

Moyo & Modiba (2013) in a journal article titled: *"Who does this history curriculum want you to be?" Representation, school history and curriculum in Zimbabwe* critically look at "representation in the history curriculum of Zimbabwe in relation to the production of subjectivity and identity that the government hopes will fulfil the quest for nationhood" (p.1). Their focal argument is that the re-imagination of a 'new' Zimbabwe post-1980 was propelled by notions of a common 'nation-state', 'nationhood', 'national identity' and 'patriotism' – and history education was a vehicle to achieve this through what they called a "national history". This national history through "the preponderance of Shona mythologies as the foundation myths of the new nation-state" (p.10) saw the exclusion of other historical stories of Zimbabwe. Thus, highlighting the dangers of nationalist history curriculum which has the potential of "othering". It can create a social structure underpinned by notions of 'them' and 'us' or 'theirs' and 'ours' (Said, 1978).

The second method Seixas and Peck (2004) referred to is that of the 'disciplinary'. This method makes use of historical skills. It requires educators to teach learners to think critically, as well as read, think, and write historically (Wineburg et al). It also propels educators to make sure that learners know the relative strengths and weaknesses of historical interpretations. With this method, studying history means that educators help their learners to *re*construct their own historical accounts informed by historical evidence. The disciplinary method can assist educators to help learners to develop "the ability and the disposition to arrive independently at reasonable, informed opinions" (Seixas 2010 p.25). All select history textbooks seems to be informed by ideas put forward by Seixas and Peck. *VIVA HISTORY. Grade 10 learner's book* (2011) *re*constructs history as both the story and the investigation. While *New generation: History grade 10 learner's book* (2011) *re*constructs history as a rigorous process of enquiry, and *Focus history: Grade 10 Learner's book* (2011) also *re*constructs the study of history as an investigative process.

The last method mentioned by Seixas & Peck (2004) is the "post-modern" approach. This approach to teaching history in schools allows for educators to impart onto their learners the skill of looking at history as a discipline underpinned by various fields that can bring together various disciplines (interdisciplinary) to assist them to interrogate the past in multiplicity fashion. This will assist them in interrogating the relationship between '*knowledge and power*', a notion once again highlighted by Said's 'Orientalism' (1978), as well as Foucault (1991, 1998) and others. Therefore, it will propel educators [and learners] to constantly question the 'truth' by showing that choices are made by

historians through 'emplotment' and how meaning is altered through 'ordering'. Thus, this approach draws on the theories of White (1999) and Jenkins (1995). Practically, educators [and learners] should compare different accounts of history and question them to bring about new and different 'truths' and/or accounts (Seixas, 2002). The selected textbooks advocate for this in the following manner:

- *VIVA HISTORY. Grade 10 learner's book* (2011, p.164) urges educators [and learners] to appreciate that "historical interpretations [of Shaka] change over time as historians' research and question the evidence" – by implication urging them to do the same.
- *New generation: History grade 10 learner's book* (2011, p.144) on the other hand, states that "despite King Shaka being one of the most famous historical figures [sic] historians actually have a few facts about him that can be verified" – suggesting that educators [and learners] ought to question what they learn about Shaka.
- *Focus history: Grade 10 Learner's book* (2011, p.146) arguing that "as young historians, we should not just accept what we are told [about Shaka]. We should ask questions and look for answers" – emphasising on the need to question what is already written on Shaka.

However, what emerges subtly in these textbooks and academic papers written on images of Shaka and memories attached to him is the idea that we learn more about the historians and other authors that have written about this period, rather than the period itself. Perhaps, that is why history should not by any means be an exact replication of what has transpired in the past. Rather, history is a *re*construction of the past, created by historians who have been influenced by many structure-positioning, prefiguration and emplotment and tweaked through a variety of methodology- selection, inferring meaning and argument. So, whether educators employed textbooks to enhance the teaching and learning process or bring about 'order' and 'discipline' in the classroom; history textbooks need to be viewed as social *re*constructions of knowledge. This means the approach they adopt with regards to images of Shaka and memories attached to them are neither neutral nor 'objective'. As such, pedagogical strategies that educators employ, to some extent, will be informed or influenced by the discriminatory and biased natures of textbooks.

4.3. OFFICIAL DISCOURSE OF SHAKA: CAPS

According to Bharath (2015, p.27) "changes in the history curriculum result in changes in textbooks, their methods and approach, as well their style". This was the case in South Africa post-1994 because how certain historical figures and events were re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented under

apartheid were re-interepreted, *re*constructed and re-presented under the democratic government. This signalled a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1962). As such, images of Shaka and memories attached to them have been re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented differently in post-apartheid history curriculum because of shift in ideological orientations among academic historians (Chiponda, 2014; Naidoo, 2014) and state-sanctioned socio-political, cultural and ideological imperatives. It was the most obvious reform and re-imagining of one spheres in public life (Siebörger, 2000). What follows are debates on history curriculum reform in South Africa from 1994 to present and their implications on images of Shaka and memories attached to them.

4.3.1. CURRICULUM TRANSFORMATION 1994-2002

To understand how images of Shaka and memories attached to them were re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented in post-apartheid history curriculum, one will have to look at what many academic historians refer to as 'curriculum transformation' or 'reform' in history education (Jansen, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2007; Bam, 1996, 2000, 2004a, 2004b; Chisholm, 2000, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005; Christie, 1999, 2006; van Eeden, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2010a, 2010b; Siebörger, 2000, 2002, 2006a, 2006b; Weldon, 2009; Tarvuvinga, & Cross, 2012). This change in curriculum and education policy should be understood in the context of political, ideological, cultural and socioeconomic tensions.

After the transition into democracy, history education is South Africa was subject to three phases of reform (Harley & Wedekind, 2004). The first phase entailed the "initial cleansing" (Chisholm, 2003; Jacobs, Vakalisa and Gawe, 2004), which for Jansen (2001, p.43), "was presented as an attempt to alter in the short term the most glaring racist, sexist and outdated content inherited from the apartheid syllabi, which were still widely used in the aftermath of the first post-apartheid elections in April of the same year". Powell (2003, p.152) calls this "an ongoing project to dismantle the cultural and epistemological heritage of Eurocentrism" and ensure that "the school curriculum can carry a truly African history for the consumption of the African pupil" (Mavhunga, 2008, p.43).

This process, Jansen (1999) argued, should be understood in the context of 'compensatory legitimation' or 'political symbolism'. Because it was "meant to reposition people and reframe people's mind-sets by providing the feelings or perceptions and sometimes some experience that things have indeed changed, or the country has achieved a point of no return" (Tarvuvinga and Cross, 2012, p.140). However, many experienced historians and history educators felt excluded as this

initial step of curriculum reform was mostly carried out by political administrators (Siebörger, 2000). In this phase, images of Shaka were re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented from an Afrocentric approach instead of apartheid's Eurocentric one. This was to give voice to marginalised histories and highlight the migration of black people (Suransky, 2002). This move found expression in an address by former Minister of education, Professor Kader Asmal (2004) when he argued for historical difference but called it, *inclusive memory*:

> Forging our future required remembering our past. "One who wants to create the future," Anton Lembede said, "must not forget the past." Significantly, Anton Lembede was quoting from the "Political Testament" of the Boer leader, Paul Kruger, who had said that whoever "dares to create a future must not forget the past." In our inclusive memory of the South African past, the legac[ies] of leaders such as Paul Kruger or Anton Lembede belong to all of us. They cannot be owned by any exclusive or sectional interests in our society. They cannot be used to divide us. So, we need an inclusive memory of the past for a unified South Africa.

The second phase of the reform process took place in March 1997, which for many involved in history education was long overdue (Jansen, 2001). The process saw the introduction of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) in Grade 1 in 1998 and Grade 7 in 1999 (Harley & Wedekind, 2004). It was "the most radical constructivist curriculum ever attempted anywhere in the world" (Taylor 2000 cited in Hugo 2005, p.22). It was an outcome-based approach to schooling, which unified subjects into learning areas and introduced a completely new approach to education: skill-centred learning and methodological reform (Siebörger 2000; Jacobs, Vakalisa and Gawe, 2004). It adopted learner-centred pedagogies, resulting in new methodological approaches and more independent learning processes (Henning, 2016). It was not a subject-bound, content-laden curriculum (Chisholm, 2003). Topics were not presented systematically or chronologically like before, they were presented in a conceptual manner (Henning, 2016) and thus made the new curriculum open, non-prescriptive and reliant on educators to develop their own learning programmes and learning support materials (Chisholm, 2003). These presented difficulties in traditional understanding of pedagogy and curriculum (Kallaway, 2012). Engelbrecht (2006) argues that the new history textbooks produced during this period "include[d] reference works and teaching materials" and "begun to reflect the democratic realities of the country." (p.5).

Nevertheless, many argue that the status of history education as a very crucial subject within the curricular was de-valued. This was because of the unification of history education, civic education, geography education, and other disciplines into a new learning area called the Human and Social Sciences (DBE, 1997). This was because "the rejection of the apartheid education [history] curriculum was confused with the abandonment of a curriculum that was based on historically

constructed knowledge" (Kallaway, 2012, p.24). This rationale behind this move was viewed, by some in history education, as political rather than pedagogical and epistemological (Seleti, 1997).

Therefore, the history discipline was de-emphasised not only in secondary schools, but also at universities (Legassick, 2000; DBE, 2001; Bam, 2004; Seleti, 2004). Another reason for the decline in history education was that the discipline fell out of favour with state policy makers and the business sector – who complained about the influx of BA graduates at the expense of economically and technologically orientated graduates (Maylam, 1995). What this new integrated discipline advocated for was the mastery of geographic basics and only a few names and dates for history (Polakow-Suransky, 2004). Many of the schools continued using history textbooks written and produced under apartheid (Mashiyi, 2000). This was because the new government did not have the necessary resources to make available all the new history textbooks that Engelbrecht (2006) cites to all the schools. This was counter-productive in the sense that, although the curriculum document explicitly stated that there was a need to move away from apartheid's history of African people, in practice, in most cases that was not the case due to shortage of textbooks and other learning materials. Thus, educators and learners were deprived from engaging the fierce dates that were happening across South African universities regarding images of Shaka (Wright, 1989, 1991, 1995, 2006ab; Sévry, 1991; Eldredge, 1992; Hamilton, 1992; Golan, 1994; Wylie, 2000, 2006).

The third phase came as result of exerted pressure levelled against the government by history educators, historians and other stakeholders with interest in history education. This resulted in the establishment of a committee, South African history project (SAHP), to review the curriculum which reported back to the ministry of education arguing for the need to reassess the curriculum (Chisholm, 2004b). Thereafter, an inquiry into history teaching, the *History/Archaeology Panel*, was initiated which was mandated to investigate the teaching of history in schools (Chisholm, 2004b). The panel, made from mostly professional historians, argued that though C2005 had positive aspects especially around assessment, it also had weaknesses. These weaknesses came in the form of educators having more powers in deciding what to teach and how to teach it – which in turn meant that these educators were given powers at the expense of the responsibility for what was to be taught[7]. The danger of this power, the panel argued, was that educators were running the risk of teaching one sided content that was not only outdated but inappropriate and thus present it as historical 'truth' or 'fact' at the expense of the multi- perspectivist nature of the discipline. In relation to images of Shaka and the

[7] South African Department of Education, Report of the History/ Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education, 2001, 1-2.

fact that schools were not provided with the new history textbooks that Engelbrecht (2006) cites; many educators were forced to use old apartheid textbooks (Mashiyi, 2000) and thus continued teaching content straight from the apartheid history curriculum which posed a threat to the new-found democracy. This for Chisholm (2004b, p.4) was a result of "the neglect of content that would challenge the "ideological ramparts of apartheid" and corresponding limitations of the treatment of the history of Africa".

Under the leadership of the late Professor Kader Asmal another process was initiated by the ministry for C2005 to be revised. Indeed, the South African cabinet in April 2002 approved the revised curriculum, which was to be known as the *Revised National Curriculum statement* (RNCS). It was in this new revised national curriculum that history regained its own status within the social sciences and was made compulsory from Grade R-9, and an optional status at the FET level. It was implanted in Grade R-9 in 2004 and in the FET level in 2006. History now had a specific place in the curriculum which was foregrounded on enquiry, interpretation, knowledge and understanding (Chisholm, 2004b). However, there were issues with RNCS that lead to revision and the birth of CAPS. These issues, according to Hofmeyr (2010, p.2) included:

- Level of disciplinary and pedagogical understanding that the RNCS requires, and its implementation and assessment.
- There was a mismatch between the demands of RNCS and the capacity of the teaching corps.
- Proliferation of policy documents from national, provincial and even district departments trying to make it more understandable for the average, poorly trained South African educator with limited subject knowledge – a legacy of apartheid and the uneven quality of teacher education today.
- The OBE terminology was also found to be too sophisticated and unfamiliar for most educators.
- RNCS was implemented without enough targeted teacher-training that was subject-specific or enough resources for educators and learners in most schools.
- In addition, it over-emphasised assessment and associated administration, and so overloads educators with tasks that are not related to their teaching.

Beyond the above-mentioned issues, history textbooks that existed during this period were "written for the former apartheid education departments and used for provincial Senior Certificate examinations" (Siebörger, 2015, p.42). This propelled the DBE to establish a process in which textbooks catering for the entire nation instead of individual provinces to be conceptualised and

reproduced (Siebörger, 2015). This process resulted in ten nationally approved history textbooks. Siebörger (2015) describes this as a "golden moment for history education in South Africa" (p.55) because these textbooks "reflected very well the diverse qualities of narrative, explanation, evidence and investigation that typify history as a discipline." (p.54). Even with the "golden moment" that Siebörger alludes to; a new curriculum was introduced. This was largely because of the weaknesses mentioned above and the critiques levelled against the RNCS by educationalists and other stakeholders. Therefore, the following section will deliberate on the introduction of CAPS and its implications to history education in relation to images of Shaka and memories attached to them.

4.3.2. INTRODUCTION OF CAPS: 2011

According to Themane and Mamabolo (2011, p.8):

> CAPS seeks to provide a coherent, systematic content and knowledge to satisfy the specific aims of the curriculum. Curriculum policy and guideline documents, seek to address concerns of transition between grades and phases, assessment, particularly continuous assessment, learning and teaching support materials (textbooks).

and

Minister of the DBE, Angie Motshekga (DBE, 2010), argued that:

> The National Curriculum Statement is being strengthened in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning in our schools. The National Curriculum will focus on the content that must be taught per term and the required number and type of assessment tasks each term for each subject. This will ensure that all teachers and learners have a clear understanding of the topics that must be covered in each subject.

Another curriculum change was met by suspension, and at times rejection, from in-service history educators, educationalists, academics, parents and other stakeholders (Mdutshane, 2013). This is because in-service educators "often lack the theoretical knowledge and familiarity with principles informing the implementation of curriculum change" (Maharajh, Nkosi, & Mkhize, undated, p.371). With others arguing that the on-going curriculum changes have done more harm than good (Maphalala, 2006). So their wariness of another curriculum change was justified to some extent, given the 'dismal' curriculums post-1994. However, it can be argued that these people failed to recognise curriculum as a "contextualised social process" (Cornbleth, 1988) which needed to respond to the political, curricular, social, cultural, ideological, economical, and educational demands of the time - which Mouraz, Fernandes, & Morgado (2012), and Zabalza (2012) refer to this as "curriculum contextualisation".

Kallaway (2012, p.25), on the other hand, argued that the Minister's argument in relation to the introduction of CAPS symbolised a return to ideas of "curriculum disciplinarity in the secondary school history curriculum", which represented "a return to forms of knowledge that experienced teachers would [be] more familiar" with. This is because the CAPS document argues that its aim in relation to history education should be seen as to "create an interest in the past, provide knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the past and forces that shaped it, an understanding of historical enquiry and sources and evidence of history" (DBE, 2011, p.10).

Furthermore, Kallaway (2012, p.27) in a paper titled: *History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment* argues that:

> The new curriculum statement [CAPS] still seems to demonstrate a degree of confusion about what history teaching at secondary school should entail, how content should be selected and assessed, what it is precisely that is being reformed, and what its objectives should be in a context where we need to give teachers much more clarity about the goals of history teaching.

He further argues that:

We need to know a lot more about the process by which this was conducted and the criteria for the investigation. Who decided on the need for a curriculum revision and on what grounds? Who was consulted in the process? How did the consultation take place and how were the investigators and drafters of the new curriculum chosen?

Essentially what Kallaway (2012) was saying is that there are fundamental issues that need special attention in the new curriculum if the country is to improve history education at school level. And some of these issues are related to:

- Content knowledge selection and how it should be framed in the classroom – for him CAPS implies "an unacceptable presentism" (p.28) because it seems to be advocating for educators to relate past events to what is currently happening in their learners immediate and broader world. "We would need much more clarity on what this means and how it is to be effectively put into practice since the whole enterprise of OBE was based on such presentist principles and has been found to be flawed in many ways" (p.28).
- The lack of capacity in terms of highly qualified educators and resources is another fundamental issue that Kallaway highlights and believes that CAPS neglected. "It is the teacher's familiarity with and critical grasp of the key issues and dynamics of a particular era and set of issues and concepts that are the necessary conditions for effective historical learning to take place in the classroom" (p.35). "All of these issues need to be considered once again when assessing the appropriateness of the CAPS initiative" (p.29).

- Lastly, he questions the pace in which the new curriculum was to be implemented in the classroom and the amount with which the educators are expected to cover at the short space of time. “Can we be confident that teachers as practitioners are able to understand fully and achieve the goals set for them in the guidelines for teaching? Are we not handing them a poisoned chalice in the form of an impossible task and then blaming them when they are not successful in achieving the ends that we demand? And what of our educational responsibility to the students? (p.37-8).

In response, Siebörger (2012) in a seminar paper titled: *A reply to Peter Kallaway: ‘History in High School 2012: A comment. Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement. History Grades 10-12’* argues that Kallaway (2012):

- Ignores the place of history education under “Curriculum 2005, the 1997 GET (Grade 1-9) outcomes-based curriculum, which remained in place till 2006, but had no effect on Grade 10-12 history” (p.1). Siebörger argues that the history status under C2005 was de-valued and thus the elimination of the subject in curriculum – something that Kallaway fails to acknowledge in his argument. In addition, he argues that Kallaway fails to also acknowledge the role played by the *History and Archaeology Panel (*2000) and *the South Africa Schools History Project* working alongside Professor Kader Asmal to restore history education to its former glory under RNCS. He goes on list what he believes were the “key characteristics of the RNCS history curriculum” (p.2).
- Another argument that Siebörger makes is that; although RNCS and NCS had good intentions, there were shortcomings in the implemented curriculum. And these shortcomings relate to poor textbooks, inconsistent standard in the setting of NSC examinations, false belief that history should be taught by identifying the Assessment Standards and (p.3). So CAPS was intended to address these shortcoming, especially in relation to language used, but Kallaway fails to acknowledge this.
- Lastly, in terms of the pace of the curriculum and content selection. Siebörger argued “that the content was intended to be a rewrite not a de novo start, with a reduction in the number of topics, no repetition and much more specific content detail that would fill in perceived gaps’ (p.4). Basically, the re-worked topics were in line with the proposed pacing of the curriculum and offered educators to interpret and implement the curriculum with less difficulties.

What the debate between Professor Kallaway and Professor Siebörger highlights is that curriculum is a "contextualised social process" (Cornbleth, 1988) responding to political, curricular, social, cultural, ideological, economical, and educational demands of the time - which Mouraz et al (2012), and Zabalza (2012) refer to this as "curriculum contextualisation". What both arguments also highlight is that although the intentions of CAPS are 'good' it is not perfect; no curriculum can ever be perfect. However, what needs to happen is teacher-development that will enable our educators to respond to the demands of any curriculum because this is not the last curriculum change in South Africa.

In terms of images of Shaka and memories attached to them CAPS (2011, p.xxi) argues that:

> Southern Africa also experienced transformation in the 18th and 19th centuries. This was the period which became known as the "Mfecane". This unit reflects research which helps us to understand how and why transformation occurred at this time. Shaka was regarded as being the major cause of the conflict during this period. However, historians are moving away from the idea of Mfecane/Difaqane which is linked to outdated, colonial-era ideas of the centrality of the "wars of Shaka". Wars and disruptions took place, but most of them were not caused by Shaka and the Zulu. This unit investigates the recent research and explores the ways in which historical „myths" are constructed.

It is clear from that statement that CAPS sought to highlight complexities that underpin the southern Africa historiographies of the 18th and 19th centuries. By so doing, the curriculum seems to be expecting of in-service educators to teach this topic as debate*s* rather than a debate and thus move away from the concept of mfecane/difaqane Wright (2004). This is in line with postmodernist thought advocated by revisionist historians such as Wright. They argue that by teaching and learning this topic as debate*s* rather than a debate; in-service history educators [and their learners] will appreciate that images of Shaka derived from a complex, and at times contradictory, historical processes. Thus, single histories of Shaka are inadequate because they fail to give the 'whole' picture of the man.

Beyond this, by exposing learners multiple perspectives of Shaka CAPS skills such as critical thinking, reflection, analytical thinking, as well historical significance, evidence, historical thinking, historical writing, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives, the ethical dimension of history, sourcing, contextualization, and corroboration are what in-service educators ought to impart onto their learners (Counsell, 2011, Wineburg, 2001; CAPS, 2011; Seixas and Morton, 2012; Seixas, 2013). They would be *doing history* (Smuts, 2006; Bertram, 2008), since historians work with discipline-specific methods of analysis to evaluate and interpret different kinds of evidence (De la Paz, 2005). Dean (2004, pp.1-2) summarises the whole process of doing history by arguing that:

> Historians pose questions of the past, they collect sources which they interpret by organising, analysing, evaluating, and extracting appropriate data in order to address the question they earlier posed, and they construct their story based on the evidence collected and communicate their findings in a logical and systematic way to make what is called history.

This propels, it seems, in-service educators to not only engage their learners historically. But adopt pedagogies that will encourage learners to appreciate the disciplinary nature of the study of history.

4.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an overview of the various perspectives of varied natures underpinning history textbooks. It further explored representations of images of Shaka in select CAPS history textbooks – here examples of class activities from the select textbooks were explored to see how images of Shaka are presented, as well as the pedagogic role of history textbooks. Lastly, it explored the official discourse of Shaka contained in the CAPS document related to curriculum reform in South Africa from 1994 until present. The conclusion drawn from this exercise is that content and motives of the history curriculum and textbooks are because of the varied natures that were explored perpetuated by the state alongside other interest groups – which having a bearing in the pedagogical tools that educators might employ.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research paradigm, research methodology, design as well as theoretical perspectives employed. It provides a detailed description of the research approach and methods that were employed, and the justification of these choices based on the purpose of the study. Qualitative approach was employed because it enabled the researcher to explore, understand and explain how some in-service history educators come to re-interpret, *re*construct, and re-present images of Shaka and memories attached to that. Unlike quantitative approach which does not necessarily promote the explanation of data in depth, the qualitative approach further provided this study with the opportunity to present detailed insights into the factors that shape the participants' conceptions of the varied images of Shaka, as well as insights that describe why and how the phenomena was approached. This chapter also outlines the context in which the extensive literature reviewed applied to the study. It also explores consideration that was given to data analysis, ethical issues such as confidentiality, informed consent, and anonymity as well as a right to withdraw, as well as the theories that rationalize the use of these.

5.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Burns and Grove (2003, p.195) research design is "a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings". It is a logical and coherent strategy used to collect and generate data about desired knowledge (De Vos, Schulze, & Patel, 2005). It is also "the researcher's overall for answering the research question[s] or testing the research hypothesis", (Polit, Beck, & Hungler, 2001, p.167).

It is upon these imperatives that this study involved a carefully structured research design, through which the research question was answered. The research design in this study has been structured in a logical and coherent manner starting with the study's paradigm followed by data analysis methods as part of the research process. The summary of this study's methodology, including the research approach and method, is denoted in the diagram below.

PARADIGM	Interpretative
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES	Constructionism vs. deconstructionism
RESEARCH APPROACH	Qualitative
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	Phenomenological Research approach
RESEARCH METHODS	Questionnaire Unobtrusive classroom observation Semi-structured interviews
DATA ANALYSIS	Transcription of data Coding and identification of categories Themes identification Quality criteria; Credibility Transferability Dependability
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	Confidentiality Informed consent Anonymity Right to withdraw

Figure 5.1: A diagram of the study's methodology and design (adapted from Naidoo, 2014)

5.3. INTERPRETATIVE PARADIGM

Another central aspect of this study has been a thorough consideration of the paradigm in which concepts are interpreted, analysed and applied. The concept paradigm has been constructed and understood differently by various scholars. Some argue that it concerns itself with epistemology or ontology pertaining to the body of knowledge being enquired (Neuman, 2000 & Creswell, 2003).

Others argue that it looks at the nature of knowledge, methodology and criteria used to establish the validity of such knowledge (MacNaughton, Rolfe & Siraj-Blatchford, 2001). While others classify theoretical paradigms into variables such as positivist, post-positivist, constructivist, interpretivist, transformative, emancipatory, critical, pragmatism and deconstructivist (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). All these paradigms can be considered as playing a fundamental role in scientific studies.

However, this study has been informed by the interpretivist paradigm which is in line with postmodern thought. Noel (2007, p.46) constructs postmodern thinking as "a worldview consisting of anti-foundationalism, disbelief in pure objectivity, and deconstruction of "certain" knowledge, primarily characterized by a reaction to the prevailing worldview of Modernism. It therefore behoves us to first briefly examine the chief tenets of pre-Modernity, and then Modernity and the current reaction to it". Interpretivism is based on the premise that seeks to understand and interpret everyday happenings (events), experiences and social structures – as well as the values people attach to these phenomena (Collis & Hussey, 2009; Rubin & Babbie, 2010). Whereas, postmodernism is based on the premise that no one true reality exists, and it rejects the belief of an absolute truth (Becvar & Becvar, 2003).

Interpretivist paradigm is related to phenomenology, because it seeks to explore participants' understanding and engagement with the phenomena. Phenomenology is a science whose purpose is to offer methods of inquiring into the meanings of individual lived experiences (Creswell, 2013). Of importance with the phenomenological paradigm is the focus on people's *re*constructions and interpretations of a social phenomenon (Babbie & Mouton, 2007), which for this study are re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to that. The phenomenology paradigm enabled this study to establish various re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of participants' understanding of images of Shaka, from the insiders' perspective (Babbie & Mouton, 2007).

The interpretivist paradigm, on the other hand, is a major anti-positivist paradigm in that, unlike the positivist approach, it avoids rigid structural frameworks and adopts a more personal and flexible research structures (Johnson & Duberley 2000; Carson et al., 2001; Oates, 2006; Gray, 2013), which are receptive to capturing meanings in human interaction (Black, 2006) and make sense of what is perceived as reality (Carson, Gilmore, Perry, & Gronhaug, 2001).

Henning, van Rensburg and Smit (2004) argue that the interpretivist paradigm can be used in qualitative research due to its descriptive nature, as it seeks to present the participants' reality from

their own viewpoints. This is because all humans continuously try to make sense of their worlds (Weber, 1864-1920) – and the process involves continuously interpreting, creating, give meaning, defining, justifying and rationalising daily actions (Babbie & Mouton, 2008).

Interpretivism also focuses on exploring the complexity of social phenomena with a view to gaining understanding. Its purpose is to understand and interpret everyday happenings (events), experiences and social structures – as well as the values people attach to these phenomena (Collis & Hussey, 2009; Rubin & Babbie, 2010). This means that truth is contextual. It depends on the situation, the people being observed, and even the person doing the observation. Thus, the researcher as a social actor needs to appreciate diverse views that people bring to the fore (Oates, 2006; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2013). This is because, interpretive researchers acknowledge that access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, shared or individual memories and instruments (Myers, 2008).

Interpretivists are of the view that social reality is subjective and nuanced (Lather, 2006), because it is informed by the perceptions of the participants, as well as the values and aims of the researcher. In short, reality is constructed in the minds of individuals (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2004). This implies that reality should be interpreted through the meanings that people give to their life world. Therefore, the role of a researcher is to "understand, explain, and demystify social reality through the eyes of different participants" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p.19) and this can be only being discovered through language, and not exclusively through quantitative analysis (Schwandt, 2007).

Furthermore, interpretivists value individual experiences, and gather data through participant observation, interviewing and analysing documents (Lather, 2006) – all of which inform this study's research methods. These methods are viewed as being best within the interpretive research paradigm, because they involve interpretation and observation (Livesey, 2006). In turn, these methods require from the researcher an understanding of how participants *re*construct, experience, as well as re-interpret and re-present the world.

Given these reasons, interpretive research paradigm was employed with a view that knowledge and meanings are the results of interpretations – implying that objective knowledge which is independent of human thinking and reasoning does not exist. As such, the re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka by in-service history educators involved in this study form the basis of this study's findings, and thus, contribute to the academic field of history education. This is the case because, central to interpretivist research is the idea of subjective knowledge that seeks

to highlight the disparities in *re*constructed human meanings and sense-making which reflect disparities in human realities (Neuman, 2006). As such, for an interpretivist researcher it is important to understand motives, meanings, reasons and other subjective experiences which are time and context bound (Neuman, 2000).

5.4. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES: CONSTRUCTIONISM VS DECONSTRUCTIONISM

Theories within the social sciences are understood as models or frameworks for observation and understanding the social world, which shape both what we see and how we see it. Theories also enable researchers to make links between the abstract and the concrete; the theoretical and the empirical; thought statements and observational statements (Fox and Bayat, 2007). For Mooney, Knox, and Schacht (2007) theories provide us with perspective. A theoretical perspective or theoretical framework deals with the theory or theories that the researcher chooses as guide for the study under investigation.

Thus, "a theoretical framework is the application of a theory, or a set of concepts drawn from one and the same theory, to explain an event, or shed some light on a phenomenon or research problem", (Sitwala, 2014, p.189). Social science researchers work with a range of theories in their quest to understand the social world. For this study, two of these theories were employed to explore the phenomenon under investigation and these included; constructionism (constructivism) and deconstruction(ism). Each of these are discussed in the next section.

5.4.1. CONSTRUCTIONISM

Constructionism (also known as constructivism) refers to the construction of reality by the observer (Dagar & Yadav, 2016). It describes the way the observer *re*constructs reality by making sense and giving meaning to what is observed – the observer as a human being is a social being according to constructivists. In other words, reality is constructed through the observer's interactions with others, as well as by his or her life experiences (Amineh & Davatgari, 2015). In this case, the researcher as an observer constructed his own reality of what he was observing and in turn gave meanings to what was observed. The same applied to the participants under study in that; they too constructed their own realities and made sense of those realities through the responses they provided.

This implies that the notion of 'single truth' or 'universal truth' does not exist. What is recognised by constructivists is the notion of 'multiple truths' which are a result of individuals' re-

interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of the world. For example, the participants under investigation re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented images of Shaka in different ways informed by their background and present realities (social constructionism). It does not mean that one's re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentation of images of Shaka are 'correct' or 'false' when compared to the other. Rather, all those re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentation by participants are valid within the contexts in which they were voiced out. This, according Rapmund and Moore (2000, p.21), "frees the researcher from having to decide whether the participant's reality is 'correct' or 'false'". This kind of thinking is in line with interpretivist and postmodernist thought, as well as qualitative and phenomenological approaches to conducting research.

In addition, constructivism excludes the effects of a dominant social reality that influences the creation of meanings. Hence, there has been a move within social research to expand it to accommodate the role played by social and cultural contexts in individuals' creation of meanings. This gave birth to the establishment of postmodern theoretical stance known as social constructionism. However, Andrews (2012) asserts that social constructionism can be traced as far back in part to an interpretivist approach to thinking. The term constructivism used in this study includes the ideas of social constructionism, which will be discussed in the following section.

Constructivism was adopted because it provided environments in which participants under study were able to create their own knowledge constructions regarding images of Shaka and memories attached to that through interpreting the experiences they confront as individuals and as members of varied communities.

5.4.2. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

According to Galbin (2014, p.82) social constructionism "is a theory of knowledge of sociology and communication that examines the development jointly constructed understanding of the world". It is described by many theorists as part of the interpretivist and postmodernist movements because, "there is growing doubt in universal and authoritative standards of truth, objectivity, rationality, progress, and morality" (Gergen & Gergen, 2008, p.7).

Social constructionists, interpretivists, and postmodernists are inextricably linked because they generally focus on the process by which meanings are created, negotiated, sustained and modified (Schwandt, 2003). They are of the view that the world means different things to different people,

because individuals construct the world in different ways. This difference is embedded in our social relationships (Gergen & Gergen, 2008). So, culture and language are central to social constructionist ideas, because when constructing the world; individuals do so from a particular cultural standpoint using language (words) and/or signs and symbols from that particular culture. These words, signs and symbols are used to carry out the social relationships (Gergen & Gergen, 2008). However, "to "speak the truth" is to speak in a way that supports a particular community's traditions" (Gergen & Gergen, 2008, p.15).

The idea of community is also central to social constructionist thought because, through a community shared ideas and attitudes are developed over time. This means, social constructionists advocate for the deconstruction of 'single truths', 'grand narratives', and 'great traditions' as privileged accounts of world affairs, contemporary and historical (Ferguson, 2013). This is in line with interpretivist, postmodernist, constructivist thought, as well as qualitative and phenomenological approaches to conducting research.

From social constructionist viewpoint, the construction of images of Shaka and memories attached to that can never be essentialistic and/or universalistic. But rather, the images and memories are attached to them are complex and contradictory. These complexities and contradictions are a direct result of culture-based social construction processes, social relationships between members of a community or communities, as well as what is said, shared, and written about it. This implies that, the researcher is also not excluded from the *re*construction process of images of Shaka and memories attached to them. Because what researchers present about him is informed by their own current sociocultural environment.

What is to follow are discussions around the theory of deconstructionism. This is because, social constructionist in their work also advocate for deconstruction to take place. This could involve the deconstruction of 'single truths', 'grand narratives', 'great traditions', language and so on.

5.4.3. DECONSTRUCTIONISM

Deconstructionism (Deconstruction) is the best-known (and most significant) form of literary criticism known as poststructuralism. It is one of the post-modernist theories that took an anti- positivist stand which derives from the work of Jacques Derrida and others (Abukan, 2014). It was developed as a critique against new criticism and structuralism. New criticism, according to Stetz (2001, p.2), "was an attempt to bring the rational and systematic practice normally associated with science into the

literary field. It asserted that objective knowledge of a text could be obtained by a systematic and careful analysis of the work itself". Whereas, structuralism argued that individual thoughts are a result of linguistic structures (Güney & Güney, 2008). According to Balkin (1995-6) "deconstruction attacked the assumption that these structures of meaning were stable, universal, or ahistorical".

Furthermore, Rosemann (2013) argues that, deconstruction was developed because of critical engagements with structuralists. Perhaps, that is why Balkin (1995-6) argued that deconstruction "did not challenge structuralism's views about the cultural construction of human subjects". Similarly, Stetz (2001, p. 5) asserts that "Derrida [sic] modified the ideas of both the New Critics and the structuralists in several important ways. From New Criticism, Derrida took the idea of close reading and careful evaluation of a text. [He] also adopted the ideas of semiotics that formed the foundation for Structuralism". Given this, it should be noted that deconstructionist thinking varies profoundly from new criticism and structuralism in its manner of interpretation.

Nevertheless, structuralism saw many successes as it produced prominent structuralists such as Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009), and the so-called Russian formalists, whose had sustained popularity. It also developed into the post-structuralists camp consisting of; Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), Gilles Deleuze (1925–1995), Jean-François Lyotard (1924–1998), Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), Michel Foucault (1926–1984), and Slavoj Žižek and his school.

For this study, Jacques Derrida's (1930–2004) theory of deconstruction was employed. The deconstruction that was developed by Derrida asserted that all literary texts have ambiguity (Güney & Güney, 2008). This ambiguity for Derrida was a result of him believing that literary texts have more than one meaning. By claiming that ambiguity exists in these texts, Derrida was refuting structures that according to new critics and structuralists govern those texts. By refuting structures in literary texts, deconstructionists operate on the premise that those texts at face-value concealed or obscured multiple meanings. By employing close deconstructive reading tools, possibilities of more meanings are unveiled – "it is in fact an interpretation style that is sometimes leading to find out unexpected meanings" (Abukan, 2014, p.53). Hence, deconstructionist thinking, according to Stetz (2001, p.1) should be viewed as having "deep implications for the nature of meaning, the self, and the interpretation of reality".

In refuting of structures in literary texts, Derrida was undermining traditional understanding of meaning and truth (Stetz, 2001; Güney & Güney, 2008; Gnanasekaran, 2015). He was doing this to undermine the hegemony of meaning and truth construction that existed in Western thought

(Abukan, 2014). Like constructivists, social constructionists, phenomenologists, and interpretivists; deconstructionists assert that the notion of 'real truth' or 'absolute universal truth' does not exist (Güney & Güney, 2008). Furthermore, deconstructionists like constructivists, social constructionists, phenomenologists, and interpretivists assert that 'reality' does not exist – what exists are realities constructed by individuals using language (words) and/or signs and symbols from their particular culture (Stetz, 2001; Abukan, 2014). They argue that there is no one interpretation of the world, people interpret the world in multiple ways (Güney & Güney, 2008). By undermining hegemony of meaning and truth, Derrida was in fact bringing to the fore the plurality of meaning that existed in texts. He was also questioning the notion of systematic thought that positivists, for one, advocated (Mousley, 2000). For Bertens (2001, p.124-7) the following points below outline Derrida's main arguments regarding the deconstruction project:

- Language is inherently unreliable.
- There is no single word.
- Reality determines the shape of our language.
- Words are never stable and fixed in time.
- Meaning is the product of difference and it is also always subject to a process of deferral.

Considering the discussions above, Derrida's deconstruction should be viewed as a political project meant to collapse social hierarchies of Western elitism – Western elitism in the South African context that privileged white societies through historical accounts and in the process marginalised black societies. Within those 'privileged societies', mainly white heterosexual men who were constructed as being rational in their thinking and reasoned in their arguments, were better placed in their societies over others. Hence, traditional accounts about the images of Shaka that emerged were viewed as being 'absolute truth', 'objective', and 'factual' because they were authored by the 'rational' and 'reasoned' at the time.

By employing Derrida's concept of deconstruction as one of the theoretical frameworks of this study, the researcher sought to bring to the fore voices of the marginalized especially female participants involved in this study, as well as Africa male participants. Because deconstruction as a theory argues that no single correct interpretation of any historical figure or event is feasible. So the deconstruction concept was employed to recognise and bring to the fore lived experiences of participants involved in this study in relation to their re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images

of Shaka and memories attached to them because there has been no, if not less, documentation of their experiences.

5.5. RESEARCH APPROACH

A qualitative research approach was followed in this study. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000) qualitative research should be:

> Research that is multi-method in [its] focus [and which] involves [an] interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them (p. 2).

They further describe that (2000):

> Qualitative research, as a set of interpretative activities, privileges no single methodological practice over another. As a site of discussion or discourse, qualitative research is difficult to define clearly. It has no theory of paradigm that is distinctly its own. … Nor does qualitative research have a distinct set of methods or practices that are entirely its own (p. 6).

This approach was relevant for this kind of study because it describes complex phenomena and provide in-depth information, as well as rich narrative through questionnaires, unobtrusive classroom observations, interview transcripts without subjection to rigorous statistical analysis (Creswell, 2013). This approach provided rich explanation and discussion of in-service history educators' re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to them. Unlike the quantitative approach which does not necessarily advance the explanation of data in depth, this approach further provided this study with the opportunity to present detailed insights into the factors that shape the participants' re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to them, as well as insights that describe why and how the phenomena was approached.

Therefore, this approach assisted the researcher in understanding the social situations as experienced by participants involved. The study happened in a setting known by the participants to minimise any form of intimidation or discomfort that might have aroused. Thus, the participants were familiar with the research environment which resulted in them being comfortable. Hence, Creswell (2003) argues that it is important for qualitative research to happen in natural settings, that is, the researcher should go to a site to develop the level of detail about the individuals or settings and thus be involved in the actual experiences of the participants.

According to Brink & Wood (1998, p.246), Patton (2002) and Burns & Grove (2003, P.374-374) the advantages of doing qualitative research include the following:

- The research design is flexible and unique; for example, in this study the researcher had the flexibility to probe by rephrasing questions posed to participants to encourage participants to think deeper about their responses. Thus, gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon in question.
- Abstract thinking processes are used to develop research findings from which meaning and theoretical implications emerge; this is linked to the flexibility of this research approach. In that, the process of encouraging participants through rephrasing of questions posed to them in order to enter a deep-thinking exercise meant that not only a deep understanding of the phenomenon in question was attained; meaningful findings with theoretical implications emerged.
- Qualitative research means understanding of human emotions such as rejection, pain, caring, powerlessness, anger and effort; in this case participants perspectives regarding the image of Shaka and what is attached to such an image needed to be understood.
- In qualitative research human actions are strongly informed by the setting in which they occur; hence, it is important to investigate how different realities that construct and are constructed by the participants inform their *re*constructions of the image of Shaka and memories attached to that.
- Since human emotions are difficult to quantify (have a numerical value assigned to them), qualitative research appears to be a more effective method of investigating emotional responses than quantitative research. In this case, the fact that human participants were involved meant that verbal responses in the form of data were to be generated. Thus, qualitative research became the preferred research approach because it is concerned with social constructions of phenomena.
- In addition, qualitative research focuses on understanding the whole, which is consistent with educational research.

The rationale for using a qualitative approach in this research was to explore and describe the re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to them by in-service history educators in four schools in Gauteng, South Africa. A qualitative approach

was appropriate to capture those *re*constructions because, its multiple research methods enabled the researcher to investigate the phenomenon in question in more detail.

5.6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. The methodological decisions depend solely on the nature of the research question(s). Rajasekar et al (2013, p.1) notes that research methodology is a "science of studying how research is to be carried out". This implies that not only does research methodology concern itself with distinctions about the nature of knowledge (qualitative vs. quantitative), it also looks at research methods, that is, the way in which data is generated and analysed, and the type of generalizations and representations that emerge from the generated data. In this study qualitative methodology was employed because it is dialectic and interpretive.

In this study methodology outlines the process in which the research was conducted and its logical sequence. Its primary focus was the discovering and expressing of experiences of in-service history educators in relation to images of Shaka and memories attached to them. Phenomenological methodology was employed. It is therefore imperative to explain the significance of such research for the study because, it enabled the description and exploration of in-service history educators' lived experiences in relation to the re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to that from the insiders' perspective (Babbie & Mouton, 2007).

5.6.1. PHENOMENOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Phenomenology is a science whose purpose is to offer methods of inquiring into the meanings of individual lived experiences (Creswell, 2013). It is a philosophical approach to the study of experience (Smith, Flowers, and Larkin, 2009). Hence, Creswell (2009, 2013) contends that a phenomenological study describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or the phenomenon. It attempts to understand individuals' lived experiences and the behavioural, emotive, and social meanings that these experiences have for them. It is also known as an educational qualitative research design (Østergaard, Dahlin & Hugo, 2008; Marshall and Rossman, 2010; Creswell, 2013; Ponce, 2014; Padilla-Díaz, 2015).

This study made use of phenomenological theory because it is concerned with meanings of individual lived experiences, and therefore overlaps with qualitative approaches to conducting research as explained above. Its epistemological assumptions are informed and guided by interpretivism, constructivism, as well as deconstructionism.

The phenomenological research approach was the most appropriate to the aim of the study under investigation, because it sought to explore and understand the lived experiences of in-service history educators in relation to their re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and the memories attached to them. The phenomenological approach allowed participants under study, through a questionnaire, unobtrusive classroom observations, and in-depth semi-structured interviews, to generate their own meanings of their experiences of being involved in *re*constructing images of Shaka. Furthermore, the fact that phenomenological research has strong links with the interpretivist paradigm - since both deal with interpretation and phenomena – implies that multiple contexts emerge where phenomena can be located.

Moreover, phenomenologists hold that phenomenology ought to be viewed as aiming to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of the meaning of our everyday experiences (Brink & Wood, 1998; Holloway, 2005). Lester (1999, p.1) notes that the "purpose of the phenomenological approach is to illuminate the specific, to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation".

Considering the above, phenomenology was considered the best method and approach in this study.

5.6.2. ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Researchers conduct research solely because they want to answer questions they might have about the world. The ontological and epistemological assumptions that researchers make have an impact not only on the choice of research approaches, methods and paradigms employed (Marsh and Furlong, 2002; Sarantakos, 2005); they also have an impact on what constitutes an adequate answer to the nature of the phenomena under investigation. Hence, what is considered sufficient evidence for comprehensive conclusions from one ontological and epistemological assumption will vary from the other. This study has employed constructionism as its ontological position and interpretivism as its epistemological position.

5.6.2.1. ONTOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Ontology is the science or theory of being (Crotty, 2003). It concerns the question of how the world is constructed: is there a 'real' world 'out there' that is independent of our knowledge of it? (Bryman, 2001, 2008; Marsh & Furlong, 2002; Patton, 2002; Snape & Spencer, 2003). Similarly, Ormston et al (2014, p.4) assert that ontology is concerned with the question "whether or not there is a social reality that exists independently from human conceptions and interpretations and, closely related to this, whether there is a shared social reality or only multiple, context-specific ones". In the social world, ontology is taken to mean the kinds of things that exist (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Dieronitou, 2014).

Assumptions of an ontological kind concern the very nature of social entities under investigation (Dieronitou, 2014). For this study, constructionism was employed as an ontological position. Constructionism asserts that external reality exists but is only known through human mind and socially constructed meanings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). What this implies is that constructionists believe that there is no single reality or truth, but multiple interpretations and constructions of reality and truth. In order words, there is no shared social reality, only a series of different individual constructions of realities (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011). That makes reality and truth subjective.

In addition, Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2007) assert that social phenomena and their meanings are produced through social interaction and are in a constant state of revision. What this means is that images of Shaka are re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented by participants involved in this study are a result of the social realities that the participants are involved in. Thus, this study acknowledged ontological variations of Shaka and the meanings and memories associated with him, and was concerned with the continuous *re*constructions of such by the participants.

5.6.2.2. EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Epistemology is a theory of knowledge that concerns itself with what informs research (Creswell, 2002; Collis and Hussey, 2003). It refers to assumptions made by researchers regarding knowledge (Richards, 2003), and it also concerns itself with how researchers find out about the world (Snape & Spencer, 2003). Furthermore, epistemology "concerns the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline" (Bryman, 2008, p.13). Interpretivism was employed as an epistemological position in this study. This is the case because as stated earlier, interpretivists assert

that knowledge is produced by exploring and understanding the social world of people and/or phenomenon under investigation (Wellington, 2000; Cohen et al, 2002). In addition, knowledge is viewed as being as personal, subjective and unique. What this implies is that, the knowledge that the participants involved in study had about images of Shaka and memories attached to them cannot be generalised because of the complex nature of social realities that the participants are part of.

Hence, the researcher needed to acknowledge the contested context of the phenomenon under investigation. That is because, the researcher and the social world impact on each other (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

5.6.2.3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ONTOLOGY EPISTEMOLOGY

In this study, interpretivism and constructionism were developed to oppose positivist and objectivist traditions of viewing the world and knowledge (Bryman, 2008). According to Schwandt (2003) interpretivists and constructionists' main focal point is the process in which meanings are interpreted, constructed, agreed on, continued and altered. This implies that the world is constructed by the perceptions and interpretations that people hold. Thus, they reject the notion of direct observation of the world advocated by positivists and objectivists.

Furthermore, interpretivists and constructionists view knowledge as a process of exploration and understanding, rather than a process of discovery. They further see researchers being unable to detach themselves from the research.

Lastly, it should be noted that the relationship between the ontological and epistemological positions employed in this study also reflect the methodological assumptions, as well as the research approach employed in this study. A phenomenological research approach, as well a qualitative methodology was employed because constructivist or interpretivist researchers typically utilize them.

In summary, having mentioned that this study is in the interpretivist paradigm and is approached from a qualitative perspective, the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study are that knowledge and reality are socially constructed. Furthermore, the research design has indicated that this study involved exploring a phenomenon in detail in a world which is socially constructed.

5.7. SAMPLING

Purposive and convenient sampling were used for this study. Sampling is concerned with the process of selecting individuals from the target population that the researcher plans to study, thus generalises the target population (Creswell, 2012). The sample for this study consists of four select in-service history educators using the purposive and convenient sampling, which means that the participants were selected based on the characteristics of a population and the objective of the study (Palys, 2008).

Purposive sampling was chosen because it is identical to qualitative research (Palys, 2008; Etikan et al, 2016), unlike random sampling which advocates for quantitative studies (Morgan, 2008). Purposive sampling can be defined as 'hand-picked' for research (Bernard, 2002, Given, 2008), implying that strategic choices inform whom, where, and how the research was conducted (Palys, 2008). This involved identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

Teddlie and Yu (2007, p.80) state that there are "three broad categories of purposive sampling techniques (plus a category involving multiple purposive techniques), each of which encompass several specific types of strategies". This study employed one category known as 'sampling to achieve representativeness or comparability'. This was used when the researcher *(a)* selected purposive sample that represents a broader group of cases as closely as possible and *(b)* when comparisons were made among those different cases (Teddlie and Yu, 2007, p.80). So purposive sampling was relevant to this study because provided researcher with the justification to make generalisations from the sample that was being studied. This kind of sampling also allowed the researcher to represent those data findings as close as possible even though they derive from different sources.

In addition, Etikan et al (2016, p.2) argue that purposive sampling "involves identification and selection of individuals or groups of individuals that are proficient and well-informed with a phenomenon of interest". The in-service history educators that were involved in this study have been identified as professionals in their field, and subject specialists who possess the subject matter (knowledge) needed in the phase they specialize in. Given this, purposive sampling was employed because it is in line with qualitative research.

Convenience sampling on the other hand was employed because, it is a sampling method consisting of a set of techniques in which participants are selected by convenience due to their proximity, availability, and accessibility or other ways that researcher decides (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 2000; Abrams, 2010; Etikan et al, 2016), as well as, the fact that it is a fast and easy method to use (Meyer & Wilson, 2009). It was also employed because it involves selecting samples that are readily and easily available, in this case, textbooks (Teddlie & Yu, 2007).

5.8. TRIANGULATION

Cohen et al. (2000) have defined triangulation as an approach to data collection which allows the researcher to use two or more methods of data collection. Therefore, in this way, the researcher's biases and distortions which are likely to occur when one method is used can be reduced or even avoided. Since a questionnaire, unobtrusive classroom observations, and semi-structured interviews were employed to collect my data, the assumption made is that triangulation was guaranteed. Triangulation is said to increase the dependability of the study. Dependability in this case refers to the degree of consistency that the data collection instrument or the procedure demonstrates.

5.9. RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a questionnaire, unobtrusive classroom observations, and semi-structured interviews as research methods to collect data. This process is also referred to as qualitative data collection. Hox & Boeije (2005) note that qualitative data collection involves understanding of complexity, detail, and context of research, which consists of texts. The purpose of the study was to explore how in-service history educators re-interpret, *re*construct and re-present images of Shaka and memories attached to them. All four in-service history educators involved in this study voluntary participated. They received a letter with information about the study, a consent form and a questionnaire (see: Annexures F and J). After the participants completed filling the questionnaire, unobtrusive classroom observations, as well semi-structured interviews sessions were set up considering their schedules.

5.9.1. QUESTIONNAIRE

A questionnaire is defined as a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate to analysis (Acharya, 2010). A structured questionnaire was utilised

in this study. According to Mathers, Fox, & Hunn (2007) questionnaires are a very useful way of collecting rich comparable data from individuals. This can be achieved if the actual questionnaire has clear and precise questions that are asked consistently across all participants. There are a lot of advantages to using questionnaires in qualitative studies. According to Russ-Eft, & Preskill, (2001), Finn & Jacobson (2008), & Jacobson, Pruitt, & Rugeley, (2009), and Acharya (2010) these include:

1. Administration is comparatively inexpensive and easy even when gathering data from large numbers of people spread over wide geographic area.
2. Reduces chance of evaluator bias because the same questions are asked of all participants.
3. Some people feel more comfortable responding to a questionnaire than participating in an interview.
4. There is consistency in answers given by participants.
5. Discrepancies are reduced.

A questionnaire (see: Appendix A) was employed in the first phase of data collection process. This was done with the aim of determining whether the participants had or share a similar or different individual and/or collective memory about images of Shaka. Beyond this, the questionnaire was also used to find out if the participants have done history as a subject at school (FET level) or as a major at university. Thus, the questionnaire was instrumental in highlighting which participants might not have had any exposure to the discipline of history at school or university. It also provided some insights beyond the school or university where the participants might have heard or learnt about Shaka, as well as the number of years they have been teaching this history.

The questionnaire took about 10 – 15 minutes or less for each participant to answer. Open-ended questions were asked mainly because, the researcher did not want to constrain possible responses from the participants since this is a qualitative study not a quantitative one. This is in line with phenomenological research in that; the notion of open-ended questions and conversational inquiry are viewed as underpinning this kind of research because, participants involved are granted the opportunity and space to speak about the phenomenon under investigation in their own words, free of the constraints imposed by fixed-response questions that are generally seen in quantitative research.

5.9.2. UNOBTRUSIVE CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

Although there are many ways in which a phenomenon can be studied, Gillis and Jackson (2002) assert that observations are the best tool that allow a researcher to observe phenomenon in practice. They are process of gathering first-hand information through observing people at the research site (Creswell, 2012). Thus, present the researcher with valuable data from a firsthand perspective. Data derived from this method tends to be narrative in nature, which speaks to the qualitative and interpretivist approach to research, rather than statistical data which is quantitative.

Three forms of non-participant observation exist. Which are structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Unstructured non-participant observations and/or unobtrusive classroom observations were employed. This method afforded the researcher the opportunity to observe the participants' behaviour, particularly the behaviour that is not easily describable or captured by an audio-recorder. It also meant that the researcher had no form of participation during the observed lessons and the role of the researcher was limited to audio-recording and taking notes during the observed lessons. To ensure that participants' responses were captured accurately without missing any information, the observations were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. Audio-recording was favoured over video-recording, mainly because there were minors involved. Another reason why audio-recording was favoured over video-recording is that the minors present were indirect participants and above that, it was necessary for the researcher to conceal and protect their identities. The observations took approximately 45 – 50 minutes per participant. The observations were employed in the second phase of data collection.

This process ensured that the researcher has time to observe and listen to the participants' responses without the trouble of trying to write the participants' responses down, and enable the researcher to focus on what the participants are saying, to note the participants' body language, which is also key in the data collection process because it helps to evaluate the participants' responses for authenticity and uncertainty that the researcher might need to probe (Creswell, 2012).

Furthermore, the researcher was aware that his presence had the potential to affect the teaching and learning process, even though he was not directly involved in the teaching and learning process. As such, select history educators and their learners were briefed beforehand that the researcher's presence should not be interfering with the teaching and learning process. This was aimed at making sure that the educators and their learners got used to the researcher's presence and thus, reduce

any discomfort that might arise. The potential interference was also acknowledged as a significant factor during data analysis.

Moreover, the observations were kept open-ended, because they are not structured and confined. Amongst other benefits of these kind of observations, according to Anis ([online]) observations provide the researcher with:

1. A very direct method for collecting data or information, which is best for the study of human behavior. This meant a reality check was afforded to the researcher, since what people do may differ from what they say or said during interviews, whilst also affording the researcher an opportunity to look afresh at everyday behaviour that otherwise might be taken for granted (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).
2. More 'accurate' and 'reliable' data. The fact that the observations were audio-recorded meant that the researcher captured everything the participants said accurately without misunderstanding and/or misrepresenting it. This improved the precision of the research results.
3. A more efficient understanding of verbal responses.
4. An observation opportunity, through which one could identify a problem by making an in-depth analysis.

However, Williams (2008, p.561) assert that [unstructured] nonparticipation observations "can be overt or covert, occurring in a public or private setting". In this study, overt [unstructured] nonparticipation observations in a public setting were employed, because they enabled the researcher to be open about his intentions with the participants involved, and thus ensuring that all participants were aware of what was happening at that given moment. Williams (2008, p.561) further asserts that "unique ethical issues will arise with each combination". This is true, but by employing an overt approach the researcher intended on eliminating any ethical issues that might arise, by informing participants from the onset what they are getting themselves into. For an example, the fact that this study was interested in the re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka and memories attached to them by participants involved; during the classroom observations learners were present even though the study was not directly interested in studying their experiences. As such, they were indirect participants and with these ethical issues arose. These, however, was addressed by informing the learners, school management, educators and parents beforehand through a letter and a consent form that the learners were indeed indirect participants

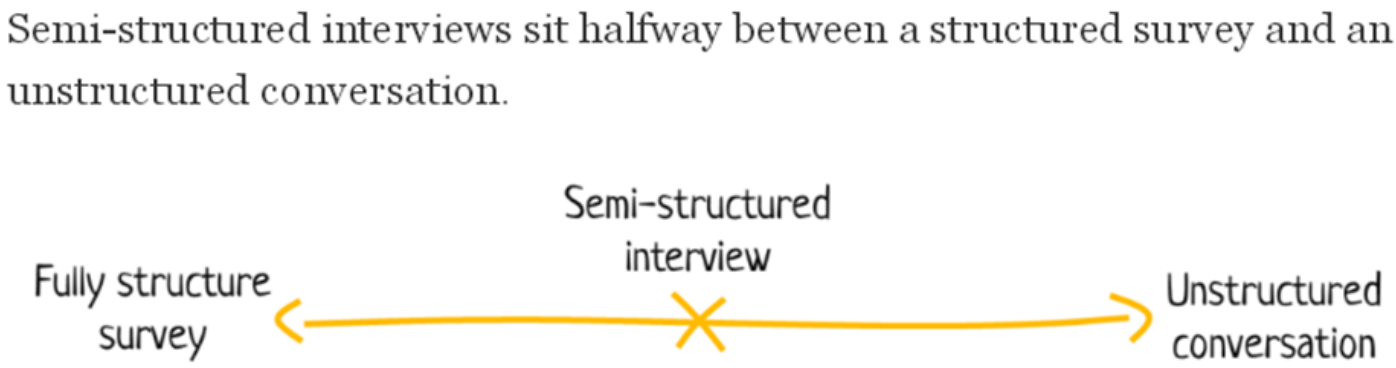
and their contributions in the observations sessions will not be used in anyway in this study and post the study.

5.9.3. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

This study also utilized the semi-structured interviews (see: Appendix B) as a method of data collection mainly because, it allowed the researcher to probe for more information and encourage participants to talk freely, and without being restricted by a structured and pre-determined set of questions (Creswell, 2012). Interviews can be very productive since the interviewer can pursue specific issues of concern that may lead to focused and constructive suggestions (Shneiderman and Plaisant, 2005). This was also an opportunity for the participants to state certain details that they could have left out in the questionnaire, as well as in the unobtrusive classroom observations. It was also an opportunity for the researcher to dig deeper in his exploring the participants' *re*constructions of images of Shaka and memories attached to them. These interview sessions were employed in the last phase of data collection. According to Mathers, Fox and Hunn (2002, 2):

> Semi-structured interviews involve a series of open-ended questions based on the topic areas the researcher wants to cover. The open-ended nature of the question defines the topic under investigation but provides opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail. If the interviewee has difficulty answering a question or provides only a brief response, the interviewer can use cues or prompts to encourage the interviewee to consider the question further. In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer also has the freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on the original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewee.

Drawing from this, semi-structured should be viewed as being located in between fully structured interviews and unstructured interviews. This diagram below adapted from tools4dev ([online]) depicts this:



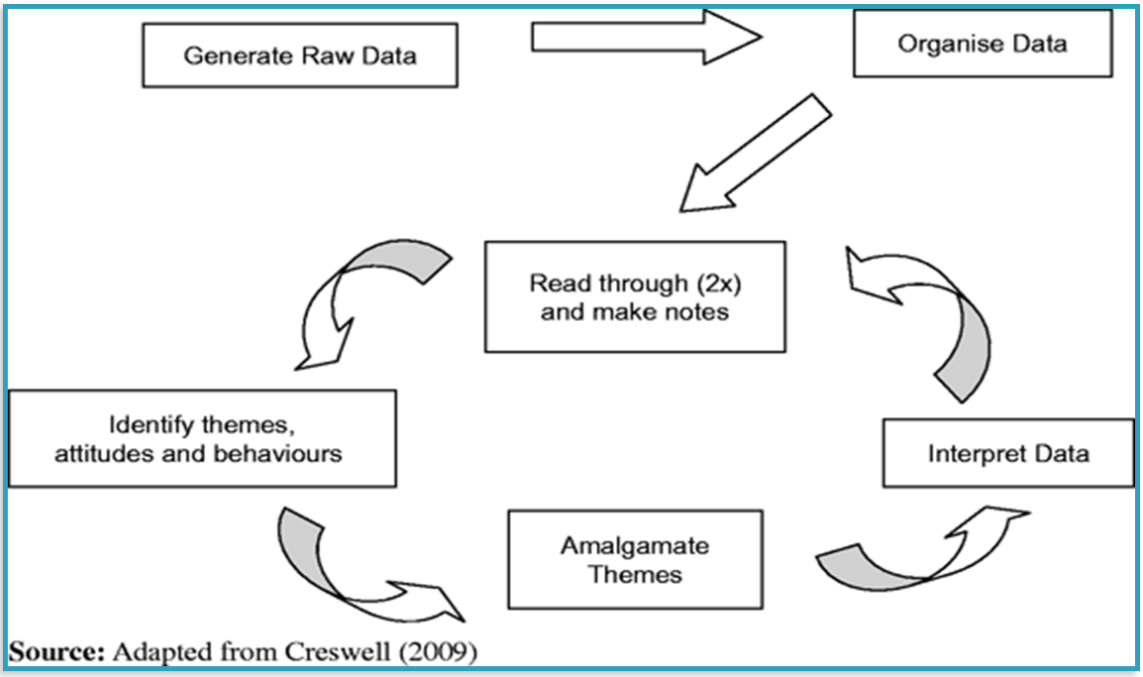
The interview sessions took approximately 30 – 45 minutes with each participant, and were conducted after school to avoid disrupting the teaching and learning process. Furthermore, to ensure that participants' responses are captured accurately without missing any information, the interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. This process ensured that the researcher has time to listen to the participants' responses without the trouble of trying to write the participants' responses down, and also enable the researcher to focus on what the participants are saying, to note the participants' body language, which is also key in the data collection process because it helps to evaluate the participants' responses for authenticity and uncertainty that the researcher might need to probe (Creswell, 2012).

Advantages of using semi-structured interviews according to van Teijlinge (2014) include the following:

1. They are well suited for exploring attitudes, values, beliefs, and motives.... Could be good in sensitive areas.
2. The non-verbal indicators such as body language are also key in the data collection process because they help to evaluate the participants' responses for authenticity and uncertainty that the researcher might need to probe (Creswell, 2012).
3. They facilitate getting every question answered.
4. They ensure that the respondent is working on his/her own, and not assisted in responding to the questions.
5. They can potentially increase the response rate.

5.10. DATA ANALYSIS

According to Flick (2014, p.5) "qualitative data analysis is the classification and interpretation of linguistic (or visual) material to make statements about implicit and explicit dimensions and structures of meaning-making in the material and what is represented in it". It is making sense of the generated information and/or facts that the researcher has collected from the field (Merriam, 2001). Babbie & Mouton (2004) assert that data should be processed and analysed in accordance with the research objectives, to ensure that the collected data is relevant to the focus of the study and research questions. The researcher analysed the data according to Creswell's technique. The figure 5.10.1 below depicts the process of data analysis:



Source: Adapted from Creswell (2009)

To elaborate Creswell's techniques in relations to the study; the data was analysed in three phases. The first phase of the data analysis entailed analysing the questionnaire the participants responded too. The responses of participants were manually transferred from the questionnaires into a spreadsheet using pseudonyms. Pseudonyms were used to conceal and protect the participants' real identities. Each question had a column heading, and the other row was created in order to accommodate each participants' answers. Each possible answer was categorized into segments and each segment allocated a code (Creswell, 2012). This was followed by combining of codes into different categories to help with the establishment of meaningful relationships between different and similar categories and also help to identify emerging themes. These were compared to the themes that emerged in the unobtrusive classroom observations, semi-structured interviews, and the literature reviewed.

The second phase of data analysis entailed the analysis of the unobtrusive classroom observations. Observations are defined as a process of gathering first-hand information through observing people at the research site (Creswell, 2012). The first step of this process entailed the transcription of the audio-recorded observations using pseudonyms to identify the participants and their learners, although learners' responses were not used in anyway in the data presentations, as well as data discussions. Pseudonyms were used to conceal and protect the participants' real identities. This was

followed by the researcher studying the transcribed data to identify words that the participants frequently used to establish similarities and differences between them. In addition, the researcher identified nouns that were frequently used, and that seemed to express an idea or feeling. This was followed by the usage of colour-coding to establish themes that emerged. After the coding, the researcher grouped the participants' responses into themes that emerged. These were then then compared to the themes that emerged under the questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, and the literature reviewed.

The last phase of data analysis entailed the analysis of semi-structured interviews. This method was employed because it allowed a researcher to probe for more information and encourage participants to talk freely, without being restricted by a structured and pre-determined set of questions (Creswell, 2012). The first step of the process entailed the transcribing responses by participants using pseudonyms as a form of identification. Pseudonyms were used to conceal and protect the participants' real identities.

This was followed by the researcher studying the transcribed data to identify words that the participants frequently used to establish similarities and differences between them. In addition, the researcher identified nouns that were frequently used, and that seemed to express an idea or feeling. This was followed by the usage of colour-coding to establish themes that emerged. After the coding, the researcher grouped the participants' responses into themes that emerged. These were then then compared to the themes that emerged under the questionnaire, unobtrusive classroom observations, and the literature reviewed.

After all these processes were concluded; it became apparent that the participants involved in this study re-interpreted, *re*constructed and re-presented images of Shaka and memories attached to them in multiple ways. However, these *re*constructions by the participants were subjected to another processes that was meant to establish their credibility. The following section describes the process.

5.10.1. TRUSTWORTHINESS AND CREDIBILITY

According to Shenton (2004, p.63) "the trustworthiness of qualitative research generally is often questioned by positivists". This is because, qualitative researchers employ 'trustworthiness' and 'authenticity' (Kumar, 2011) as concepts of judging their research findings as opposed to 'validity'

and 'reliability' used by positivists researchers. The trustworthiness in this study was determined through three indicators, namely; credibility, transferability, and dependability (Trochim & Donnelly, 2007). These three indicators are explained below.

5.10.1. CREDIBILITY

According to Morrow (2005) and Trochim & Donnelly (2007) credibility entails establishing that the results of qualitative research are credible or believable from the perspective of the participant in the research. It concerns itself with establishing truthfulness of the study's findings. In this case, the researcher used multiple theories such as interpretivism and phenomenology, and the literature reviewed in Chapters two, three, four and five to establish the credibility of the data generated.

5.10.2. TRANSFERABILITY

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of the study can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings, which can be a challenge for a qualitative study because the population and sample is usually not large enough to generalize the findings (Kumar, 2011). However, this study has adopted a common and uncomplicated research methodology that if replicated in other similar contexts, might yield close to the initial results because results will never be the same irrespective of similar context and methods or research process (Lincoln and Guba cited in Polit & Hungler, 2004). This therefore makes the study's findings transferrable.

5.10.3. DEPENDABILITY

Dependability is like the concept of reliability, which is concerned with consistency of findings if the study is repeated in another context (Holloway, 2005; Trochim and Donnelly 2007). Qualitative researchers speak of dependability unlike reliability spoken by quantitative researchers. In this study, dependability was established by ensuring that all responses by participants were represented, in all the phases of data generation, and word-by-word. This was done to ensure that data was not manipulated to suit any pre-conceived findings. Thus, this study strived to reflect true findings of the study, regardless of whether they conform or do not conform to the existing literature. Hence, the supervisor of this study working with the researcher were responsible for examining the data, findings, interpretations and recommendations in order to attest that they were supported by data. In this study, this activity would be a means of establishing confirmability of the research.

5.11. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Whilst researchers have the right to collect data, they also have the responsibility to ensure that they do not collect data at the expense of the participants' right to privacy (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). This implies that researchers are required to conduct themselves in an ethical manner, especially when human participants are involved. This process involves honesty, integrity, expertise, as well as diligence.

After the research proposal was approved by the graduate studies committee of the WSoE (See: Appendix C) and permission to conduct the study was obtained from the Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, (Wits university) (protocol number: 2017ECE014M). The process of requesting access to use schools as research sites was initiated. To access these schools, the researcher had to first apply for permission to conduct research at those schools with the Gauteng department of Basic Education, thus ensuring that all protocols were observed. Only after permission was granted did the fieldwork occur (see: appendix D). Letters requesting permission to do research in the schools were sent to the heads of schools, educators, learners and parents giving full details of the purpose, methodology, significance of study and an estimated time of completion (see: appendixes E; F; G; H). Letters were also sent to learners even though the study did not directly involve them. This was done because they were recognized as indirect participants in the study and they were present in the classroom observations that took place.

Moreover, accompanying these letters were consent forms directed to all involved (see: appendixes: I; J; K; L). All stakeholders involved gave consent in the form of filling in the consent form provided and/or in the form of a letter. Creswell (2003) asserts that informed consent is a tool used to ensure that participants understand what is means to participate in a research study, to decide in a conscious, informed manner whether they want to be part of the research study or not.

Visits to each research site by the researcher occurred twice; meaning all visits in totally amounted to eight. All visits occurred during the third academic term of schools which started from the 25th of July 2017 to 29th of September 2017. The first visits were to introduce the study to the participants and other stakeholders involved who were present at the sites, as well as clarify any issues they might have had, the purpose of the study, and the format in which data will be generated and

published. This took place towards the end of July 2017 because, this was the start of the third academic term and according to the CAPS document educators are to teach the *Transformations in southern Africa 1750 and 1835* during this term.

The second visits involved the collection of data. These took place towards the end of August 2017 because, these dates were selected based on the curriculum planning which is designed such that educators teach and assess the *Transformations in southern Africa 1750 and 1835* topic in preparations of the final examinations.

Issues of anonymity, confidentiality, and the right to withdraw were also discussed with the participants. In terms of anonymity, participants were informed that their identities will be kept confidential and the information they provided will in no way reveal their identities (Cohen et al., 2007). Therefore, the participants' identities were protected using pseudonyms in the transcriptions, as well as the research findings published in this study. Furthermore, they were guaranteed that their consent forms and letters were not going to be published anywhere. Hence, signed consent forms and letters from the stakeholders were not published in this study.

In terms of confidentiality, the participants were assured in writing that their information and identities will be kept confidential, and that information gathered through the study will only be used for academic purposes. This means that data generated will only be used for this degree requirements. This was important to clarify to the participants because, the concept of confidentiality in a research study requires the researcher to keep all information shared by the participants during the data collection period confidential, and not link such information with the participants' identity publicly (Cohen et al., 2007).

Lastly, discussed with the participants was the right of withdrawal, even after they have given their voluntary participation or informed consent (Cohen et al., 2007). In line with this right, the participants in this study were also informed in writing (see: appendixes: E; F; G; H; I; J; K; L) that they reserve the right to withdraw from the study without reprisal.

5.12. CONCLUSION

In this chapter the theoretical perspectives, research approach, research methodology, the research methods employed in the research design, the sampling process, data collection and analysis, and the ethical considerations were discussed and justified. The results of the data collected through questionnaire, unobtrusive classroom observations, and semi-structured interviews will be analyzed, interpreted and presented in chapter 7.

CHAPTER SIX

PRESENTATION OF DATA

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the data generated during the data collection process. This includes data derived from the questionnaire, data that emerged from the unobtrusive classroom observations, and data that emerged from the semi-structured interviews. However, before this data is presented; biographies of participants are highlighted to give the reader an idea about the kinds of realities that inform and shape the participants involved in the study. These realities in turn inform, to some extent, the kinds of re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations that the participants make in relation to images of Shaka and memories attached to them.

6.2. PROFILE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The following section outlines the descriptions of the in-service history educators involved in this study, the kind of teacher-training they received, and the kinds of schools they currently work for. Pseudonyms are used to identify both the schools and the educators.

a) **Jabulile Zuma** (Johannesburg North College, District: Johannesburg East) is a black-African Zulu speaking female history educator who graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree majoring in history and international relations. She later did a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). Both qualifications were obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS). She is in her late twenties and has been a professional history educator for more than three years. She works for an independent Catholic school which historically was for white female pupils and educators only. Around 1993, the school welcomed all pupils from all walks of life. Currently, the school consists of educators from different racial groupings in South Africa. It predominantly enrolls black pupils from diverse backgrounds, who mainly reside in Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality townships such as; Soweto and KwaThema.
b) **Bokang Motsoaledi** (Soweto High School, District: Johannesburg South) is black-African SeSotho speaking male history educator who graduated with the Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) degree from University of South Africa (UNISA) with history as his second major. He is in his

early thirties and has been a professional history educator for more than 8 years. He works for a government school that was establish after 1994. The school is situated at the heart of Soweto Township and is attended by black-African learners only, both male and female. The teaching staff is all black-African.

c) **Akhona Mvaba** (Bezuidenhouts Preparatory School and College, District: Johannesburg East) is a black-African IsiXhosa speaking male history educator who graduated with a B.Ed. and B.Ed. Honours degree both from WITS. He majored in history in both degrees. He is in his late twenties and has been a professional history educator for more than five years. He works for a government school that is multicultural and racial in terms of its learner and staff demographics. The school too was first established for white only educators and learners, although this changed after 1994.

d) **Isabella van der Merwe** (The Settlers High School, District: Tshwane North) is a white-Afrikaner speaking female history educator who obtained her teaching certificate from the apartheid's Transvaal College of Education with history as her major. She is in her late fifties and has been a professional history educator for more than thirty years. She works for an independent school consisting of mainly Afrikaner and English educators, as well some black-African educators and diverse learner population.

It should be noted that both Isabella and Jabulile work for independent schools that use the national history curriculum (CAPS) and are also monitored and evaluated by the Gauteng department of Education (GDE). Their schools are considered independent because they also receive limited funding from GDE as opposed to public schools. So, bulk of their funding comes from learners' fees.

6.3. PRESENTATION DATA

As already mentioned in the methodology chapter and the introduction of this chapter, the study employed a questionnaire, unobtrusive classroom observations and semi-structured interviews were employed as research methods to generate data. The rationale for selection of these was to understand the kinds of re-interpretations, *re*constructions and re-presentations that the participants make in relation to images of Shaka and memories attached to them. The research methods were also selected bearing in mind the following four research questions:

1. Did the in-service history educators (under study?) have collective memory: similar prior knowledge about Shaka before they were exposed to different historical accounts about him?

2. If no collective memory, what individual memories shaped their perceptions of Shaka, and might these have shaped their reconstructions of him?
3. How entrenched is their collective memory about Shaka, if any?
4. When exposed to different historical accounts, does this collective memory about Shaka change over time or it is reinforced?
5. How has Shaka been depicted in various history textbooks under CAPS, and how might these depictions shape or inform the way educators come to reconstruct him?

6.3.1. QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire (see: appendix A) was used in the initial phase of data collection. The participants were asked to complete the questionnaire before the unobtrusive classroom observations and semi-structured interviews can take place, and all participants answered it. The questionnaire was employed to specifically answer the following research questions:

1. Did the in-service history educators (under study?) have collective memory: similar prior knowledge about Shaka before they were exposed to different historical accounts about him?
2. How entrenched is their collective memory about Shaka, if any?
   If no collective memory, what individual memories shaped their perceptions of Shaka, and might these have shaped their reconstructions of him?

Four reasons informed the employment of the questionnaire, and these include:

i. To establish whether the participants had or share similar or different individual or collective memories about Shaka, as well establish if their individual and collective memories impact on their teaching and how they come to interpret the curriculum.
ii. To find out if the participants have done history as a subject at school (FET level) or as a major at university. Thus, the questionnaire was instrumental in highlighting which participants might not have had any exposure to the discipline of history at school or university.
iii. It also provided some insights beyond the school or university where the participants might have heard or learnt about Shaka, as well as the number of years they have been teaching this history.
iv. Lastly, it also provided the researcher with the bassline to establish some insights into what informs, and how the participants re-interpret, *re*construct and re-present images of Shaka.

6.3.1.1. Participants' responses to the questionnaire

The following are responses to the questionnaire made by each participant. The data was to Creswell's technique of analysis as stated in Chapter five, and responses to question five and six are already highlighted on the participants' profiles above.

1. **Where did you first hear/learn about Shaka and what did you learn/hear? (Please be specific).**

Jabulile said, "I first heard and learnt about Shaka back in high school in a history lesson. I learnt that Shaka was cruel and brutal African leader who murdered thousands of people (including women)".

Bokang said, "From the movie 'Shaka Zulu' and stories told of him by my grand-parents. He was a violent man. Everyone feared him".

Akhona said, "I first heard about Shaka in grade 4. I was taught that he was a brutal violent Zulu king".

Isabella said, "Stories told to me by my parents and at school I learnt that he was a bad person. He killed for no reason – my ancestors suffered under him, they lost their land".

It is clear from these responses that participants have or share similar individual or collective memories about Shaka and the Zulu as a group in its entirety. This is represented in a table form below, although it should be noted that the table below does not in any way attempt to reduce the participants' experiences and the way they *re*construct images of Shaka into a number. Rather, it attempts to categorize based on the themes that emerged from the participants' *re*constructions of images of Shaka. Hence, chapter seven shall, in detail, discuss their *re*constructions in relation to the literature reviewed.

Therefore, the fact that all participants *re*constructed Shaka in a 'negative' way shows the extent to which traditional, Afrikaner nationalist, and liberal historiographies are embedded in our popular imaginations through popular culture, the 'home', as well as officialised narratives through schooling.

Figure 6.3.1.1.1

Description of Shaka from Wright (2006)	**Responses from 4 participants**
Shaka the mighty: Founder of a kingdom, Nation-builder, uniter of black peoples.	
Warrior leader; General	
Politician; bringer of peace; bringer of law and order; visionary; diplomat.	
Resistance leader; prophet; philosopher; miracle.	
Conqueror; cruel; despot; tyrant; dictator; violent; brutal; bad leader; Murderer; savage; barbarian; monster	4

2. **<u>Has your first impression or knowledge about Shaka changed over time? Yes? No? Elaborate.</u>**

Jabulile said, "Yes. I now know the positive side about Shaka".

Bokang said, "To some extent. I still hold on to what my grand-parents said about him. I am also aware of new histories about him".

Akhona said, "Yes it has changed. Because I came to realise that there are other interpretations of Shaka different from what I was taught in grade 4".

Isabella said, "No. I still believe what my parents and teacher told me about him. They had no reason to lie".

What is interesting is that three of the four participants claim to embrace other interpretations of images of Shaka. This could be a result of the kind of training they received at their respective universities that might have exposed them to postmodernist thinking - which encourages historians [in this case educators] "to embrace demystification approach to history, in order to allow those whose voices are ignored in history the opportunity to write their own histories" (Yılmaz, 2010, p.787) and to "free up historians [educators] to tell many equally legitimate stories from various viewpoints and types of synthesis" (Windschuttle, 2002, p.275). The responses could also be because of exposure to different historiographies of Shaka through officialised narratives found in the curriculum and textbooks.

3. **Does what you know or think of Shaka have any influence on how you teach about him? Yes? No? Elaborate.**

Jabulile said, "Yes. I try to show my learners the positive and negative side of Shaka".

Bokang said, "It does because the way Shaka is portrayed in the movie is like some of the history articles I have read. Some of the images portrayed in other history books is [are] different from what I watched".

Akhona said, "Yes. I am able to use my grade 4 experience to show my learners how he was used to portrayal black people".

Isabella said, "I show my learners how I think about him. To give them a full picture about the man".

All participants seem to acknowledge the fact that they cannot separate their thoughts and how they *re*construct images of Shaka individually to how they come to teach histories associated with him. Since the in-service history educators use a language to teach histories of Shaka; postmodernists would argue that since language is used to communicate the past then historical accounts should never be regarded as truth or objective because, language conceals a lot of meanings and thus fails to construct the world as is or was (Collins cited in Jenkins, 2003).

This means that in-service history educators like professional historians cannot claim to be objective when teaching histories of Shaka. Hence, different in-service history investigating and teaching the same event or historical figure shall come up with different histories as their experiences and knowledge and preferences differ (Anbalakan, 2016). This was the case with the participants under study, as their interpretations, understandings, *re*constructions and re-presentations of histories of Shaka were not the same.

4. **What do you think of revisionist historiographies about Shaka that the CAPS curriculum suggests you consider in your teaching? Elaborate.**

Jabulile said, "I believe revisionist historiographies about Shaka are significant in the curriculum because they help learners to understand and learn about the positive history about the role of Shaka in the building and making the Zulu kingdom as the most powerful without being biased. They challenge the negative side of the role of Shaka written by traditional historiographies".

Bokang said, “They are helpful because they give a balanced portrayal about him [Shaka]. Unlike the movie and what my grand-parents told me about him”.

Akhona said, “Revisionist historiographies allow us to see Shaka in many ways. So they are good”.

Isabella said, “They are not telling learners the real history of what happened. But I still teach them [learners] because that is what the curriculum says we must teach”.

The participants seem to be agreement with regards to complying with what the CAPS requires of them, even though Isabella seems to disagree with the curriculum proposes that they teach.

6.3.2. UNOBTRUSIVE CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

The unobtrusive classroom observations were employed in the second phase of data collection process. As stated in Chapter Five, unobtrusive classroom observations were employed to gather first-hand information through observing people at the research site (Creswell, 2012). They are important because they allow the researcher to witness certain patterns of behaviour and thus, present the researcher with valuable data from a first-hand perspective. Data derived from this method tends to be narrative in nature, which speaks to the qualitative and interpretivist approach to research, rather than statistical data which is quantitative. They were also used to answer the following research questions:

1. How entrenched is their collective memory about Shaka, if any?
2. When exposed to different historical accounts, does this collective memory about Shaka change over time or it is reinforced?
3. How has Shaka been depicted in various history textbooks under CAPS, and how might these depictions shape or inform the way educators come to reconstruct him?

There were three reasons as to why unobtrusive classroom observations employed and these reasons included:

i. To find out how the participants under study re-interpret, *re*construct and represent images of Shaka in the classroom.
ii. They allowed the researcher to identify characteristics of the classroom relevant to images of Shaka, such as the teaching styles and preferences, textbooks and/or teaching materials employed.

iii. The other reason as to why these unobtrusive classroom observations were employed was for the participants to somewhat be familiar with the presence and avoid or minimise intimidation and/or awkwardness that might arise from the researcher's presence, especially prior to the onset more personalised data collection procedures, namely individual semi-structured interviews.

Each lesson that was observed took between 45-50 minutes, with the purpose of finding out how the participants under study re-interpreted, *re*constructed and represented images of Shaka in the classroom. This was done because learners that were present and participated in these lessons were indirect participants and thus, directly or indirectly influenced how the participants under study came to re-interpret, *re*construct and represent images of Shaka. Hence, learners' responses will not be presented because the study was not about the learners' *re*constructions of images of Shaka. But some form of commentary of learners' responses will be given to give context to responses by participants under study. This also contributes to the richness of the data that was generated in this phase.

The data that emerged from these unobtrusive classroom observations was subjected to Creswell's technique of analysis as stated in Chapter five. Beyond this, descriptions of Shaka from Wright (2006) [see: *Figure A* above] that were used to understand the data that emerged from the questionnaire were also used to engage and understand data that emerged from the unobtrusive classroom observations. This is because of the major themes that emerged from the questionnaire.

It is worth mentioning that, although the participants did have and/or shared similar individual or collective memory about images of Shaka as a group in its entirety (according to the data derived from the questionnaire), their *re*constructions and re-presentations of images of Shaka in the classroom were not entirely informed by their individual or collective memories. This is presented below.

6.3.2.1. .JABULILE'S UNOBTRUSIVE CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

During this lesson, the participant only relied on the textbook as a source of specialised knowledge (Villaverde, 2003). It emerged from one learner though that the participant did give them other study materials to engage with, because that learner kept on referring those other study materials to engage in the lesson. However, the participant did not in any way physically engage other study materials either than the textbook that was in front of her. This might be because the participant

saw textbooks to be core resources, sources of supplementary material, curriculum in themselves, and inspiration for classroom activities (McKenney, 2001; Davis, 2003; Izsak and Sherin, 2003; McKinney, 2005; Newton and Newton, 2006; Green & Naidoo, 2008; Davis, 2009; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Chisholm, 2013; Umalusi, 2017).

The theme of the lesson was centered on "the rise of the Zulu state and the role that uShaka played in building the Zulu state" – Jabulile argued. The participant started by briefly tracing the history of the Mthethwa and Ndwandwe to highlight their different roles in the emergence of the Zulu state under Shaka. This is evident in the first question that the participant asked, which was phrased in the following manner:

"So, the question I want to ask you now is; I want you to tell me how the Zulu rose to power?" – Jabulile.

In analysing and presenting the data that emerged from this lesson, Creswell's technique of analysis was used, as well descriptions of Shaka from Wright (2006). This is because of the major themes that emerged from the questionnaire.

i. <u>Shaka the mighty: Founder of a kingdom, Nation-builder, uniter of black peoples</u>

To give some background, Jabulile was attempting to explain what the Amabutho system was and how it operated when she ended up *re*constructing Shaka under this theme. She *re*constructed Shaka as someone who advocated for unity amongst his people. This is what she had to say:

> A sense of unity … or we can use the term of nationalism. So that's what he [Shaka] wanted to create… a sense of unity among the Zulu kingdom. So by the time when these young men go back to their ordinary communities… they are taking the teachings that they were taught when they were trained there. They are taking them back to their communities. So, what other reason besides being taught about unity or…. What else?

The use of nationalism by Jabulile appears in to be informed by Zulu nationalist historiographies of Shaka because by using images of Shaka derived from this historiography; Jabulile seems to *re*construct a Zulu nation under Shaka that was self-determined, had agency. But also creating the Shaka-as-hero 'myth'.

ii. Warrior leader; General

Although there is nowhere in the lesson that Jabulile referred to Shaka as a warrior leader or General. There are, however, some characteristics that she mentioned that speak to what makes a warrior leader or a General. Those characteristics of what made Shaka a warrior leader emerged when Jabulile during the lesson was attempting to explain the art of warfare. This is what Jabulile had to say about spears and guns that were used by both the Zulu and the British. The spears being what characterises a warrior leader in a 'Zulu' context.

> But the spears were there and they [Shaka and the Zulu] used the spears first before the guns. So, what are you saying? Why they did not use guns? Isn't not their traditional weapon vele? – Jabulile.

Furthermore, responding to a question from a learner about the usage of guns and spears by both the Zulu and the British this is what Jabulile had to say:

> Both. Both guns and spears were used. It doesn't necessarily mean when they started having access to guns, now they totally stopped using spears. They continued using the spears. They used guns so that they can… they used guns so that they can be advanced and be more powerful in terms of resources and, uhm… ammunition. So, it's not a matter of they stopped using spears; they continued using both.

Derrida's deconstruction which argues that there is no underlying structure inside a text, was employed in this regard and thus enabled the researcher to uncover the meanings behind the said responses by Jabulile. Thus, meaning is always deferred, never fully present, always both absent and present (Story, 2009).

iii. Politician; bringer of peace; bringer of law and order; visionary; diplomat

Commenting on how the Amabutho system operated in terms of the kind of training that the Zulu warriors under Shaka had to endure; Jabulile *re*constructed the image of Shaka that of visionary. This is what she had to say:

> By training them, right. So by giving them particular skills of how to fight. So, for instance, he would train them on how to ambush. So what else helped in contributing to the Zulu kingdom?

'Ambush' in this case *re*constructs a visionary image of Shaka. Because Shaka did indeed employ this war strategy against his opponents; he was a visionary because he knew that it would reduce the enemy's combat effectiveness. Beyond this, the visionary quality attributed to Shaka by Jabulile seems to be indirectly informed by or has its roots to what was happening during the 1920s to 1950s, in which black authors were beginning to *re*construct Shaka 'positively' in response to the eco-political and social system of the time which informed the 'negative' narratives of that time, which were powerful (Wright, 2006).

iv. Resistance leader; prophet; philosopher; miracle

Under this theme, Jabulile *re*constructed Shaka as a resistance leader. This is after one of her learners argued that Shaka was able to organise people to fight for one cause. Jabulile agreed to what the learner said and proceeded to say:

> Yes, he knew how to defeat his opponents.

This can be interpreted in multiple ways because for Hamilton (1998) this highlights that imagings of Shaka are a result of complex engagements between black and white scholars over time (Wright, 2004).

v. Conqueror; cruel; despot; tyrant; dictator; violent; brutal; bad leader; Murderer; savage; barbarian; monster

Under this theme, Jabulile *re*constructs Shaka as a patriarch. This *re*construction is in line with traditional, as well Afrikaner nationalist historiographies of images of Shaka. These historiographies perpetuate a single negative story about Shaka – by extension about Africa. Africa is represented as unprogressive, a continent filled with spiritual darkness, patriarchs, rapists, danger, violence, poverty, slavery, polygamy and hopelessness (Richner, 2005).

Before reconstructing a patriarchal image of Shaka, Jabulile gave an explanation of how the Amabutho warriors were required to always be loyal to Shaka as their King, as well as the newly formed Zulu state. She then proceeds to ask what the warriors got in return for their loyalty and one learner said "women". Below are responses by Jabulile to this:

> So, at some point when you're in those military communities…. At a certain stage when Shaka realised that you are loyal to him. So, we can see it from you, how you behave that this particular person is loyal. So, in return he gives you a wife. That's if he can see that you are loyal to him, so you can get married. He just doesn't give you a wife. He needs to see that the person is ready for marriage.

She continued to say:

> So here is more like…, you don't just wake up and say I am ready for marriage and Shaka gives you a wife. So, you must prove to him. It's not treatment he gave everyone, only those individuals in the Amabutho system that were loyal to him.

These *re*constructions by Jabulile highlight how embedded are traditional and Afrikaner nationalist historiographies in our popular imaginations. This is because in her responses, Jabulile does not in any way highlight that what she is saying was indeed informed by are traditional and Afrikaner nationalist historiographies. This may only mean one thing; she was unaware that she was perpetuating traditional and Afrikaner nationalist historiographies in her argument, rather than challenging their constructions of Shaka. Hence, she continued to say:

> He [Shaka] was a womaniser. So, I guess you can womaniser if you want to. So, I think its personal opinion how you want to put it. If you want to say womaniser you can say he was a womaniser. Because he had a lot of women that he used to associate with. But he was not like., he could not say this is my girlfriend. Do you understand what I am saying? He wouldn't say this here is my girlfriend.

And

> No! Basically, what happened is that uShaka with these women neh, if ever a woman is found that is pregnant with Shaka's child; that woman will and that child will be killed, obviously! So Shaka didn't believe in having kids or getting married and stuff like that.

This again highlights the extent to which traditional and Afrikaner nationalist historiographies are embedded in our popular imaginations. What Jabulile said speaks to an image of Shaka that Nathaniel Isaacs, Henry Francis Fynn and others constructed – an image of a "satanic monstrosity" (Wylie, 2000). Some revisionist historians such as Shula Marks, John B. Wright, Hamilton, Wylie, and others are challenging this image in their work.

Towards the end of the lesson, Jabulile attempted to expose her learners to the historiographical trends regarding images of Shaka. However, she failed to fully appreciate the complexity involved.

Instead, she only presented to her learners two of these historiographical trends – traditional and revisionist historiographies. This was despite an attempt by one learner to suggest that there were other trends at play that they were exposed to by their pervious educator. Jabulile simply ignored this. Thus, alluding that these were the only two that exists in opposing extremes and there was no grey line in between. This, among other things, is concerning. Hence, chapter seven will discuss these issues in detail.

What follows is presentation of data that emerged out of Bokang's unobtrusive classroom observation.

6.3.2.2. BOKANG'S UNOBTRUSIVE CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

Bokang introduced his lesson as one that will focus on "how historians write history". He proceeds to say that the lesson will be an introduction of how "Shaka's history is written". In his introduction of the lesson he started by asking what learners knew about Shaka – both Bokang and learners *re*constructed 'positive' images of Shaka. He then proceeded to trace the history of Shaka by exploring the mfecane historiography.

What was striking about the entire lesson was that, like Jabulile, Bokang only used the textbook as the only source of specialised knowledge (Villaverde, 2003). This might be because in many South African classrooms history textbooks remain the only source of access to specialised knowledge for both educators and their learners (Cocking, Mestre and Brown, 2000; Huber and Moore, 2001; Villaverde, 2003; Sewall, 2000, 2004; Reddy, 2005; Newton and Newton, 2006; Lavere, 2008; Taylor, 2008; Bloch, 2009; DBE, 2009; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Morgan & Henning, 2011). It comes as no surprise that Bokang solely relied on the textbook because he teaches in a government school, which like many others is under-resourced. This does not in any way excuse the fact that Bokang like Jabulile could have sourced other materials to enrich their lessons.

However, in analysing and presenting the data that emerged from this lesson Creswell's technique of analysis was used, as well descriptions of Shaka from Wright (2006). This is because of the major themes that emerged from the questionnaire.

i. Shaka the mighty: Founder of a kingdom, Nation-builder, uniter of black peoples

Bokang's *re*construction under this theme is informed by a response from one of his learners who *re*constructed Shaka as a nation-builder, a creator and a person that developed the Zulu nation. According to Bokang Shaka was a:

> National builder. So, he managed to defeat other chiefdoms. Meaning he was a military genius. Because if he managed to defeat other chiefdoms – remember when the Zulu kingdom started it was a just a small kingdom akere [right]. We only have the Ndwandwe and…… which another kingdom did we have?

Bokang continued to say:

> Yes! The Mthethwa and the Ndwandwe akere [right]. Then the Zulu kingdom was just a small kingdom until these years whereby Zulu kingdom became powerful. Only a great leader can have built such a strong and powerful…, eh…, kingdom. Now, he was also an iconic leader. When we talk about an icon, what are we referring to; when we say Shaka was an icon – Nelson Mandela was an icon? All those great leaders are icons or were icons.

This *re*construction of the image of Shaka by Bokang seems to be informed by what Wright (2006) referred to as '*Academic Shakas: 1960s to 1990s*' in which; there was a shift in the way many historians (black and white) started to view and *re*construct images of Shaka. He was now being *re*constructed into a 'great statesman', with his actions now being seen in a 'positive' light as 'state formation' and 'nation building' among African peoples, (Wright, 2006). These histories were written from a nationalist [African and Zulu] perspective with the aim of challenging traditional, white liberals and academics (black and white) historiographies and thus, wanting to historically portray Africans as a people with a sense of agency considering the various independence movements developing throughout the continent at the time were also engaged.

ii. Warrior leader; General

Throughout the lesson Bokang *re*constructed Shaka as a:

> Great warrior; an iconic leader.

Bokang's *re*construction under this theme is related to the first theme. In that, since Shaka was able to build the Zulu nation to be what it was. That made him a 'great warrior' because he was able to

bring together different chiefdoms into one, and he was an 'iconic leader' because according to Bokang an iconic leader is:

> Someone who is gone but not forgotten.

iii. Politician; bringer of peace; bringer of law and order; visionary; diplomat

Under this theme, Bokang *re*constructed a visionary image of Shaka. This he did when he alluded that Shaka was strategic in his attacking tactics. This is what Bokang had to say:

> He won all the wars… he was strategic… eh…. Attacking tactics.

Although his response does not come across as convincing; but a strategic leader is a visionary. Moreover, his response seems to be indirectly informed by or has its roots to what was happening during the 1920s to 1950s, in which black authors were beginning to *re*construct images of Shaka 'positively' in response to the hegemonic narratives propagated by traditional, Afrikaner nationalists and white liberal historians (Wright, 2006).

iv. Resistance leader; prophet; philosopher; miracle

Under this theme, Bokang *re*constructed Shaka as being a resistance leader. This was in relation to a comment made by one of the learners that Shaka had powerful kingdom because he was brave and strong. Bokang responded by saying:

> Yes, he [Shaka] was brave and strong. He was able to defeat and expand his kingdom. But that was also seen by others as being ruthless.

What is interesting about this *re*construction of Shaka's image is that; Bokang acknowledged the 'positive' aspects of Shaka being able to defeat and expand his kingdom. He also acknowledges that other writers might present this in a 'negative' way. For Hamilton (1998) this highlights that *imagings* of Shaka are a result of complex engagements between black and white scholars over time (Wright, 2004). This is because people tend to see 'negative' *imagings* of Shaka as products of white scholars and 'positive' *imagings* of Shaka as products of black scholars, thus ignore the complex relationship between these two extremes.

v. Conqueror; cruel; despot; tyrant; dictator; violent; brutal; bad leader; Murderer; savage; barbarian; monster

Under this theme, Bokang *re*constructed Shaka as a ruthless and savage leader by acknowledging that this was propagated by traditional writers and this was after one of the learners argued that Shaka used to kill or punish those who were said to oppose him. And Bokang seemed to be against this view. This is what Bokang had to say:

> Some writers, especially ancient writers saw Shaka as being a ruthless leader. But how can a great leader be ruthless?

By posing that question, Bokang was again alluding to the complex and yet contradictory process of *re*constructing images of Shaka (Hamilton, 1998; Wright, 2004). This can also imply that Bokang is aware of the astute history of *re*constructions of images of Shaka that consider the multitude of representations (Burrill, 2001). And thus, attempts to expose his learners to that too.

Towards the end of the lesson, Bokang explored the notions of sourcing and multi-perspectivism in relations to *re*constructions of images of Shaka. These are some of the very important concepts that the CAPS document expects of educators to teach their learners. Bokang also emphasised on the notion of debate*s* in engaging the varied historiographies on Shaka. However, what was problematic in his arguments were concepts he used to speak about traditional historiographies and revisionist historiographies just to name a few. For example, he referred to traditional authors as 'ancient writers' and revisionist writers as 'modern historians. Below is an extract from him:

> Okay right. Good people, remember this time we are talking about the debates about…, leaders, ancient leaders. Here, these two ideas can be written by both African and European writers. Remember we said there's modern history and ancient history as well. Modern history is written through what? Secondary sources. So, you can find that a European person took an article written by an Africa person – then when they read that together with Eurocentric point of views; when they weigh both arguments and evidence. They say; no maan, Shaka was not a ruthless leader but he was a great leader. An African can also say that Shaka was a ruthless leader due to what? The evidence they get from the past. Remember we said we rely on evidence and history is subjective to the person that is writing that history. And no historian can be free from bias. If ever these two rows, these four rows are a team, and these are a team. And then I favour this one – eh…, maybe you're in a competition and then I write about that competition enough the team that I favour was to lose. I would say they put in a fierce resistance akere [right]. But they win, I would say you own that competition that another group did not see anything. Because why? I favour this person. That's where bias comes to being.

6.3.2.3. AKHONA'S UNOBTRUSIVE CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

Akhona's lesson was centered on handouts that he gave to his learners before the lesson, which appeared to be from a different textbook to what the learners already had. This might be because textbooks in general, for many years, have been used to integrate discipline knowledge and support teachers in developing learners' learning outcomes (Fasso, Knight, & Knight, 2014). Thus, they are very helpful in providing educators with an overview of the curriculum (Joubert, 2015).

The theme of this lesson was on the various interpretations of the transformations that took place i.e. mfecane. The introduction of the lesson focused on three main questions, which were:

- Who was affected by those changes?
- Who was the cause of those changes?
- Who benefited out of those changes?

Therefore, in analysing and presenting the data that emerged from this lesson, Creswell's technique of analysis was used, as well descriptions of Shaka from Wright (2006). This is because of the major themes that emerged from the questionnaire.

i. <u>Shaka the mighty: Founder of a kingdom, Nation-builder, uniter of black peoples</u>

Under this theme, Akhona *re*constructed Shaka as a nation-builder, uniter of black peoples and a founder of a kingdom. This occurred when he was busy explaining the Amabutho system and how it operated. This is what he had to say:

> All these things happened when they had the land - did he [Shaka] distribute land amongst his people? Remember the Amabutho were given land and people were taught that they needed to form their own homestead and if you got your own homestead then you can get married and help expand it [kingdom]from one parts to another. Did Shaka do all these things? Yes, he built a kingdom and united people.

This *re*construction of Shaka could be informed by Zulu oral traditions in which Shaka is *re*constructed as a nation builder whose ambitions saw him conquer the greater part of Southern Africa (Mtombeni, 2017). These are also contained in detailed individual memories of black rural communities from Zululand and Natal (Wright, 2004).

ii. Warrior leader; General

Under this theme, Akhona *re*constructed Shaka as a warrior leader and General arguing that; Shaka was able to lead his warriors in the victory against the British. This is what he had to say:

> In fact, one of the only kingdom that defeated the British when that got here. Do you understand? If you talk about the Zulus anywhere in the world they know.

This *re*construction of Shaka was informed by the work of black authors of the 1920s onward who were "sympathetic to the emerging Zulu nationalist movement tended to see him as a great founding figure and ruler" (Wright, 2004, p.7).

iii. Politician; bringer of peace; bringer of law and order; visionary; diplomat

Under this theme, Akhona *re*constructed Shaka as a visionary. He argued that there were not as many attacks on the Zulu when Shaka was still around. He proceeds to say:

> But when King Shaka is there – in fact, you'll see; we will read the source. Shaka even told them that once I am still here – these white settlers won't rule over this area. And these cattle that you see roaming around – they will belong to the white people.

This *re*construction of Shaka can be traced from the work of black writers of the 1920s to 1950s who began to *re*construct images of Shaka 'positively' in response to the hegemonic narratives propagated by traditional, Afrikaner nationalists and white liberal historians (Wright, 2004-6).

iv. Resistance leader; prophet; philosopher; miracle

Under this theme, Akhona *re*constructed Shaka as being resistance leader. This was an argument made in relation to the narrative that Shaka was able to protect and expand his kingdom. This is what Akhona had to say:

> The fact that Shaka was able not only to protect but expand his kingdom indicates how powerful he was. He was able to resistance invasions from other kingdoms around him.

This *re*construction is in line with the black writers of the 1920s, who, according to Buthelezi (2004) was "valorised by Zulu and African nationalists" (p.8). Thus, informing the establishment of the IFP, and extending to have influences in movements in Paris, the Negritude movement and the Black Consciousness movement.

v. Conqueror; cruel; despot; tyrant; dictator; violent; brutal; bad leader; Murderer; savage; barbarian; monster

Under this theme, Akhona reconstructed Shaka has a savage, barbarian or cruel. This he did this to highlight the extent to which white traditional authors could go to present an image of Shaka that was negative for their own selfish gains. This is what he said:

> He said the swallows will rule. And the swallows he meant the white people. So, we can already see Shaka posed a real threat to the white settlers. And to get him out of the way – to dehumanise him, to make him seen as this crazy guy who just come and kill people for no reason.

This type of construction of Shaka's image, according to Wylie (2000), was in line with the colonial discourse current at the time geared towards discrediting Africans in general. Thus, asserting British colonial power and expanding the empire.

Towards the end of the lesson, Akhona explored how professional historians and ordinary people informed by different factors come to reconstruct images of Shaka to advance their interests.

6.3.2.4. ISABELLA'S UNOBTRUSIVE CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

Isabella's lesson started with a recap of what they dealt with in pervious lessons. This included recap on "transformations in southern Africa after 1750 by looking at; how South Africa was like in 1750, followed by political changes that took place between 1750 and 1820, the political revolution that took place between 1820 and 1835". The lesson proceeds to explore the varied legacies of images of Shaka in relation to what had been covered before.

Like the other participants' lessons, Isabella's lesson was also based entirely on what the history textbook in use had to say. This is because history textbooks "have been for a long time a dominating "pedagogical tool", used every day by virtually all teachers and student" (Wojdon, 2014, p.78). However, in analysing and presenting the data that emerged from this lesson, Creswell's technique

of analysis was used, as well descriptions of Shaka from Wright (2006). This is because of the major themes that emerged from the questionnaire.

i. Shaka the mighty: Founder of a kingdom, Nation-builder, uniter of black peoples

Under this theme, Isabell *re*constructed Shaka as a nation-builder. This is after a learner asked about how Africans in general viewed Shaka. And this is how Isabella responded:

> Africans generally viewed Shaka a great leader – a nation-builder. They viewed him this way because it was believed that he established one of the most power kingdoms in Africa, if not the entire world.

The *re*construction of Shaka by Isabella seems to be informed by what Wright (2006) calls "Academic Shakas: 1960s to 1990s". In that black academics of this period started to *re*constructed Shaka into a 'great statesman', were his actions were now being seen in a positive light as 'state former' and 'nation builder'.

ii. Warrior leader; General

Under this theme, Isabella reconstructed Shaka as a general. This was after a learner posed a question regarding the Amabutho system. Isabella argued that:

> The Amabutho system was effective. Shaka as its general was able to lead them in successful raids of other kingdoms and chiefdoms. Thus, expanding the Zulu empire.

This *re*construction, like that of Akhona, was informed by the work of black authors of the 1920s onward who were "sympathetic to the emerging Zulu nationalist movement tended to see him as a great founding figure and ruler" (Wright, 2004, p.7).

iii. Politician; bringer of peace; bringer of law and order; visionary; diplomat

Under this theme, Isabella *re*constructed Shaka as one who brought about law and order. This was informed by an argument she made about the political and social structure of the Zulu kingdom. This is what she had to say:

> The Zulu king was well organised. It had an effective social and political system in place. This was Shaka got right because without such systems in place – the Zulu kingdom could have collapsed before it even began.

iv. Resistance leader; prophet; philosopher; miracle

Under this theme, Isabella *re*constructed Shaka as a resistance leader. This she did when she was arguing that Shaka was able to resists raids from other chiefdoms. This is what she had to say:

> Shaka was successful in defeating other kings that wanted to raid his kingdom. Why? Because he had a powerful army around him.

v. Conqueror; cruel; despot; tyrant; dictator; violent; brutal; bad leader; Murderer; savage; barbarian; monster

Under this theme, Isabella *re*constructed Shaka as 'evil' and 'bloodthirsty'. This occurred as she was explaining why there were myths and stereotypes about Shaka. This is what she had to say:

> What we need to note from there is; the fact that Shaka's story over the years was based on myths and legends – myths and legends that were mainly circulated by white people. These myths portrayed Shaka as evil, bloodthirst and so on. That is why we learnt about different historians because traditional historians were mainly responsible for the negative representation of Shaka, and other historians challenged what they were saying

Wylie (2011, p.9) argued the following about traditional accounts of Shaka:

> Most of what we have been told about Shaka over the last century and a half is simply wrong. A massive machinery of politically motivated myth-building, outright lies, culturally biased misconceptions, sloppy scholarship and unthinking repetition has created a historiographical Frankenstein's monster: a grotesquely distorted image patched together from ill-informed fictions and gothic speculations, for almost all of which there is simply no evidence.

6.3.3. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The semi-structured (see: appendix B) was used in the final phase of data collection. The interview sessions took approximately 30 – 45 minutes with each participant, and were conducted after school to avoid disrupting the teaching and learning process. The interview questions were made up of seven main questions, accompanied by follow-up probing questions and reasons for asking those questions. The purpose behind semi-structured interviews addresses the following research question:

1. When exposed to different historical accounts, does this collective memory about Shaka change over time or it is reinforced?

By answering that research question; the researcher would then gain:

i. An understanding of where these in-service history educators have come from in terms of their school and university backgrounds.
ii. An understanding of whether having a different school and university experience has an impact on how the participants come to understand, interpret, *re*construct and represent imagings of Shaka in the classroom.

The data that emerged from these semi-structured interviews was subjected to Creswell's technique of analysis as stated in Chapter five. Beyond this, Wineburg's (2001) heuristics of Sourcing, Contextualization and Corroboration, as well as Seixas' (2006) six historical concepts served as a guide for analysing the interviews.

It should be noted that responses to question one and part of question two have already been highlighted in the participants' profile section.

6.3.3.1. INTERVIEW WITH JABULILE

As already established, Jabulile is a black-African Zulu speaking female history educator who graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree majoring both in history and international relations. She later did a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). Both qualifications were obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS). Jabulile also revealed that she did do history in secondary school up until grade twelve. She matriculated in 2008 from a school in KwaZulu Natal. What is not clear is whether the school was a public or private school. She proceeds to do history as a major at university.

When asked if she liked or disliked histories of Shaka taught to her at school and/or university. This was her response:

> I can't say I liked or enjoyed the history of Shaka that time because I never really questioned what I was told, especially at school.

When questioned about what does she remember about the history of Shaka she was taught at school or university. Jabulile responded in this fashion:

> At school I remember we were told that Shaka was a bad leader. Our teacher did not like Shaka at all. She blamed him for everything that was bad. At Wits what were told about Shaka was somewhat balanced. The lecturer used to say we must question what we are told.

When asked if what she was taught at school and university is different from what she currently teaches. Jabulile said:

> Oh…. In terms of school yes. But university is being pretty much the same.

With regards to whether she was exposed to stories or histories of Shaka at home. Jabulile responded by saying:

> Yes I was told about Shaka from home. But I can't tell you what exactly I was told about him.

A follow question asked was whether what she was exposed to at home had a bearing on her current *re*constructions of images of Shaka. Jabulile responded by saying:

> Not really because, mina (I) like I said; I cannot remember exactly what I was told.

When asked about her feelings towards history as a discipline. Jabulile responded by saying:

> I love history because of the debates one can have. So yes, I love history and it is exciting.

Jabulile was also asked about the one thing she looks forward to when she is about to teach history and what she worries about. She responded by saying:

> The one thing I look forward to is the debate and the one thing I am always worried about is the how my learners respond. Especially when they look bored.

Lastly, she was asked if she teaches the topic on Shaka as a single story, debate or debates as proposed by some revisionist historians and whether she was aware of current debates around images of Shaka. Jabulile responded by saying:

> I teach it as a debate because there are a lot of interpretations about him. From traditional and revisionist interpretations.

On the issue of current debates, her response was – "Not really.

6.3.3.2. INTERVIEW WITH BOKANG

Bokang is a black-African SeSotho speaking male history educator who graduated with the Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree from University of South Africa (UNISA) with history as his second major. Bokang also revealed that he matriculated in 2004 in Kroonstad with history not being one of his

subjects in grade 12. Like Jabulile, he did not reveal if the school that he matriculated from was a public or a private school.

Different to Jabulile, Bokang did not go to university straight after completing his grade 12 due to financial problems at home. This is what he had to say:

> I was forced to go look for a job because my parents did not have money. So, I worked for four as a security and during that time I was studying with UNISA. After I graduated…, uhm..., I started teaching.

When asked if he liked or disliked histories of Shaka taught to him at school and/or university. Bokang responded by saying:

> Uhm. You know what? I used to love history so much in school. My history teacher from grade 8 or 9 I think was the best. She used to make drama of Shaka, and that was fun for me. At UNISA I don't remember doing the history of Shaka. While was boring because…. Eh…, I was very much looking forward to it.

When asked about what he remembers about the history of Shaka he was taught at school or university. Bokang said:

> My history teacher used to tell us about how great Shaka was, and how he was feared by other kings. She also used to say that Shaka was bad because white people wanted to destroy what he built – the Zulu kingdom. She always said that we must see Shaka as a powerful ruler, a good leader that loved his people.

On whether what he was taught at school and university is different from what he currently teaches. Bokang said:

> Eh…, remember I said we did not do Shaka at UNISA. But what we did at high school in Kroostand is different from what we teach now.

With regards to whether he was exposed to stories or histories of Shaka at home. Bokang responded by saying:

> Yes, we used to watch that Shaka Zulu movie on SABC 1. After, my grand-parents would tell me and my cousins' stories about him.

A follow question asked was whether what he was exposed to at home had a bearing on his current *re*constructions of images of Shaka. Bokang said:

> Ja [Yes] it does, especially what my grandparents told me. And I always tell my learners this. Because my grandparents won't lie to me – so I think what they told me was important and I had to share it with my learners.

On feelings towards history as a discipline. Bokang responded by saying:

> I love this subject, man! What is exciting is the difference it makes to my learners. Remember that without knowing your history, you can't plan your future. That is what I always tell my learners and that is exciting.

Bokang was also asked about the one thing he looks forward to when he is about to teach history and what he worries about. He responded by saying:

> The most exciting thing is the discussion I have with my learners, and sometimes my colleagues. Even at home, I speak about history. At times I even bore my kid and wife. But it is exciting. I am not worried about anything.

Lastly, Bokang was asked if he teaches the topic on Shaka as a single story, debate or debates as proposed by some revisionist historians and whether he was aware of current debates around images of Shaka. He responded by saying:

> I teach it as a debate showing ancient history point of view and modern history point of view.

On the issue of current debates; his response was:

> Yes, I am. Modern history point of view is the current debate right? So, I know the debate.

6.3.3.3. INTERVIEW WITH AKHONA

Akhona is a black-African IsiXhosa speaking male history educator who graduated with a B.Ed. and B.Ed. with Honours degree both from WITS, with history as his major. He matriculated in 2008 from a school based in East London (eMonti). Unlike, both Jabulile and Bokang; Akhona did mention which school he matriculated from and that it was a public school. However, like Jabulile he did history as a school subject up until grade twelve, and he went to university straight after completing his matric.

When asked if he liked or disliked histories of Shaka taught to him at school and/or university. Bokang responded by saying:

> I enjoyed studying the history Shaka because it exposed me to different perspectives about him [Shaka]. The university history of him challenged me to look at him differently from what I was taught at home and at school.

When asked about what he remembers about the history of Shaka he was taught at school or university. Akhona said:

> At school our teacher used to present an image of Shaka that was mainly negative. In fact, I thought that my history teacher hated Shaka and I still think that. But when compared to the image presented at university – it was different. At university we were taught different images of Shaka and that I appreciate because, it helps me with my teaching now. I am able to show my learners that there are different perspectives of uShaka, and that makes my lessons interesting.

On whether what he was taught at school and university is different from what he currently teaches. Akhona said:

> Definitely what I was taught at school is different from what I teach now. But in terms of university is the same. I still use the same notes that I received at Wits.

With regards to whether he was exposed to stories or histories of Shaka at home. Akhona responded by saying:

> Yes, especially by my grandma. She enjoyed telling us stories of great African leaders and Shaka was one of them. But she would mainly focus on Xhosa kings and queens.

A follow question asked was whether what he was exposed to at home had a bearing on his current *re*constructions of images of Shaka. Akhona said:

> Yes, to some extent though. Most of the time I make examples about what I have learnt home comparing it to what I have learnt at university or now as a teacher. This is to show the different perspectives and how knowledge is developed. So yes!

On feelings towards history as a discipline. Akhona responded by saying:

> I love history so much. It's my life! I do not see myself teaching any other subject than history.

Akhona was also asked about the one thing he looks forward to when he is about to teach history and what he worries about. He responded by saying:

> It has to be the discussions! The minute my learners engage fully with what they supposed to do – I know it is going to be an exciting lesson. But the minute they are disengaged I get worried. But that also give me time to reflect on my own teaching.

Lastly, Akhona was asked if he teaches the topic on Shaka as a single story, debate or debates as proposed by some revisionist historians and whether he was aware of current debates around images of Shaka. He responded by saying:

> I teach it as debate*s* because many historians or people have something to say about the guy. So as debate*s*.

On the issue of current debate*s*; his response was that he is "aware of current debate*s* of Shaka".

6.3.3.4. INTERVIEW WITH ISABELLA

Isabella is a white-Afrikaner speaking female history educator who obtained her teaching certificate from the apartheid's Transvaal College of education with history as her major. Like all the participants before her; Isabella did reveal where she matriculated. This happened in a school

located in Pretoria. However, Isabella did not reveal the year in which she matriculated and whether the school was a government or a private school. She did history as a school subject up until grade twelve, as well at the college she trained to become a teacher.

When asked if she liked or disliked histories of Shaka taught to her at school and/or university. This was her response:

> I can say I liked the history of Shaka at school because it confirmed what I was told at home. But at college we never really focused much on the history of Shaka – so I cannot recall much on it. What I know is, we did a lot on Afrikaner history and European history.

When questioned about what does she remembers about the history of Shaka she was taught at school or university. Isabella responded in this fashion:

> At school we were taught that Shaka was to blame for Afrikaner people losing their land. We were taught that he was the one responsible for all the violence that was taking place at the time. This was similar to what we were taught at home. At the college; since we were mainly focusing on Afrikaner and European histories we were taught that our people brought about civilisation in Africa. So, I can conclude that Shaka there, even though I cannot recall much on him, was presented to us as uncivilized.

When asked if what she was taught at school and university is different from what she currently teaches. Isabella said:

> Definitely! Now we speak of revisionism. The history now certainly presents Africans as good, and Afrikaner and European people as bad. This is what we are expected to teach. However, not all Afrikaner and European were bad. And the current government doesn't want to see that.

With regards to whether she was exposed to stories or histories of Shaka at home. Isabella responded by saying:

> Yes, I was taught about Shaka at home. Remember I said, what I was taught at home was confirmed by what I was taught at school. So, what I was taught, especially by my mother, was that the Zulus and King Shaka were a bad people. She taught me about the horrors that women and children experienced under him and it was our duty granted by God that we bring about civilisation to these people. So yes, I was taught about Shaka at home.

A follow question asked was whether what she was exposed to at home had a bearing on her current *re*constructions of images of Shaka. Isabella responded by saying:

> Yes, to some extent. I say this because the curriculum like I said does what is called "reversed racism". You cannot tell me that Shaka or any person for that matter was perfect. But this curriculum does that and it is wrong. So, what I do is, I show my learners both sides of the coin instead of one. Because if I show them one side, I am indoctrinating them. So, show them the real history and they will decide for themselves.

When asked about her feelings towards history as a discipline. Isabella responded by saying:

> What is exciting about teaching history especially now is that; you get to show your learners different sides of the same story. And this what I love about history now.

Isabella was also asked about the one thing she looks forward to when she is about to teach history and what she worries about. She responded by saying:

> What worries me about history now is the single sidedness of events that the current government is trying presenting. Because history needs to be objective not subjective.

Lastly, she was asked if she teaches the topic on Shaka as a single story, debate or debate*s* as proposed by some revisionist historians and whether she was aware of current debates around images of Shaka. Isabella responded by saying:

> I certainly teach the history of Shaka as a debate. Because by so doing I am showing my learners different sides and they appreciate that.

On the issue of current debate*s*, Isabella responded by saying:

> Yes, I am aware. Isn't this what the current government want us to teach?

6.4. CONCLUSION

The above-mentioned findings reveal that the participants under investigation come from varied backgrounds as a result their lived-experiences are varied too. All of this had an impact on how the participants came to re-interpret, understand, *re*construct and re-present images of Shaka. However, based on the questionnaire it appeared that the participants have or share similar individual or collective memory about images of Shaka as a group in its entirety. This speaks to the embeddedness of myths and stereotypes that have been propagated by traditional, Afrikaner-Christian, liberal and Zulu nationalist authors and historians. The findings also revealed how different historiographical traditions on images of Shaka inform the way participants *re*construct images of Shaka. Learners also played a huge role in informing how the participants re-interpreted, reconstructed and re-presented images of Shaka, even though the study focus was not the learners. Therefore, it is clear from the findings that the participants' *re*constructions of images of Shaka varied and were therefore complex and at times contradictory. This can be attributed to their varied backgrounds (i.e. individual and collective memories, the 'home', university training, school career and so on), their conceptualisations and/or *re*constructions of history as a discipline, as well as their engagement with

other people and so on. The following chapter will discuss the main findings of the study in relation to the literature reviewed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The objective of this study was to investigate how in-service history educators' individual and collective memories inform how they *re*construct images of Shaka, as well as how these *re*constructions inform how they teach the topic on Shaka and the Zulu. This is done bearing in mind that one needed to explore this by considering:

- The importance attached to the history of Shaka and the Zulu.
- How in-service history educators interpret and engage different historical accounts of Shaka.
- How the in-service history educators deal with the challenges presented by their learners and different historical accounts, especially revisionist accounts.

Therefore, this chapter presents discussions of the main findings of the study and the findings will be discussed in the following manner:

- Questionnaire.
- Unobtrusive classroom observation.
- Semi-structured interviews.

7.2. DISCUSSIONS OF MAIN FINDINGS

7.2.1. QUESTIONNAIRE

According to the data that emerged from the questionnaire participants have or share similar collective memory about images of Shaka as a group in its entirety. Collective memory should be understood as similar memory of an event shared by individuals with social groupings (Schacter, 2009) – It is a representation of the past shared by a group or community (Kansteiner 2002). However, it was interesting and worth noting that the participants came from different socioeconomic, political, geographical, educational and cultural backgrounds which meant that they came with individual memories of Shaka – the idea that memory can be personal interpretations of an event by an individual within that social grouping (Schacter, 2009).

Yet, they ended up *re*constructing images of Shaka in a similar fashion thus ending with a collective memory. This highlights that individuals in groups interpret, construct, deconstruct and *re*construct phenomenon through the observer's interactions with others, as well as by his or her life experiences (Amineh & Davatgari, 2015). This is in line with postmodernist thinking because the participants presented multiple, local forms of truth about images of Shaka which happened to be collective (Rosenau, 1992).

Beyond this, participants' *re*constructions of images of Shaka in the questionnaire highlights, to larger extent, embeddedness of traditional, Afrikaner nationalist, and liberal historiographies our popular imaginations through popular culture, the 'home', as well as officialised narratives through schooling. All of which are spaces that postmodernists acknowledge as playing important roles in individuals' *re*construction of reality.

In terms of popular culture, one participant who appeared to be influenced by this was Bokang who argued that he initially learnt and/or heard about Shaka from a well-known TV series called 'Shaka Zulu' which was first screened by apartheid government's South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) with the backing of American television syndicator in 1986. Hamilton (1998, p. 181, 184) argued that the series:

> Offered the SABC an opportunity for presenting black and white viewers in South Africa with a drama advocating interracial collaboration and portraying the dangers of its failure' at a time when, against a background of increasingly violent resistance in the country's townships, the apartheid regime was edging towards political reform. At the same time, in depicting the chaos which resulted when Shaka rejected interaction with white people, the series 'offered a strong warning to independent black politicians such as Buthelezi [like Shaka, a personification of Zulu politics] not to try to go it alone.

Essentially, the original script was meant to replace "bigoted white historians" notions of Africa and her people (Hamilton, 1998, p.173). Yet, embedded in the final product were negative subtleties meant to reinforce stereotypes and myths about Africa and her people that many viewers around the world failed to recognise (Wright, 2004).

Jabulile, Akhona and Isabella argue that their initial individual memories [and ultimately their shared collective memory] of images of Shaka were informed by officialised narratives through schooling, although Isabella also acknowledged the role of the 'home' as well. Schooling, according to Roediger et al (2009), is a place where collective memories are established because "people learn much of their historical knowledge through formal schooling" (p.32). The above said participants, it seems, were exposed to historiographies of Shaka that aimed at establishing [negative] collective

remembering of Africa and her people (Roediger et al, 2009). This is because of the 'politicisation of historical content' and 'history and myth-making' (Moosa and Twala, 2014).

Ironically, although both Jabulile and Akhona matriculated under a 'democratised' history education they continued to recall a negative collective remembering of Shaka. This might be due to the gap that exists between change in legislation and realities of individuals. While there was a change in history education curriculum, in-service history educators continued to teach notions of Shaka derived apartheid' history curriculum due to lack of 'new' resources, limited subject-matter and so on. They tended to use what Dryden-Peterson and Siebörger (2006) working with in-service history educators from 16 Cape Town schools refer to as 'testimony as a pedagogic tool'. This, they argue, can be an effective tool of teaching and learning provided educators have the 'correct' subject matter. But it appears the educators that taught Jabulile and Akhona did not use the tool effectively. Hence, the two participants recalled a negative collective remembering of Shaka. Isabella, on the other hand, matriculated under an undemocratised history education of apartheid which propagated negative collective remembering of Shaka. Thus, it became unsurprising that she recalled Shaka in that fashion because this is what she was exposed to almost all her entire life. And this is not to say that people cannot unlearn and re-learn things.

Moreover, Isabella again referred to the 'home' as another factor that informed her initial individual memory of images of Shaka, thus, highlighting the relationship between the 'school' and the 'home'. This is because for Afrikaner nationalism to be preserved and continued, it depended on several tightly interwoven discourses (Verwey and Quayle, 2012) which were communicated in the 'home', the 'school' and other spaces. Afrikaners were "encapsulated in a network of schools, social clubs, churches, [and] cultural and business organizations which created a self-referential Afrikaner ideological world" (Hyslop, 2000, p.5).

All of this proves that memory is not simply an individual phenomenon, but is relational in terms of family and friends, and societal and collective in terms of the social frameworks of social groups (Halbwachs, 1925; 1941). Thus, memory challenges grand narratives of history and power (Bosch, 2016). By embracing their individual memories [which were collective] the participants did challenge grand narratives of images of Shaka that are presented by traditional, Afrikaner nationalist, liberal and other historiographers in their classes.

Going back to the research questions that the questionnaire sought to address; it can be concluded that the participants under study did have individual memories of images of Shaka – individual

memories which were collective when compared to each other. These memories were entrenched and the next section will discuss this in relation to how the participants presented and dealt with varied images of Shaka in the classroom.

7.2.2. UNOBTRUSIVE CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

7.2.2.1. USE OF TEXTBOOKS

What was most interesting in all the lessons observed was the usage and over-reliance on textbooks by participants. As discussed in Chapter four, this might be because history textbooks since the 1830's when the term textbook first appeared (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011) have been viewed and utilised to assist educators and learners in shaping their views and consciousness (Johannesson, 2002; Sewall, 2004; Schoeman, 2009; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Wassermann & Bertram, 2015). They are a "unique pedagogy" (Roberts, 2011).

Although, history textbooks that were used by participants were useful in assisting them and their learners in accessing some specialised knowledge; they are, in themselves, limited and thus limiting. They were limited when it came to expose the participants and their learners to highly specialised *content knowledge* (see Grossman, Wilson, & Shulman, 1989; Wilson, Shulman, & Richert, 1987). In this case, the histories that the participants exposed their learners to were highly summarised. Thus, they lacked the kinds of details that professional historians engage with on daily.

This is because of what Bernstein (2000) calls *Pedagogic Device*. Bernstein uses this concept to outline how disciplinary knowledge constructed mainly in universities (which he refers to as the field of production) is recontextualised [or transformed] by state policy-makers, curriculum designers' textbook authors and others into school subjects. By subjecting historical knowledge to this process outlined by Bernstein; history textbooks end up being prejudiced in their approach to writing about the past (Bam & Visser, 1996). This leads to single national grand narratives (van Eeden, 2008), as in this case 'new stereotypes' about Shaka were deliberately presented to challenge apartheid stereotypes as Engelbrecht (2008) points out. This is a perpetuation of grand narratives that postmodernists are out to challenge. Furthermore, this has the potential of limiting the expansion of historical consciousness[8] in educators and their learners (Van Jaarsveld, 1989; Kwang-Su, 1999; Mazabow, 2003), which in turn might impact 'negatively' on their historical literacies (Taylor &

[8] P. Seixas (ed.), Theorizing Historical Consciousness, Toronto 2004, p. 10.

Young, 2003; Wasserman, 2008; Waller, 2009; Maposa, 2014) and historical thinking (Wineburg, 2001; Lévesque, 2008).

One could have appreciated more one source of reference to be used so as to enrich the lessons even further. If one takes Lee Shulman's (1986, 1987, 2005) notion of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) into account; it recognises, in the context of history teaching, that:

> History teaching is a complex task that involves transforming subject matter into forms that are meaningful to learners, while retaining the integrity of the subject (Taylor & Young, 2003, p. 170).

One of achieving this is through the exploring multiple interpretations of the past. And this is not to say that the participants did not entirely do this. But by exploring multiple interpretations in the classroom, educators:

> Present history as a constructivist/social activity that involves students in working with the raw materials historians use when shaping the past and in drawing on the knowledge and understanding historians bring to the history-making process (Taylor & Young, 2003, p.165).

and

> Understand that constructing the past is an associative, speculative and imaginative process that requires learners to connect and relate various pieces of evidence to build images of the past (Taylor & Young, 2003, p.165).

Beyond this, educators and learners will begin to appreciate the structures of the discipline, difficulties some learners come across as they work with different subject matters, know about the ways young people learn a subject, and know about strategies to assist with and assess learning (Roberts, 2010). All of which are in line with proposed postmodern pedagogies.

7.2.2.2. HISTORICAL THINKING OR TEACHING LEARNERS TO THINK LIKE HISTORIANS

What also emerged from the lessons was the idea of teaching learners historical thinking or teaching learners to think like historians (Taylor and Young, 2003; Lévesque, 2008). This emerged as one of the most important skills that the participants wanted their learners to acquire despite all of them relying on a single textbook. When learners start to think historically; they can establish historical significance, use primary source evidence, identify continuity and change, analyse cause and consequence, take historical perspectives, and, understand the ethical dimension of historical interpretations (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Seixas, 2004, 2006; Lévesque, 2008; Wineburg, 2011).

Furthermore, van Drie & Brotex (2008) assert that historical thinking does not only mean giving an interpretation or perspective, but it is the arguments and evidence used to support that interpretation or perspective that matter. Hence, the skill of argumentation is fundamental to historical thinking.

Historical thinking was thus planted and reinforced through the kind of questions that the participants posed to their learners. For example, when Akhona was discussing the negative imagings of Shaka that emerged over the years asked:

> Now if I say king Shaka was a villain – what interests do I have at heart? What agenda do I have in mind? What will I gain from this? These are some of the questions you need to bear in mind when studying the history of Shaka or any other history for that matter.

Tied to this was the giving of context in the introductions of each lesson. This was done with the view of recapping what was covered previously, as well as what was to be covered moving forward. This is in line to what many philosophers of history refer to as *historical contextualisation*. Huijgen, van de Grift, van Boxtel, & Holthuis (2016, p.163) understand it as "the ability to situate a historical phenomenon or person in a temporal, spatial, and social context to describe, explain, compare, or evaluate it (van Boxtel and van Drie 2012)".

Participants' aim was to socialise their learners to think like historians. Thus, 'know' and 'do' history (Lee, 2005; Levstik & Barton, 2005; VanSledright, 2010) to establish *historical understanding* (Wineburg, 2000; Donovan & Bransford, 2005; VanSledright, 2010; Counsell, 2011). The learners may not fully engage with reading, thinking and writing like professional historians but participants seemed to view that by exposing their learners to these skills; they will enable their learners to better understand the multiple interpretations and accounts of imagings of Shaka. This will in turn allow them to come up with their own conclusions.

7.2.2.3. TEACHING VARIED IMAGES OF SHAKA AS DEBATES

In all the lessons observed by the researcher, the teaching style and/or method used by participants were the same although different aspects of the same topic were taught. The method employed was the *question-and-answer* method which appeared to be learner-centered as opposed to teacher-centered. This method is consistent with constructivist learning theories because it enables the educator to explore and consider learners' prior knowledge of the of subject being studied, as well as the idea that the educator cannot force their own interpretations of the subject studied onto learners who do not share a set of common experiences and interpretations (Mykrä, 2015).

Moreover, the learner-centeredness employed is also consistent with CAPS (2011) because, according to Moosa & Twala (2014, p.2307):

> After 1994, South Africa adopted a new approach to the teaching and learning of history; one that emphasises a learner-centered curriculum linked to the expectations of higher cognitive skills development. This 'ongoing 'history approach encourages learners to actively engage in enquiry-based approaches to learning and problem-solving activities, thus effecting interaction with various primary sources in constructing knowledge that can be communicated to the educator and other learners.

Therefore, the study findings revealed that the participants taught histories of images of Shaka as debate*s* amongst professional historians in relation to their individual and collective memories, as well as that of their learners. This means that the participants were aware [consciously or sub-continuously] of their own *re*constructions of images of Shaka and their impact, the demands of the curriculum, as well as their learner's *re*constructions of images of Shaka and their impact. By so doing, the participants came across as a group that conceptualised history as a process of enquiry (Smuts, 2006). This is again consistent with CAPS because the curriculum requires in-service history educators to establish learning environments that will enable active learner participation and meaningful learning (Moosa & Twala, 2014).

Furthermore, by teaching this topic as debate*s* amongst professional historians the participants were highlighting the centrality of interpretations in *knowing* and *doing* history (Lee, 2005; Levstik & Barton, 2005; VanSledright, 2010) to establish *historical understanding* (Wineburg, 2000; Donovan & Bransford, 2005; VanSledright, 2010; Counsell, 2011). Therefore, interpretation in the classroom was attributed to understanding (Mazibuko, 2008). The participants moved the debate*s* of histories of Shaka from mere recollections of 'facts' to a point whereby learners were engaged in the process of critical thinking, high level historical thinking, use of analytical skills (Mazibuko, 2008; Giliomee, 2010; Van Eeden, 2012; Fru, 2010, 2015). By so doing the learners began to question the historical accounts that were in front of them rather than just take them as fact.

For example, with regards to traditional accounts of Shaka all the participants, in different ways, highlighted that they were in fact informed by Europe's *image of Africa* that was often contradictory and always negative (Richner, 2005). The participants also highlighted the need to question this image with Akhona arguing that:

> Okay, now as a historian you need to step aside at some point and say; wait a minute. These are African great leaders. The Zulu kingdom was amongst the strongest in the whole African continent. Why is Shaka then portrayed in a negative way? By portraying this way what do they want to achieve? These are some of the questions you need to start asking yourselves.

Furthermore, although only physically using the textbook as the sole source of reference the participants appeared to have sufficient knowledge of the historiographical developments regarding images of Shaka. They also were able to highlight the relationship of those historiographical developments in their teaching and why it was important for their learners to know about them. By so doing they were able to highlight the power of history in identity construction. As, Friedman (1992, p.207) argues, history can be used for identity construction "because the politics of identity consists in anchoring the present in a viable past" and "the past is, thus, constructed according to the conditions and desires of those who produce historical textbooks in the present".

Like any other lessons, the lessons presented by the participants were not perfect. For example, Bokang used incorrect terminologies when speaking about the different historiographical traditions. He referred to traditional historiographies as 'ancient historiographies' and revisionist historiographies as 'modern historiographies'. Jabulile on the other hand failed to define what a tyrant was when asked. Beyond this, perhaps unaware, she perpetuated the traditionalist view of Shaka the patriarch who viewed women as nothing else but mere objects, when she said:

> So, at some point when you're in those military communities…. At a certain stage when Shaka realised that you are loyal to him. So, we can see it from you, how you behave that this person is loyal. So, in return he [Shaka] gives you a wife. That's if he can see that you are loyal to him, so you can get married. He just doesn't give you a wife. He needs to see that the person is ready for marriage.

These are some of the things that the participants can overcome with continuous teacher-development, curriculum support and other initiatives geared towards assisting history educators.

It is clear from the data discussed here that the participants' individual and/or collective memories of images of Shaka were entrenched to some extent. This was due to the nature of history as a discipline that they operated within, the curriculum demands imposed, as well as what their learners brought into the discussions. In addition, after being exposed to different historical accounts of Shaka their individual and/or collective memories of Shaka was at times reinforced and at times not. Beyond this, the different representations of images of Shaka by the textbooks participants worked with and CAPS did play a huge role in the way they came to *re*construct images of Shaka.

Therefore, the following sections will mainly deal with discussions around the data derived from the individual semi-structured interviews.

7.2.3. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The interview sessions were mainly meant to give the participants the opportunity to not only expand on their biographical background but to also reflect on their teaching of this topic. Hence, the research question that the interview sessions was to answer. The first thing to note from data that emerged from these interviews sessions is the role of teacher-training the participants received in relation to how they *re*construct images of Shaka, as well the number of years having been teaching this topic and its influence in their *re*constructions, as well the impact of learners attending these lessons. This is consistent with postmodernist understanding of the processes reinterpretation, *re*construction and representation of different realities. Hence, "Giroux (1992) considers postmodernism an age thriving on plurality, difference and multiple narratives that constantly regenerate and recharge themselves, that can be both expressed and professed" (Nădrag & Buzarna-tihenea, 2015). Beyond this, the participants acknowledged the influence that their initial knowing of Shaka has on how they *re*construct him now.

Moreover, all the participants argued that they enjoyed teaching history, which makes them what Ebbels-Hoving (2011) calls *Homo Historia*. A *Homo Historia* is someone who deeply loves the study of the past. This is very important because it implies that the participants as lovers of history would do anything to promote the discipline, and beyond that teach it at the best of their abilities. It can be argued that the participants were able to foster young *Homo Historias* who would come appreciate that images of Shaka as studied by historians are often complex and contradictory.

What was clear from the interviews is that when exposed to different historical accounts, the participants' individual and/or collective memories of images of Shaka change at some stages and was also reinforced at some stages. These highlights, to some extent, the relationship between history and memory.

7.3. CONCLUSION

It is clear, especially if one draws from the classroom observations that the practice teaching in general is a complex exercise. It requires qualified professional educators with a strong subject matter who are innovative in their pedagogical orientations. Therefore, the participants, although seeming to have some level of subject matter, were not as innovative when it came to their employed pedagogies.

However, in the questionnaires and interviews, the participants presented themselves as aware of revisionist thinking around Shaka and were willing to incorporate these in their teaching, but what transpired during the observations were tensions between this awareness and the implementation of such and the practicalities around it.

It seems that although all participants seemed consciously or subconsciously aware of memories embedded in their own *re*constructions of Shaka, and sought means to open Shaka to new imaginings and further debates by their learners, this was not easy in practice. It seems that the embeddedness of collective memories (with all their layers – from home to school days to university days and beyond) could not easily be transcended. This was most evident in the educators' responses to 'challenging' questions or comments by their learners. There seemed to be an element of defensiveness and tendency to want to instill views rather than allow open-endedness in interpreting Shaka's actions. So, while re-interpretation, *re*construction and re-presentation were seemingly allowed, with the exploration of teaching strategies like debates, the choice of textbooks, selection of sources to engage with, themes and topics to cover, questions to post to the learners etc. still reflected this embeddedness.

This might be an issue of inadequate teacher training and failure of the curriculum reforms as suggested in earlier chapters, or lack of resources, but also the complexity of teaching in general and its contradictory demands for one to pose subjectivity without necessarily stepping out of oneself.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations based on the data discussed on the pervious chapter. Some limitations of the study have also been identified.

8.2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This study set out to investigate how in-service history educators *re*construct images of Shaka and how the complexities involved impact on the way these particular educators interpret CAPS, the teacher-learner support materials they use, as well as how they come to teach the topic. This was to be done in relation to their individual and collective memories of Shaka. Furthermore, this study's aim was to provide a better understanding how different historical accounts, especially revisionist accounts inform how history educators *re*construct images of Shaka. This was done by analysing presentations made by the participants in the classroom and the textbooks that they work with, as well the questionnaire and interview questions they answered. This was done to gain a better understanding of how and why the select participants *re*construct images of Shaka. This was conducted within the study of history education and memory.

This study discovered that history as a discipline is complex and contradictory at the same time. It propels those involved in history education to first explore its nature*s* for them to get to grips with the 'technicalities' and 'procedures' of the discipline and how historians come to operate within this fascinating yet complex space. Therefore, implications for in-service history educators is that before they can impart onto their learners' skills of reading, thinking and writing like historians they need to learn and internalise these skills first (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Seixas, 2004, 2006; Lévesque, 2008; Wineburg, 2011). For the government and other stakeholders involved in history education they need to first explore the nature*s* that underpin history as a discipline before they can put out a national curriculum that everyone ought to learn. Beyond this, they also need to bear in mind the multiple realities of people that the curriculum is intended for. This also has implications for history textbook authors in that they need to rise above contemporary pressures that seek to undermine the integrity and role of history education by producing history textbooks that not only reflect the varied

reinterpretations, *re*constructions and representations of images of Shaka. They need to produce history textbooks that also propel in-service history educators and their learners to immense themselves in the inquiry aspect of history.

Moreover, the notions of individual and collective memory which underpinned this study were also found to be complex and contradictory. The implication of this was that in-service history educators do not only need to navigate through what they bring in the classroom as individual or collective memory. They also need to consider the demands of the curriculum, as well as what their learners bring in as well. Therefore, they need to be able to negotiate between these conflicting realities.

What was also established through the data that emerged was the embeddedness of the notions of Shaka propelled by traditional, Afrikaner-Nationalist, liberal and Zulu nationalist historiographers which have been deemed by some as being problematic (Wright, 2004; Richner, 2005). There is a need to train history educators to manage this in such a way that they do not exclude other important notions of Shaka in their teaching.

8.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Marshall and Rossman (2006) argue that all academic studies have limitations that arise of their research design, conceptual framework and other factors. Therefore, this study is no exception. While this study was supported by a wealth of academic literature on the nature of history, histories of Shaka, individual and collective memory, nature of history textbooks, as well as curriculum change in South Africa. There is limited literature on how in-service history educators *re*construct images of Shaka in the classroom. Even less literature that explores memories attached to images of Shaka by in-service history educators is available.

Furthermore, the small sample size of participants under study was another limitation, which meant that the data collected was limited to that small number of participants and their experiences regarding the *re*constructions of images of Shaka in relation to their individual and collective memories. Thus, generalisations and comprehensive conclusions could not be drawn from the data. However, since the study is qualitative in nature, which does not aim at generalising, the conclusions presented only apply to the participants under study because the contributions reflect their views, experiences and *re*constructions of images of Shaka and no one else (Sarantakos, 2005; Christensen, Johnson, & Turner, 2011).

Lastly, another limitation of the study relates to time, because limited time on its own could have hindered generalised and comprehensive conclusions.

8.4. RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite all the limitations, the conclusions presented do suggest ways in which in-service history educators [and other stakeholders involved in history education] could improve their appreciation of varied imagings of Shaka, as well history as a discipline. Hence, the recommendations made are meant to assist those involved in history education, particularly in-service history educators, to appreciate their own *re*constructions of images of Shaka and memories attached to them. They are also meant to assist educators appreciate that there are other imagings of Shaka beyond what they already know. This will then assist them in rendering to their learners' histories of Shaka that are 'reliable' and 'adequate' as that could assist the learners in appreciating the study of the past.

Furthermore, the recommendations made pull together the study, with the aim of assisting in-service history educators [and other stakeholders involved in history education] in engaging histories around the imaging of Shaka. The recommendations are also aimed at drawing specifically the attention of the ANC, SADTU, the DBE, and stakeholders to the importance of what constitutes the history discipline, especially considering their call for compulsory history curriculum in the FET phase that seems to be informed by a nationalistic ideology. Therefore, these stakeholders ought to consider the following:

i. Training and retraining of highly qualified in-service history educators

If we are to have a strong and efficient history education in South Africa; we need history educators who are not only highly qualified, but are confident in their command of the subject matter. Therefore, educators ought to be trained in such a way that they view themselves as bearers of historical knowledge while being aware that learners can also contribute in the enrichment of the teaching and learning experiences. They also need to view themselves as developers and promoters of historical skills.

The implications of this are for universities, along with government and other stakeholders in higher education to strengthen their training of initial history educators to 'produce' graduates who will have the capacity and passion to become productive history educators in the classroom. Therefore, pre-service training programmes dealing with history education ought to explore and expose their

initial teacher-training history students to in depth nature of history, curriculum change in South Africa and other parts of the world, natures of history textbooks, as well as historiographical traditions regarding images of Shaka, the theoretical principles that underpin them, and the latest methodologies and/or pedagogies needed for their successful implementation in practice. Beyond this, the DBE ought to devise teacher-development programmes that reflect this. Universities and the Department of higher education (DHET) also have an important role in ensuring that free quality and decolonised teacher-training programmes are devised. Highly trained and qualified history subject advisors ought to be appointed to render assistance to in-service history educators in mastering this.

ii. Improving and strengthening the history curriculum to reflect diverse interpretations of images of Shaka

Historical content knowledge is one of the drivers of any successful historical project. If we deny the wider and rich view of the world to our learners, we run the risk of producing a generation completely lacking in understanding and tolerance of one another and the world at large. Surely this is not what we are aspiring to as a nation. Therefore, a history curriculum ought to reflect all the different historical schools and all approaches to *doing* history.

Hence, it is essential for in-service history educators and initial teacher-training students to be exposed to the various interpretations relating to the histories of Shaka. This can only be realised with quality teacher-training programmes in place that will ensure that over reliance on textbooks by educators will be the thing of the past. Because reliance on textbooks basically translates to reliance on a few perspectives by a few authors. Therefore, exposure to a variety of historical texts and mediums of historical knowledge, including visual and oral histories might help.

However, textbooks are also important because they are viewed as core resources, sources of supplementary material, curriculum in themselves, and inspiration for classroom activities (McKenney, 2001; Davis, 2003; Izsak and Sherin, 2003; McKinney, 2005; Newton and Newton, 2006; Green & Naidoo, 2008; Davis, 2009; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011; Chisholm, 2013; Umalusi, 2017). They should be paired with other resources to enrich the teaching and learning experience. Beyond this, textbook authors ought to rise above contemporary pressures that seek to undermine the integrity and role of history education in our country by imposing ideologies and historiographies at the expense of others. This means textbook authors and government need to start publishing history

textbooks that are multi-perspectival in their approach, especially considering this proposed compulsory FET history curriculum and decolonisation project under way.

iii. Promotion of history as a scientific discipline in schools

Government officials, learners, parents, and the public need to move away from the notion that history is not a scientific study and thus does not deserve a place in the broader curriculum. This places the burden on those involved in history education to do everything in their power to promote the subject as a scientific discipline highlighting its genuine relevance. This is because history as a science foregrounds the importance of multidisciplinary approaches, and teaching of history is part or linked to other complex bodies of knowledge such as sociology, philosophy and geography.

Therefore, in-service history educators, government departments, parents, history educationalists and the public ought to ensure that:

- Non-specialist history staff are not tasked with teaching the subject. Failure to do so might result in the further depreciation of the subject in our schools.
- One of the in-service history educators' goal should be to change learners' negative perceptions of the subject into positive ones. This they ought to do by making sure that learners engage the past historically. This means imparting in learners' skills of reading, thinking and writing like historians (Seixas & Peck, 2004; Seixas, 2004, 2006; Lévesque, 2008; Wineburg, 2011).
- Skills acquired through the study of history should be presented in such a way that learners could apply them in other spheres of life.

8.4.1. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The following suggestions should be considered:

- Since the sample size was relatively small, further research is recommended. This can be done by expanding the scope of the study to include other in-service history educators from other provinces, to compare and contrast their *re*constructions of images of Shaka in relation to their individual and collective memories.
- A study focusing mainly on reinterpretations, *re*constructions and representations of images of Shaka by various history textbooks should be considered.

- A study looking at how best the curriculum can be best improved and strengthened to reflect diverse interpretations of images of Shaka and the natures of history as a discipline should also be considered.
- A study into the orienting role which tradition and folklore play in the lives of history educators and their learners, as well as the extent to which a mythical version of history informs history educators and learners' perceptions of the past.
- Lastly, a study looking at how teacher-development at regional, provincial and national level by governments could be improved and strengthened should also be considered. This should be underpinned by the notion of upskilling in-service history educators' pedagogical content knowledge, subject matter, as well as knowledge of assessment.

REFERENCE LIST

Abrams, L. S. (2010). Sampling 'hard to reach' populations in qualitative research: The case of incarcerated youth. *Qualitative social work,* Volume 9(4), pp.536–550.

Abukan, M. (2014). Derrida and language: Deconstruction. *International journal of Linguistics,* Volume 6, No. 2, pp.49-61.

Acharya. (2010). *Questionnaire design.* Bhaktapur, Nepal: Nepal Engineering College.

Adichie, C. (2009). *The Danger of a Single Story*. TED. Retrieved on 12 July 2017, from: http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.html.

Amineh, R. J. (2015). Review of constructivism and social Constructivism. *Journal of Social Sciences, Literature and Language,* Volume 1(1), pp.9-16.

Anbalakan, A. (2016). Objectivity in history: An analysis. *Kemanusiaan,* Volume 23, No. 1, pp.21–33.

African National Congress. (2017, July, 5) *Education, Health, Science and Technology Discussion Document*. Retrieved on 31 June 2016, from ANC Online:

http://www.anc.org.za/sites/default/files/National%20Policy%20Conference%202017%20Educ%2C%20health%2C%20science.pdf.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso.

Amineh, R. J., & Asl, H. D. (2015). Review of constructivism and social Constructivism. *Journal of Social Sciences, Literature and Language,* Volume 1(1), pp.9-16.

Andrews, T. (2012). What is social constructionism? *Grounded Theory Review – An international* Journal Issue 1, Volume 11.

Angier, K. L., Hobbs, J. T., Horner, E. A., Mowatt, R. L., Nattrass, G., & Wallace, J. A. (2011). *Viva history: Grade 10 learner's book*. Vivlia publishers and booksellers (Pty) Ltd: Cape Town.

Apple, M. W. (1979*). Ideology and curriculum*. London, UK: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (1992). The text and cultural politics. *Educational Researcher,* Volume 21 (7), pp.4-19.

Apple, M. W. (1993). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*. London: Routledge.

Apple, M., & Christian-Smith, L. (1991). The politics of the textbook. In M. Apple., & L. Christian-Smith (eds.), *The politics of the textbook, 1st ed (pp.1-21)*. New York: Routledge.

Apple, M., & Christian-Smith, L. (19913). The politics of the textbook. In M. Apple., & L. Christian-Smith (eds.), *The politics of the textbook, 2nd ed (pp.1-21*). New York: Routledge.

Asmal, K. (2002). *Speech by Professor Kader Asmal, Minister of Education at the SABA annual general meeting on 20 August 2002*. Retrieved on 1 September 2016, from: http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2002/02120616111001.htm.

Asmal, K. (2004). *Keeping memory alive, shaping our future: The ten-year celebration of freedom. Pretoria: Retrieved 02 October 2017*, from www.infor.gov.za/speeches.

Assmann, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Identity. In J. Assmann & J. Czaplicka, *Collective Memory and Cultural Identity (pp. 125-133*). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Assmann, J. (2008). Communicative and Cultural Identity. In A. N. Erll, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook (pp.109 - 118)*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

Babbie, E., & Mounton, J. (2004). The Practice of Social Research. Belmont: Wadsworth.

Babbie, E., & Mounton, J. (2007). *The Basics of Social Research (3rd ed)*. Belmont: Thomas Wadsworth.

Babrow, M. (1962). A *critical assessment of the work of George McCall Theal*. Cape Town: MA dissertation: University of Cape Town. Retrieved on 3 August 2017, from: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/02582478108671554.

Balkin, J. M. (1995-6). *Deconstruction*. New Haven, CT: Yale Law School.

Bam J. (2004a*). Educator's guide to the UNESCO General History of Africa for the FET curriculum*. Pretoria: Ministry of basic Education of South Africa.

Bam, J. (2000). *Negotiating history, truth and reconciliation and globalisation: An analysis of the suppression of historical consciousness in South African schools as case study*. Mots Pluriels, No. 13.

Bam, J. (2004b). The South African History Project. In S. Jeppie, *Towards New Histories for South Africa*. Cape Town: Juta Gariep.

Bam, J., & Visser, P. (1996). *A new history for a new South Africa*. Cape Town: Kagiso Publishers.

Barnes, T. (2003). *Nationalism, race and ethnicity in Zimbabwean high school history textbooks, 1980-2001*. Cape Town, South Africa: Paper presented at Carnegie Council Project on History Education and Reconciliation.

Barton, K. C., & Levstik, L. S. (2005). *Teaching history for the common good*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bauer, M. W. (2014). Text analysis: an introductory manifesto. In M. W. Bauer, *Textual Analysis*. SAGE Benchmarks in Social Research Methods, 1. London, UK: Sage.

Becvar, D. S., & Becvar, S. (2003). *Family therapy: a systemic integration (5th ed)*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Berman, B. (1998). Ethnicity, patronage and the African state: the politics of uncivil nationalism. African Affairs, 97, pp.305-41.

Bernard, H. R. (2002). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative methods (3rd ed)*. California: Altamira Press.

Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity (Revised Edition)*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.

Bertens, J. (2001). *Literary Theory: Basics*. London, GBR: Routledge.

Bertram, C., & Wassermann, J. (2015). South African history textbook research - A review of the scholarly literature. *Yesterday&Today*. Retrieved on 9 December 2016, from: http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2223-0386/2015/nl4a7.

Bertram, C. (2008). 'Doing history?': Assessment in history classrooms at a time of curriculum reform. *Journal of Education,* 45, pp.155-177.

Bertram, C., & Wassermann, J. (2015). South African history textbook research - A review of the scholarly literature. *Yesterday&Today,* No. 14, pp.151-174.

Bharath, P. (2015). *An Investigation of Progression in Historical Thinking in South African History Textbooks*. Glenwood: Doctoral thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal. Retrieved on 9 December 2017, from: http://www.legitimationcodetheory.com/pdf/2016Bharath_PhD.pdf.

Biyela, I. G. (2006*). Reconstructing the figure of King Shaka in our cultural heritage*. Centurion, Pretoria: Bontshi Business Services.

Black, I. (2006). The presentation of interpretivist research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, Volume 9, pp.319-324.

Bloch, G. (2009). *The Toxic Mix: What's wrong with South Africa's schools and how to fix it?* Cape Town: Tafelberg-Uitgewers.

Blum, L. (2004). Stereotypes and stereotyping: A moral analysis. *Philosophical Papers*, Volume 33, No.3, pp.251-289.

Boodry, K. (2005). *The crossroad of history and memory: histories of collaboration and narratives of resistance in post-colonial Korean history and memory*. New School for Social Research. Retrieved on 29 January 2018, from: https://www.newschool.edu/nssr/historymatters/papers/KathrynBoodry.pdf.

Bordalo, P., Coffman, K., Gennaioll, N., & Shleifer, A. (2016). *Stereotypes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard university. Retrieved on 3 March 2017, from: http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/shleifer/files/pdf.pdf?m=1455816262.

Bosch, T. E. (2016). *Memory Studies: A brief concept paper*. Cape Town: Media, Conflict and Democratisation (MeCoDEM).

Brändström, A. (2005). *Differentiated tasks in Mathematics textbooks: An analysis of the levels of difficulty*. Sweden: Master's thesis, Luleå University of Technology.

Brink, J. B., & Wood, M. J. (1998). *Advanced designs in nursing research (2nd ed)*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Brown, A. D., Kouri, N., & Hirst, W. (2012). *Memory's malleability: its role in shaping collective memory and social identity)*. Frontiers in Psychology. Retrieved on 6 June 2016, from:

https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2012.00257

Bryman, A. (2001). *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bunt, J. B. (2013). *The extent to which teachers' nurture creative thinking in the grade 9 social sciences classroom through the choice of teaching methods*. North West university: MA thesis.

Retrieved on 4 October 2016, from: https://dspace.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/10115/Bunt_Byron.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Burns, N., & Grove, S. (2003). *Understanding nursing research (3rd ed)*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company.

Burrill, E. S. (2001). Terrific majesty: The powers of shaka Zulu and the limits of historical invention (review). *Journal of World History*, 12.2, pp.512-514.

Buthelezi, M. (2004). *Ko!' Abantu, Kosal' Izibongo?": Contested Histories of Shaka, Phungashe and Zwide in Izibongo and Izithakazelo*. Pietermaritzburg: MA thesis: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Carr, E. H. (1964). *What is history?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carr, E. H. (2008). *What is history?* New York: Penguin.

Carr, E. H. (2010). *What is history?* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Carruthers, P. (1996). *Theories of theories of mind*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Carson, D., Gilmore, A., Perry, C., & Gronhaug, K. (2001). *Qualitative Marketing Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Chanaiwa, D. (1980). Historiographical traditions of southern Africa. In UNESCO, *The historiography of southern Africa (pp.25-44)*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Chiponda, A. F. (2009). *Post-colonial policy on girls' education, 1964-1994: The context for its construction*. (MA in African Social History), University of Malawi, Chancellor College.

Chiponda, A., & Wassermann, J. (2011). Women in History textbooks - What message does this send to the youth? *Yesterday&Today*, No. 6, pp.13-25.

Chiponda, A. (2014). A*n analysis of the portrayal of women in junior secondary school history textbooks in Malawi*. Glenwood: UKZN. Retrieved on 9 November 2017, from: https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10413/12658/Chiponda_Annie_Fatsireni_2014.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Chisholm, L. (2003). *The politics of curriculum review and revision in South Africa*. Paper presented at the Oxford International Conference on Education and Development.

Chisholm, L. (2004a). The making of South Africa's national curriculum statement. *Journal of Curriculum Studies (37),* 2, pp.193-208.

Chisholm, L. (2004b). The history curriculum in the (revised) national curriculum statement: an introduction. In S. Jeppie (ed.), *Towards 'new' histories for South Africa: On the place of the past in our present*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Chisholm, L. (2005). The State of South Africa's schools. In J. S. Daniel, *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004-2005*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Chisholm, L. (2013). The textbook saga and corruption in education. *South African Review of Education,* Volume 19(1), pp.7–22.

Chisholm, L., Volmink, J., Ndhlovu, T., Potenza, E., Mahomed, H., Muller, J., Lubisi, C., Vinjevold, P., Ngozi, L., Malan, B., & Mphahlele, L. (2000). *South African Curriculum for the Twenty First Century. Report of The Review Committee on Curriculum 2005*. Presented to the Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal. Pretoria.

Christensen, L. B. (2011). *Research methods, design and analysis (11th ed)*. Boston: Pearson.

Christie, P. (1999). OBE and unfolding policy trajectories: lessons to learned. In J. Jansen., & P. Christie, *Changing Curriculum: Studies in Outcomes-based Education in South Africa*. Kenwyn: Juta and Co. Ltd.

Christie, P. (2006). Changing regimes: Governmentality and education policy in post-apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development 26,* pp. 373–381.

Cobbing, J. (1984). *The case against the mfecane*. Johannesburg: Wits University: African Studies Institute. Retrieved on 5 March 2016, from: http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/8523/ISS-88.pdf?se.

Cobbing, J. (1988). The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo. *The Journal of African History, Volume 29, Issue 3, pp.487-519.*

Cocking, R. R., Mestre, J., & Brown, A. L. (2000). New developments in the science of learning: Using research help students learn Science and Mathematics. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 21, pp.1-11.*

Cohen, D. (1973). *Shaka, King of the Zulus*. New York: Doubleday & Co.

Cohen, L. M. (2000). *Research Methods in Education (5th ed)*. London and New York: Routledge Falmer.

Cohen, L., M anion, L., & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research Methods in Education (5th ed)*. London and New York: Routledge Falmer.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research methods in education (6th ed)*. London: Routledge.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2011). *Research methods in Education (7th ed)*. New York: Routledge.

Collis. J., & Hussey, R. (2003). *Business Research (2nd ed)*. London: Palgarve Macmillan.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1991). *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Conrad, J. (1899). *Heart of Darkness*. California: Coyote Canyon Press.

Conrad, J. (1973). *Heart of darkness*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Cornbelth, C. (1988). Curriculum in and out of context. *Journal of Curriculum Supervision,* Volume 3, Number 2, pp.85-96.

Cornbelth, C. (1984). Beyond hidden curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* Volume 16, No. 1, pp.29-36.

Counsell, C. (2011). Disciplinary knowledge for all: the secondary history curriculum and history teachers' achievement. *Curriculum Journal,* 22(2), pp.201-225.

Crawford, K. (2004). *Inter-cultural education: the role of school textbooks analysis in shaping a critical discourse on nation and society*. Hong Kong Institute of Education: Paper presented at the Pacific Circle Consortium 27th Annual Conference, 21st -23rd April, 2004.

Crawford, K. (*2006)*. Culture wars: Japanese history textbooks and the construction of official memory. In Stuart J. Foster & Keith A. Crawford (eds.), *What shall we tell the children? International perspectives on school history textbooks (pp.49-68)*. USA: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Crawford, K.A. and Foster, S.J. (2007). *War Nation Memory: International Perspectives on World War II in School History Textbooks*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Crawford K. (2003). Culture Wars: Serbian History Textbooks and the Construction of National Identity. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research, 3*.

Creswell, J. (2002). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative research*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Creswell, J. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J., & Plano-Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research (2nd ed)*. London: SAGE.

Creswell, J. (2012). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research (4th ed)*. Boston: Pearson.

Creswell, J. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: qualitative, and mixed methods approaches (2nd ed)*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Crotty, M. (2003). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and perspectives in the research process (3rd ed)*. London: Sage Publications.

Curtin, P. (1964). *The Image of Africa: British ideas and action, 1780-1850*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Dagar V., & Yadav, A. (2016). Constructivism: A paradigm for teaching and learning. *Arts Social Science Journal* 7: 200, pp.1-4.

Davids, M. N. (July, 2016). "Making History compulsory": Politically inspired or pedagogically justifiable*? Yesterday&Today,* No. 15, pp.84-102.

Davies, D. (2003). Developing children's scientific knowledge, skills and attitudes. In D. Davis., & A. Howe (eds), *Teaching Science, Design and Technology in the Early Years (pp. Chapter 9, pp.120-135)*. London: David Fulton

Davis, J. D. (2009). Understanding the influence of two Mathematics textbooks on prospective secondary teachers' knowledge. *Journal of Mathematics Teacher Education*, 12, pp.365–389.

De Castell, S. (1991). 'Literacy as Disempowerment: The role of documentary texts'. In D. Ericson, *"Philosophical issues in education."* In Encyclopedia of Educational Research, ed. Marvin Alkin. New York: Macmillan.

De La Paz, S. (2005). Effects of historical reasoning instruction and writing strategy mastery in culturally and academically diverse middle School classrooms. *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 97(2), pp.139-156.

de Souza Santos, K. S. (2017). The representation of black people in history textbooks. *Journal of Education and Practice, Volume 8, No.3, pp.144-149.*

De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouché, C. B., & Delport, C. S. L. (2005). *Research at grass roots: for the social sciences and human service professions (3rd ed)*. Pretoria: Schaik Publishers.

Dean, E. H. (1983). *History in black and white. An analysis of South African school History textbooks*. Paris: UNESCO.

Dean, E., Hartmann. P., & Katzen, M. (1983). *History in black and white. An analysis of South African school History textbooks*. Paris: UNESCO.

Dean, J. (2004). Doing history: theory, practice and pedagogy. In J. Shamil (ed), *Towards new histories for South Africa: on the place of the past in our present (pp.99-116)*. Cape Town: Juta Gariep.

Dean, J., & Siebörger, R. (1995). After Apartheid: the outlook for history. *Teaching History no 79, April, pp.32-38.*

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S., (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd ed)*, Sage Publication, London, 1-28.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin., & Y. S. Lincoln. *Handbook of Qualitative Research (3rd ed) (pp.1-32)*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (1997). Report of the Technical Committee to assist the Department of Education in the development of Standards. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2000). Report of the History/Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education. Tshwane. Retrieved on 7 July 2017, from: http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=70331.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2001). Report of the History/Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2003). Reviewing of the Financing, Resourcing and Costs of Education in Public Schools. Tshwane: Department of Education.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2007). Report to the Minister of Education: Ministerial Committee on Schools that work, 2007. Tshwane. Retrieved on 9 February 2017, from: https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/Ministerial_Report.pdf?ver=2011-01-18-115037-907.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2009). Curriculum News. Improving the quality of learning and teaching. Planning for 2010 and beyond. Tshwane: Department of Education of South Africa.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2010). Curriculum News. Improving the quality of learning and teaching. Tshwane: Department of Education.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2011). *National Curriculum Statement (NCS): Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (History*). Tshwane: Department of Education, South Africa.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2012*). Action Plan to 2014: Towards the Realisation of Schooling 2025*. Tshwane: Department of Basic Education, South Africa.

Department of basic Education, South Africa. (2015). *Establishment of the History Ministerial Task Team. Department of Education,* South Africa: Tshwane.

Department of basic Education, S. (2016). *National Senior Certificate: Schools Performance Report, 2016.* Tshwane. Retrieved on 9 February 2017, from: https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/NSC%20SCHOOL%20PERFORMANCE%20REPORT%202016.pdf?ver=2017-01-05-110731-030.

Dieronitou, I. (2014). The ontological and epistemological foundations of qualitative and quantitative approaches to research. *International Journal of Economics, Commerce and Management* Volume II, Issue 10, pp.1-17.

Donohoe, J. (2014*). Remembering places: A phenomelogical study of the relationship between memory and place*. London and New York: Lexington books.

Donovan, M. S., & Bransford, J. D. (2005). Introduction. In S. M Donovan & J. D Bransford (eds), *How students learn: History, mathematics and science in the classroom (pp. 1-28)*. Washington, D.C: National Academies Press.

Dryden-Peterson. S., & Siebörger, R. (2006). Teachers as Memory Makers: Testimony in the Making of a New History in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development,* Volume 26 no.4 pp.394-403.

Du Preez, M. (2004). *Of Warriors, Lovers, and Prophets: Unusual Stories from South Africa's Past*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Durkheim, E. ([1912] 1995). *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, trans.* by Karen Fields. New York: The Free Press.

Ebbels-Hoving, B. (2011*). Geschiedenis als metgezel. Confrontaties met vak 1950-2010*. Hilversum: Neth.

Education, R. O. (2017, November 24). Retrieved on 25 September 2016, from: www.gov.za: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/hapanelr_0.pdf

Eldredge, E. A. (1992). Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, C. 1800-30: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered. *The Journal of African History,* Volume 33, No. 1, pp.1-35.

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing 62(1), pp.107-15*.

Elo, S. (2007). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62(1), pp.107–115.

Engelbrecht, A. (2006). *Textbooks in South Africa from Apartheid to post-Apartheid: Ideological change revealed by racial stereotyping. Educating for Social Cohesion*. Retrieved on, 25 June 2016, from: http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/232527/Engelbrecht.pdf.

Engelbrecht, A. (2008). The impact of role reversal in representational practices in history textbooks after Apartheid. *South African Journal of Education,* 28, pp.519-541.

Epprecht, M. (1994). The Mfecane as Teaching Aid: History, Politics and Pedagogy in Southern Africa. *Journal of Historical Sociology,* Volume 7 No. 2, pp.113-130.

Etikan, I., Musa. S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purposive Sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics,* 5(1), pp.1-4.

Ewing, B. F. (2006). "Go to the page and work it from there." Young people's experiences of learning Mathematics from a text. *Australian Senior Mathematics Journal* 20(1), pp.8–14.

Facing history and ourselves (2017, November 29). Retrieved on 30 September 2016, from www.facinghistory.org: https://www.facinghistory.org/our-approach

Fasso, W., Knight. B.A., & Knight, C. (2014). Development of individual agency within a collaborative, creative learning community. In M. Khosrow-Pour (ed). *Encyclopaedia of information science and technology (3rd ed) (pp.7519-7528).* Hershey: PA: IGI Gl.

Ferguson, R. J. (2013). "Great traditions and grand narratives". *Culture Mandal the Bulletin of the Centre for East-West Cultural and Economic Studies:* Volume 10: Iss. 2, Article 3, pp.15-40.

Finn, J. L. (2008). *Just Practice: A Social Justice Approach to Social Work*. Peosta, IL: Eddie bowers publishing.

FitzGerald, F. (1979). *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage Press.

Fleisch, B., Moloi, Q., & van der ElsT, (2017). *National Education Curriculum Round Table Discussion Document*. Unpublished: Johannesburg.

Flick, U. (2014). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Foster, S. J. (2006). *What shall we tell the children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks*. Research in Curriculum and Instruction. Retrieved on 12 August 2017, from: https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED532372.

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

Foster, S. J., & Crawford, K. A. (2007). *War, Nation, Memory: International Perspectives on World War II in School History Textbooks*. Research in Curriculum and Instruction. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Pub.

Foucault, M. (1991). *Discipline and punish*: *The birth of a prison*. London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1998). *The history of sexuality: The will to knowledge*. London: Penguin.

Fox, W., & Bayat, M. S. (2007). *A Guide to Managing Research*. Cape Town: JUTA and Co Ltd. Shredding.

Frey, L. R., Botan, C. H., & Kreps, G. L. (2000). *Investigating communication: An introduction to research methods (2nd ed)*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Friedman, J. (1992). Myth, history and political identity. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(2), pp.194-210.

Fru, R. N. (2010). The case for teaching heritage in schools. *The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) Newsletter,* 3, pp.5-8.

Fru, R. N. (July 2015). History education at the crossroads: Challenges and prospects in a Lesotho context. *Yesterday&Today no.13 Vanderbijlpark*.

Fuerle, G. (1999). Shaka and the changing perspectives - Teaching South African literature and history at a German College. *Alternation* 6.2, pp.134-149.

Fuglestad, F. (2005). T*he Ambiguities of History: The Problem of Ethnocentrism in Historical Writing*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Funktenstein, A. (1993). *Perceptions of Jewish history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Galbin, A. (2014). An introduction to social constructionism. *Social Research Reports,* Volume 26, pp.82-92.

Garcia-Barros, S., Martínez-Losada, C., Vega, P., & Mondelo, M. (2001). The ideas of Spanish primary teachers on how to develop an understanding of processes in Science and their support in textbooks. In H. Behrendt., H. Dahncke., R. Duit., W. Gräber., M. Komorek., A. Kross., & P. Reiska, *Research in Science Education - Past, Present, and Future (pp.149-154)*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.

Gergen, K. J., & Gergen, M. (2008). *Social Construction: Entering the Dialogue*. Chagrin Falls, Ohio: Taos Institute Publications.

Gillis, A., & Jackson, W. (2002). *Research for Nurses: Methods and Interpretation*. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Company.

Giroux, H. A. (1992). *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*. New York: Routledge Publishing. [Cruzando Limites: Trabajodores Culturales Y Politicas Educativas Ediciones Paidos. Barcelona, Spain: 1997. Cruzando as Fronteiras Do Discurso Educacional: Novas Politicas em Educacao Artes Medicas Sul. Porte Alegre Brazil: 1999.

Giliomee, H. (2010). The uses of history. *Yesterday&Today,* 5, pp.11-27.

Gillis, J. (1994). "*Memory and Identity: The history of a Relationship" in Commemorations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Giroux, H. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Given, L. M. (2008). *The sage encyclopaedia of qualitative research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Glaeser, E. (2005). The political economy of hatred. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 120(1), pp.45 - 86.

Gnanasekaran, R. (2015). An Introduction to Derrida, Deconstruction and Post-Structuralism. *Inter. J. Eng. Lit. Cult. 3(7), pp.211-214.*

Golan, D. (1994). *Inventing Shaka: using history in the construction of Zulu nationalism*. Boulder

Goslin, G. (2015). *The history of the text*. Section 66B. Research project for ETEC 540. Retrieved 20 November 2017 from: http://courses.educ.ubc/etec540/May08/goslina/researchtopic/references.html.

Gray, D. E. (2013). *Doing research in the real world (3rd ed*). London: Sage Publications.

Green, A. (2004). Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates. *Oral History, VolUME 32, No. 2, Memory and Society (Autumn, 2004), pp.35 - 44.*

Green, A., & Troup, K (2016). *The houses of history: A critical reader in twentieth-century history and theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Green, W., & Naidoo, D. R (2008). Science textbooks in the context of political reform in South Africa: Implications for Access to Science. *Science Education Journal,* 19(2), pp.235–250.

Grossman, P. L. (1989). Teachers of substance: Subject matter knowledge for teaching. In M. C. Reynolds (ed), *The knowledge base for beginning teachers (pp.23-36)*. New York: Pergamum.

Güney, A., & Güney, A. (2008). A brief description of Jacques Derrida's deconstruction and hermeneutics. *e-Journal of New World Sciences Academy,* Volume: 3, Number: 2, pp.219-225.

Halbwachs, M. (1925). *Les Cadres sociaux de la memoire*. Paris: Alcan.

Halbwachs, M. (1941). *La Topgraphie legendaire des Evangiles en Terre Sainte: Etude de memoire collective*. Paris: Presses universitaire de France.

Halbwachs, M. (1992 [1952]). *On Collective Memory, ed. and trans*. Lewis Coser. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, S. (1997*). Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Hamilton, C., & Wright, J. (1987). *An appetite for power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the politics of 'Loyal Resistance'*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Hamilton, C., & Wright, J. (2001). "*Black Histories", 'White Histories", "Mixed Histories"? Perspectives from Zulu Historiography'*. Johannesburg: Unpublished conference paper, University of the Witwatersrand.

Hamilton, C., & Wright, J. (1989a). Tradition and transformations. The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In A. Duminy., & B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Hamilton, C. (1985). *Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu Kingdom*. Johannesburg: Unpublished MA Thesis: University of the Witwatersrand.

Hamilton, C. (1989). A positional gambit: Shaka Zulu and the conflict in South Africa. Review 44, pp.5-31.

Hamilton, C. (1992). "The character and objects of Chaka": A reconsideration of the making of Shaka as 'Mfecane' mirror. *Journal of African history* 33, 1, pp.37-63.

Hamilton, C. (1993). *Authoring Shaka: models, metaphors and historiography*. John Hopkins University: unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

Hamilton, C. (1995). Introduction: History and Historiography in the Aftermath. In C. Hamilton (ed.) Hamilton, *The Mfecane Aftermath (pp.1-9)*. Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg.

Hamilton, C. (1998). *Terrific majesty: the powers of Shaka Zulu and the limits of historical invention*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Hanneman, S. (2010). *Individual vs. Collective Memory*. Retrieved on 18 August 2017, from: https://wikis.uit.tufts.edu/confluence/display/Aftermaths/Individual+vs.+Collective+Memory.

Hare, W., & Portelli, P. J. (2001). *Philosophy of education: Introductory readings (3rd ed)*. Calgary, Alberta: Detselig.

Harley, K., & Wedekind, V. (2004). Political change, curriculum change and social formation, 1990 to 2002. In Linda Chisholm (ed), *Changing class: Education and social change in post-apartheid South Africa,* pp.195-220.

Hegel, G. W. (1956). *The philosophy of history*. New York: Dover Publications.

Henning, E. V. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research (1st ed)*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Henning, E., Van Rensburg, W & Smit, B. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research (1st ed)*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Henning, H. (2016). Same Textbooks – different perspectives: Discussing apartheid in two very different South African school settings. In Naseem, M. A. & Arshad-Ayaz, A., Rodriguez, J. (eds), *Representation of minorities in Textbooks: International comparative perspectives*. Santiago de Compostella: Universadade de Santiago de Compostella.

Hennink, M. H. (2011). *Qualitative research methods*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

History and collective memory: the Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relationship. (2013). *Philobiblon - Vol. XVIII No. 2, 260-282*.

Hofmeyr, J. (2010). *Is this a new curriculum I see before me?* Retrieved on 12 December 2017, from: http://www.ieducation.co.za/is-this-a-new-curriculum-i-see-before-me/.

Holloway, I. (2005). *Basic concepts for qualitative research*. Oxford: Blackwell Science.

Horsley, M. (2008). *Comparing different types of expenditure on teaching and learning materials: An emerging project*. Paper presented at the Textbooks and Educational Media in the Learning Environment workshop.

Hox, J., & Boejie, H. R. (2005). Data collection, primary vs. secondary. *Encyclopaedia of Social Measurement,* Volume 1, pp.593-599.

Huber, R. A., & Moore, C. J. (2001). A model for extending hands-on Science to be inquiry based. *School Science & Mathematics,* 101(1), pp.32-42.

Hugo, W. (2005). New Conservative or new radical: the case of Johan Muller. *Journal of Education,* 36, pp.19-36.

Hugo, W. (2013). *Cracking the code to educational analysis*. Cape Town: Pearson.

Huijgen, T. V. (2016). Teaching historical contextualization: the construction of a reliable observation instrument. *European Journal Psychology of Education* (2017) 32, pp.159–18.

Hutchinson, J. (1994). *Modern nationalism*. London: Fontana.

Hyslop. (2000). 'Why did apartheid's supporters capitulate? "Whiteness", class and consumption in urban South Africa, 1985–1995'. *Society in Transition* 31, 1, pp.36–45.

Iggers, G. G. (1997). H*istoriography in the twentieth century: from scientific objectivity to the postmodern challenge*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Isaacs, N. B. (1836). *Travels and adventures in eastern Africa, descriptive of the Zoolus, their manners, customs, etc*. with a sketch of Natal. London: E. Churton.

Iszak, A., & Sherin, M. G. (2003). Exploring the use of new representations as a resource for teacher learning. *School Science and Mathematics* 103 (1), pp.18–27.

Jacobs, M., Vakalisa, N. C. G., & Gawe, N. (2004). T*eaching – learning dynamics: A participative approach for OBE (3rd ed)*. Sandown: Heinemann.

Jacobson, M., Pruitt-Chapin, K., & Rugeley, C. (2009). Toward reconstructing poverty knowledge: Addressing food insecurity through grassroots research design and implementation. *Journal of Poverty,* 13(1), pp.1-19.

Jansen, J. (2007). *The leadership of transition: correction, conciliation and change in South African education*. Pretoria, 0002, South Africa: Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria.

Jansen, J. (1998). Curriculum reform in South Africa: A critical analysis of outcomes-based education. *Cambridge Journal of Education,* 28(3), pp.321-33.

Jansen, J. (1999). *The school curriculum since apartheid: intersections of politics and policy in the South African transition*. Pretoria, South Africa: University Of Pretoria.

Jansen, J. (2001). Rethinking education policy making in South Africa: Symbols of change, signals of conflict. In A. Kraak & M. Young (eds), *Educational in retrospect: policy and implantation 1990-2000 (pp. 40-57)*. Pretoria, South Africa: HRSC Press.

Jenkins, K. (1991). *Re-thinking history*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, K. (1995). *On "What is History"*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, K. (2003). *Re-thinking history*. New York: Routledge.

Jerald, C. D. (2006). *School culture: The hidden curriculum*. Washington, DC: The Centre for Comprehensive School Reform and Improvement. It retrieved from www.centerforcsri.org.

Johanneson, B. F., Fernandez, M., Roberts, B., Jacobs, M., & Seleti, Y. (2011*). Focus history: Grade 10 Learner's book*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman (Pty) Ltd.

Johannesson, B. (2002). The writing of history textbooks in South Africa. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung,* 24(1), pp.89-95.

Johnsen, E. B. (1993). *Textbooks in the Kaleidoscope. A critical survey of literature and research on educational texts*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press Publication.

Johnson, P., & Duberley, J. (2000). *Understanding Management Research*. London: Sage.

Joubert, A. (December, 2015). Using history textbooks in a well-resourced South African school. *Yesterday&Today,* No.14, pp.263-266.

Joubert, C. J., and J. J. Britz. 1975. *History for Standard 10*. Johannesburg: Perskor

Kallaway, P. (2012). History in senior secondary school CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment. *Yesterday & Today* 2012 (7), pp.23-62.

Kansteiner, W. (2002, May 11). "Finding Meaning in Memory: A methodological critique of collective memory studies". *History and Theory,* Volume 41.

Karlsson, K. G. (2007). Memory of mass murder. The Genocide in Armenian and Non-Armenian historical consciousness. In C. Mithander., J. Sundholm., & M. H. Troy (eds), *Collective Traumas. Memories of War and Conflict in 20th-Century Europe*. Brussels: Peter Lang.

Kirkgöz, Y., & Agcam, R. (2001). Exploring Culture in locally published English textbooks for primary education in Turkey. *C e p s Journal* | Volume1 | No1, pp.153-167.

Klassen, S. (2006). Theoretical framework for contextual Science teaching. *Interchange* 37(1–2), pp.31–62.

Kuhn, T. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kukard, K. (2015). Content choice: A survey of history curriculum content in England since 1944. A relevant backdrop for South Africa. *Yesterday&Today*, No. 13, pp.17-39.

Kumar, R. (2011). *Research methodology: a step-by-step guide for beginners*. Retrieved on 12 December 2017, from: http://www.sociology.kpi.ua/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Ranjit_Kumar-Research_Methodology_A_Step-by-Step_G.pdf.

Kwang-Su, K. (1999). *The relationship between cultural identity and historical consciousness: case study of history students at South African universities*. Potchefstroom: Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

Lacey, M. J. (2007). Eric Walker (1887–1976). Retrieved on 12 December 2017, from: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00232087685310021.

Lather, P. (2006). Paradigm proliferation as a good thing to think with: Teaching research in education as a wild profusion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 19(1), pp.35-57.

Lavere, D. B. (2008). The Quality of Pedagogical Exercises in U.S. History Textbooks. *The social studies, pp.3-7*.

Lee, P. (2005). Putting principles into practice: Understanding history. In M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (eds), *How students learn: History, mathematics and science in the classroom (pp.31-78)*. Washington, D.C: National Academies Press.

Leech, S. (2000). Rewriting the Zulu past beyond the washing of the spears. *Alternation* 7.2, pp.113-134.

Leech, S. M. (1997). T*wentieth century images of the "Zulu": selected representations in historical and political discourse*. City of Tshwane: UNISA. Retrieved on 19 September 2016, on: http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/17194/dissertation_leech_sm.pdf?sequence=1.

Leeming, D. A. (2010). *Creation Myths of the World: An Encyclopaedia*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Legassick, M. (2000). Reflections on practicing applied history in South Africa, 1994-2002: From skeletons to schools. In H. E. Stolten (ed), *History making and Present-Day Politics: The meaning if Collective Memory in South Africa*. Stockholm: Elander Gotab AB.

Leonard, S. (2004). Myths and Religion. In S. A. Leonard., & M. McClure (eds), *Myth and knowing: An introduction to world mythology*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Leśniewski, M. (2011). Myth (De) Constructed: Some reflections provoked by Dan Wylie's book Myth of Iron: Shaka in History. *Werkwinkel 6(2), pp.56-69*.

Lester, S. (1999). *An introduction to phenomenological research*. London: Stan Lester Developments Taunton. Retrieved from 8 January 2016, from: http://www.sld.demon.co.uk/resmethy.pdf.

Lévesque, S. (2008). *Thinking historically*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Levstik, L. S. (1997). The theory behind disciplined inquiry. In *Doing History: Investigating with children in elementary and middle schools (pp.9-16)*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Levstik, L. S., & Barton, K. C. (2005). *Doing history: investigating with children in elementary and middle schools (3rd ed)*. Mahwah, N.J: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Lin, L., Zhao. Y., Ogawa, M., Hoge, J., & Kim, B. Y. (2009). Whose history? An analysis of the Korean War in history textbooks from the United States, South Korea, Japan and China. *Social Studies, 100(5), pp.222-232*.

Lintvelt, H. E. (1987). *Timelines*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

Litz, D. R. (2001). Textbook evaluation and ELT management: A South Korean case study. *Asian EFL Journal, pp.1-52*.

Live, M. (2015*). Zuma asks for parents' support to have history declared compulsory in all schools*. Johannesburg: SABC Digital News. Retrieved on 21 February 2016, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KEWpGeNPXvM.

Livesey, C. (2006). *The Relationship between positivism, interpretivism and sociological research methods*. London: Retrieved on 9 December 2016, from: http://www.sociology.org.uk.

Lonsdale, J. (1994). Moral ethnicity and political tribalism. In &. J. P. Kaarsholm (ed), *Inventions and boundaries: Historical and Anthropological approaches to the study of ethnicity and nationalism (pp.1-13)*. Denmark: International Development Studies.

López, A. J. (2001). *Posts and past*. London and New York: State University of New York Press.

Low-Beer, A. (2003). School history, national history and the issues of national identity. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research,* Volume 3, pp.1-7.

Lubben, F., Campbell, B., Kasanda, C., Kapena, H., Gaoseb, N., & Kandjeo-marenga, U. (2003). Teachers' use of textbooks: Practice in Namibian science. *Educational Studies* 29(2/3), pp.109–125.

Ludlow, E. H. (2012). Ghana, cocoa, colonialism and globalisation: introducing historiography. *Yesterday&Today. No.8 Vanderbijlpark*.

Mackenzie, N., & Knipe, S. (2006). Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology. *Issues in Educational Research,* 16, pp.193-205.

MacMillan, M. (2009). *The Uses and Abuses of History*. New York: Random House.

MacNaughton, G., Rolfe, S. A., & Siraj-Blatchford, I. (2001). Do*ing Early Childhood Research: International perspective on theory and practice*. Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Maharajh, L. R., NkosI, T., & Mkhize, M. C. (2016). Teachers' experiences of the implementation of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in three primary schools in KwaZulu Natal. KwaZulu Natal. *Africa's Public Service Delivery & Performance Review | Volume 4, No 3, pp.371-388*.

Maluleka, P. (2014). *SADTU's proposed 'Nationalist history curriculum' dangerous given complexities in historiography*. Retrieved on 12 January 2016, from: https://www.news24.com/MyNews24/SADTUs-proposed-Nationalist-history-curriculum-dangerous-given-complexities-in-historiography-20140930

Maluleka, P. (2015). *How Social Science II (Second year; History & Geography) initial teacher-training students understand the 'role' King Shaka played, before and after they are exposed to historical accounts*. Johannesburg: Unpublished: University of the Witwatersrand.

Maphalala, M. C. (2006). *Educators' experiences in implementing the revised national curriculum statement in the Get Band*. Richards Bay: Doctoral dissertation. Retrieved on 12 January 2016, from: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Mncedisi_Maphalala/publication/46150472_Educators%27_experiences_in_implementing_the_revised_national_curriculum_statement_in_the_Get_Band/links/546b092c0cf20dedafd3a73a/Educators-experiences-in-.

Maposa, M. T. (2014). *An analysis of the construction of African Consciousness in contemporary South African History textbooks*. Pinetown: Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Mare, G., & Hamilton, G. (1987). *An appetite for power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of Loyal Resistance*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Marsden, W. E. (2001). *The school textbook: Geography, history and social studies*. London: Woburn Education Series.

Marsh, D., & Furlong, P. (2002). 'Ontology and epistemology in political science'. In D. A. Marsh (ed), *Theory and Methods in Political Science, (2nd ed.)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2010). *Designing Qualitative Research (5th ed)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Mashiyi, L. N. (2000). *Can old history textbooks be used to promote the new democratic ideals in the Curriculum 2005?* Johannesburg: Wits University. Retrieved on 9 March 2017, from: http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/14698/Mashiyi%20L%20N%202000-001.pdf?sequence=1.

Mathers, N., Fox. N., & Hunn, A. (2007). *Surveys and Questionnaires*. The NIHR RDS for the East Midlands/Yorkshire & the Humber. Retrieved on 9 July 2017, from: https://www.rds-yh.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/12_Surveys_and_Questionnaires_Revision_2009.pdf

Mavhunga, P. J. (December, 2006). Africanising the school curriculum: A case for Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwe journal of education research*, Volume 18, No.3, pp.440-456.

Maylam, P. (1995). Tensions within the practice of history. *South African Historical Journal 33*.

Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's racist past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation Apartheid*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Mazabow, G. (2003). T*he development of historical consciousness in the teaching of History in South African schools*. Pretoria: Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. University of South Africa.

Mazibuko, E. Z. (May 2008). Developments in History teaching at secondary school level in Swaziland: lessons from classroom research. *Yesterday&Today,* No.2, pp.137-156.

McCallum, K. (2004). The culture of reading. What does it cost? *Impressions,* pp.1, 4 and pp.7–9.

McEwan, E. (2002). *10 Traits of highly effective teachers: How to hire, coach, and mentor successful teachers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

McKenney, S. (2001). *Computer-based support for science education materials developers in Africa: Exploring Potentials*. Enschede, Netherlands: PhD thesis, Universiteit Twente.

McKinney, C. (2005). *Textbooks for diverse learners: A critical analysis of learning materials used in South African schools*. Cape Town: Technical report, HSRC.

Mdutshane, V. N. (2013*)*. An investigation into implementation of Curriculum 2005. In V. T. Mncube (ed), Chronicling teachers' experiences in the teaching of Business Education in three secondary schools in Lesotho. *Anthropologist,* 15(1), pp.67-78.

Merriam, M. (2001). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education (2nd ed)*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Meyer, I. H. (2009). Sampling Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations. *Journal of Counselling Psychology, 56, pp.23-31.*

Mikk, J. (2000). *Textbook research and writing*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Mitchell, S. P. (1955). "Africa and the West in perspective". In C. G. Smith (ed), *Africa today*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Monte-Sano, C. (2008). Qualities of historical writing instruction: A comparative case study of two teachers' practices. *American Educational Research Journal,* 45(4), pp.1045-1079.

Mooney, L., Knox, D., & Schacht, C. (2007). *Understanding social problems, (5th ed)*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

Moosa, M., & Twala, C. (September, 2014). The teaching of South African history in the post-apartheid era: Towards critical and epistemological criticisms. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences Vol 5 No 20, pp.2303-2308.*

Morales, S. (2013). Myth and the construction of meaning in mediated culture. *KOME – An International Journal of Pure Communication Inquiry,* Volume 1 Issue 2, pp.33-43.

Morgan, H. (2008). American School Textbooks: How They Portrayed the Middle East from 1898 to 1994. *American Educational History Journal,* Volume 35 no.2 pp.315-330.

Morgan, K., & Henning, E. (November 2011). How school history textbooks position a textual community through the topic of racism. *Historia* 56, 2, pp.169–190.

Morgan, K. (2010). Scholarly and values-driven objectives in two South African school history textbooks: an analysis of topics of race and racism. *Historical Social Research,* Volume 35, Number 3, pp.299-322.

Morgan, K. (2015, July). Stereotypes, prejudices, self and 'the other' in history textbooks. *Yesterday&Today,* No.7, pp.85-100.

Morrow, S. L. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counselling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* Volume 52, No.2, pp.250–260.

Morton, B. (1997). Agonising over the mfecane. *Journal of Natal and Zulu History,* 17, pp.99-119.

Mail & Guardian (2015). Motshekga looks to history to fix SA's pride. Retrieved on 10 June 2017, from: http:/ mg.co.za/article/2014-07-16-education-dept-looks-to-history-to-fix-sas-pride.

Mouraz, A., Fernandes, P., & Morgado, José. (2012). Contextualisation curriculaire: Des discours aux pratiques. *La Recherche en Éducation,* 7. pp.31-44.

Mousley, A. (2000). *Renaissance drama & contemporary literary theory*. New York, NY USA: Palgrave Publishers.

Moyo, N., & Modiba, M. (December 2013). "Who does this history curriculum want you to be?": Representation, school history and curriculum in Zimbabwe. *Yesterday&Today,* No. 10, pp.1-24.

Msila, V. (2007). From apartheid education to the Revised National Curriculum Statement: Pedagogy for identity formation and nation building in South Africa. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16(2), pp.146–160.

Mtombeni. (2017). The creation of the Zulu kingdom, 1815-1828: War, Shaka, and the consolidation of power. *New Contree,* No. 78, pp.97-129.

Munslow, A. (1997). *Deconstructing History*. Institute of Historical Research. Retrieved on 5 September 2017, from:

http://sasspace.sas.ac.uk/4397/1/Deconstructing_History_by_Alun_Munslow___Institute_of_Historical_Research.pdf

Munslow, A. (2000). *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*. London and New York: Psychology Press.

Munslow, A. (2002). Where does history come from? *History Today,* 52, 3, pp.18-20.

Munslow, A. (2006). *Deconstructing history (2nd ed)*. New York: Routledge.

Munslow, A. (2007). *Narrative and history*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Munslow, A. (2012). *A history of history*. New York: Routledge.

Munslow, A. (2016*). The new history*. New York: Routledge.

Mvenene, J. (2014). A social and economic history of the African people of Gcalekaland, 1830–1913. *Historia 59, 1, pp.59-71.*

Myers, M. D. (2008). *Qualitative Research in Business & Management*. London: SAGE Publications.

Mykrä, T. (2015). *Learner-cantered Teaching Methods – A Toolkit for Secondary Education Teachers*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Myles, B. (2011). *The hidden curriculum-unwritten rules that students with disabilities of tenmiss*. Retrieved on 1 June 2016, from: http://cec.sped.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=Home&TEMPLATE=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&CONTE.

Myles, B. S., Simpson, R. L., & Myles, B. S. (2004). Asperger Syndrome and the Hidden Curriculum. *SAGE Journals* Volume: 17 issue: 3, pp.132-137.

Mzala, J. N. (1988). *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a double agenda*. London: Zed Books.

Nădrag, L., & Buzarna-tihenea, A. (2015). *From Modern to Postmodern Curriculum*. The Annals of UOC: the Philology Series, 2/2015.

Naidoo, A. (2014). *An analysis of the depiction of "big men" in apartheid and post-apartheid school history textbooks*. Edgewood: University of KwaZulu-Natal: School of Education. Retrieved on 7 January 2016, from:

http://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10413/12634/Naidoo_Anand_2014.pdf;sequence=1

Naseem, M. A. (2008). *Texts of war/texts of peace: Dismantling violence and constructing peace in textbooks and educational media*. Tonsberg Norway: Paper presented at the Ninth International Conference on Textbooks and Educational Media: Peace, Democratization and Reconciliation in Textbooks and Educational Media.

Ndlovu, M. (2009). History curriculum, nation-building and the promotion of common values in Africa: A comparative analysis of Zimbabwe and South Africa. *Yesterday&Today,* No.4, October, *pp.67-76*.

Neuman, W. L. (2000). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantiative Approaches*. Toronto: Pearson.

Newton, D. P., & Newton, L. D. (2006). Could elementary Mathematics textbooks help give attention to reasons in the classroom? *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 64, pp.69–84.

Ngcongco, L. D. (1980). Historiography of southern Africa. In *The general history of Africa studies and documents 4 (pp.17-24)*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Nicholls, J. (2003). Methods in school textbook research. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research,* 3(2), pp.11-26.

Nicholls, J. (2006). School history textbooks across cultures from the perspective of comparative education. In J. Nichollis (ed), *School history textbooks across cultures: International debates and perspectives (pp.7-13)*. Didcot-United Kingdom: Symposium Books.

Nieuwenhuis, J. (2007). Qualitative research designs and data gathering techniques. In J. G, Maree. (ed.). *First steps in research (1st ed) (pp.70-79)*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Nozaki, Y. (2002). Japanese politics and the history textbooks controversy 1982-2001. *International Journal of Educational research,* 37, pp.603-622.

Oates, B. J. (2006). *Researching Information Systems and Computing*. London: Sage Publications.

Ogot, B. A. (1992). African historiography: From colonial historiography to UNESCO's general history of Africa. In B. Ogot. (ed), *General History of Africa: Vol. 5 - Africa from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century*. Oxford: Heinemann.

Ogot, B. A. (2009). Rereading the history and historiography of epistemic domination and resistance in Africa. *African Studies Review,* Volume 48, pp.1-22.

Olivo, C. (2012). The Exclusion and Inclusion of Women in American Government. In H. Hickman., & B.J. Porfilio (eds), *The New Politics of the Textbook: Problematizing the portrayal of marginalized groups in textbooks (pp.149-172)*. Boston: Sense Publishers.

Omer-Cooper, J. D. (1966). *The Zulu aftermath a nineteenth century revolution in Bantu Africa*. Longmans.

Ormston, R., Lewis, J., & Mcnaughton-nicholls, C. (2014). The foundations of qualitative research. In J. Ritchie., J. Lewis., C. Mcnaughton-nicholls., & R. Ormston (eds), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers (pp. 1-25)*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Ornstein, A. (1994). The textbook-driven curriculum. *Peabody Journal of Education,* 69(3), pp.70-85.

Osborne, K. (2004, January). Canadian history in schools. *Historica,* pp. 2-43.

Østergaard, E. D. (2008). Doing phenomenology in science education: a research review. *Studies in Science Education,* Volume 44, No. 2, pp.93–121.

Padilla-Díaz, M. (2015). Phenomenology in Educational Qualitative Research: Philosophy as Science or Philosophical Science? *International Journal of Educational Excellence,* Volume 1, No. 2, pp.101-110.

Palys, T. (2008). Purposive sampling. In L. M. Given (ed), *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods.Volume 2, pp.697-8*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Parkes, R. J. (2011). *Interrupting history*. New York: Peter Lang.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. Thousands Oaks: Sage.

Peires, P. (2009). Shaka the Great. *Historia* 54, 1, pp.159-179.

Pickering, M. (2001). *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*. New York: Pilgrave.

Pingel, F. (2010). *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision*. Braunschweig: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.

Pinto, L. E. (2007). Textbook publishing, textbooks, and democracy: A case study. *Journal of Thought, Spring-Summer,* pp.99-121.

Piper, L. (2002). Nationalism without a nation: the rise and fall of Zulu nationalism in South Africa's transition to democracy, 1975-99. *Nations and Nationalism* 8 (1), pp.73-94.

Pogelschek, B. (2008). *How textbooks are made: Insights from an Austrian educational publisher*. Tonsberg Norway: Paper presented at the Ninth International Conference on Textbooks and Educational Media: Peace, Democratization and Reconciliation in Textbooks and Educational Media September 2007.

Polakow-Suransky, S. S. (2002). *Historia amnesia? The politics of textbooks in post-apartheid South Africa*. New Orleans, LA: Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association.

Polakow-Suransky, S. S. (2004). Historical Amnesia. In C. S. K. Mutua (ed), *Research on Education in Africa, Caribbean and the Middle East: An Historic Overview*. Charlottte: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Polit-O'Hara, D., & Beck, C. T. (2001). *Essentials of Nursing Research: Methods, Appraisal and Utilization (5th ed)*. Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.]

Polit, D. F., & Hungler, B. P., (2004). *Nursing Research: Principles and Methods (6th ed)*. London: Palgrave MacMillian.

Ponce, O. (2014). *Investigación Cualitativa en Educación: Teorías, Prácticasy Debates*. Hato Rey: Publicaciones Puertorriqueñas.

Powell, T. B. (2003). All colours flow into rainbows and nooses: The emergence of multiculturalism in the United States. *Cultural Critique,* 55, pp.152–181.

Quanchi, M. A. (2003). T*eaching history: A guide for teachers teaching history for the first time*. Brisbane, Australia: The Council of Presidents of Pacific Island History Associations (HistoryCOPs).

Rael, P. (2005). What happened and why? Helping students read and write like historians. *The History Teacher Volume 39 Number 1: Society for History Education,* Inc, pp.24-32.

Rajasekar, S. P. (2013). *Research Methodology*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Rapmund, V., & Moore, C. (2000). Women's stories of depression: a constructivist approach. *South African Journal of Psychology* 30, pp.20-30.

Reddy, V. (2005). State of Mathematics and Science Education: Schools are not equal. *Perspectives in Education* 23(3), pp.125–138.

Regueiro, P. D. (2000). An analysis of gender in a Spanish music textbook. *Music Education Research,* 2(1), pp.57-73.

Reisman, A. (2011). R*eading like a historian: A document-based history curriculum intervention in urban high schools*. Doctoral thesis. Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: http://www.cse.ucla.edu/about/news/reisman_dissertation_augmented.pdf.

Richards, K. (2003). *Qualitative Inquiry in TESOL*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Richner, J. E. (2005). *The Historiographical Development of the Concept "mfecane" and the Writing of Early Southern African History, from the 1820s to 1920s*. Grahamstown: Master dissertation, Rhodes University Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: http://macua.blogs.com/files/richner-m.a.-thesis.pdf.

Ritter, E. A. (1955). *Shaka Zulu*. Penguin Books.

Roberts, P. (2010). *From historical literacy to a pedagogy of history*. University of Canberra. Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: http://leadingcurriculum.blogspot.co.za/2010/06/national-symposium-building-bridges-for.html.

Roberts, P. (2011). *From historical literacy to a pedagogy of history*. A discussion paper for the symposium: Building Bridges for historical learning: connecting teacher education and museum education.

Robinson, R., Gallagher, J., Denny, A., & Louis, R., (1961). *Africa and the Victorians: the official mind of imperialism*. New York: Macmillan.

Rodden, J. (2009). Ideology as core curriculum? Textbooks and German re-education in May 1945. *The Midwest Quarterly,* 50(3), pp.267-218.

Rogers, E., Malancharuvil-Berkes, E., & Mosley, M. (2005). Critical Discourse Analysis in Education: A Review of the Literature. *Review of Educational Research,* 75(3), pp.365-416.

Rodgers, P. (2008). *Nation, region and history in post-communist transitions*. Identity politics in Ukraine 1991-2006. Stuttgart: ibdem-Verlag.

Roediger, H. L., &. Wertsch, J. V. (2008). *Creating a new discipline of memory studies. SAGE Journals,* Volume: 1 issue: 1, pp.9-22.

Roediger, H., Zaromb, F. M., & Zaromb, A. C. (2009). *The role of repeated retrieval in shaping collective memory*. Retrieved on 15 December 2017, from:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287761682_The_role_of_repeated_retrieval_in_shaping_collective_memory

Rodney, W. (1973). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.

Rodríguez-gómez, D., Foulds, K., & Sayed, Y. (2016). Migration movements in textbooks and didactic material in the Spanish context. In In Naseem, M. A. & Arshad-Ayaz, A., Rodriguez, J. (eds), *Representation of minorities in textbooks: International comparative perspective (pp.119-142)*. Spain: Tórculo Comunicación Gráfica, S. A.

Roediger, H. L. (2008). Creating a new discipline of memory studies. *Memory Studies* 1(1), pp.9-22.

Roediger, H. L. (2009). *The role of repeated retrieval in shaping collective memory*. ResearchGate.

Rogers, R. M.-B. (2005). Critical discourse analysis in education: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research, 75(3), pp.365-416*.

Rosemann, P. W. (2013). Post-structuralism. In L. F. Robert, *New catholic encyclopaedia supplement 2012 – 13: ethic s and philosophy, volume 3 (pp.1245-1248)*. Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America.

Rosenau, P. M. (1992). *Postmodernism and the social sciences: Insights, inroads, and intrusions*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Rubin, M. (2008). *Cultural history I: what's in a name?* Lonfon: Making history. Retrieved on 16 December 2016, from: http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/cultural_history.html.

Rushohora, N. A. (December, 2015). History teachers and the use of History textbooks in Africa – From textbook to desa': A personal narrative of teaching History in Tanzania. *Yesterday&Today,* No. 14, pp.238-243.

Russ-Eft, D., & Preskill, H. (2001). *Evaluation in Organizations*. New York: Basic Books.

Rusu, M. S. (2013). History and Collective Memory: The Succeeding Incarnations of an Evolving Relationship. *Philobiblon* 18(2), pp.260-282.

South African Democratic Teachers Union. (2014). *The importance of teaching history as a compulsory subject*. Retrieved on 1 July 2016, from: http://www.sadtu.org.za/docs/disc/2014/history.pdf

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. United States: Vintage Books.

Salomon, M., & Ket, V. D. (2007). Doi Moi, education and identity formation in contemporary Vietnam. *British Association of International and Comparative Education,* 37(3), pp.345-364.

Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social Research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

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

Saunders, C. (2008). Ahistorical historiography. *Historia,* volume 53 n.2, 287-289.

Saunders, M. L. (2012). *Research Methods for Business Students (6th ed.)*. New York: Pearson Education Limited.

Saunders, M. N. K., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2013). *Research methods for business students (7th ed)*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education.

Schacter, D.L. (2009). Memory systems, neural basis of. In T. Bayne, A. Clemens, & P. Wilken (Eds.), *The Oxford companion to consciousness (pp. 432-436)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

Schwandt, T. A. (2003). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretativism, hermeneutics and social constructionism. In N. A. Denzin, *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and issues (pp.292-331)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Schwandt, T. A. (2007). *Knowledge production: Research work in interesting times*. Routledge: London.

Schwartz, B., & Schuman, H. (2005). History, Commemoration, and Belief: Abraham Lincoln in American Memory, 1945 - 2001. *American Sociology Review,* Volume 70, No. 2, pp.183-203.

Seixas, P. A. (2006). *Benchmarks of Historical Thinking: A Framework for Assessment in Canada*. Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness: UBC.

Seixas, P., & Morton, T. (2012). *The big six historical thinking concepts*. Nelson Education. Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: http://www.nelson.com/thebigsix/about.html

Seixas, P. A. (2000). Schweigen! Die Kinder! Or, Does Postmodern History have a place in the school?" In S. A. Sterns. *Knowing, teaching and Learning History (pp.19-37)*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Seixas, P. A. (2006). *Theorizing historical consciousness*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Seixas, P. A. (2013). *The big six historical thinking concepts*. Boston: Cengange Learning.

Seixas, P., & Peck, C. (2004). Teaching historical thinking. In A. Sears & I. Wright (eds), *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies (pp.109-117)*. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.

Seixas, P. (2010). A Modest Proposal for Change in Canadian History Education. *International Review of History Education, Volume 6*.

Seleti, Y. (1997). *From History to Human and Social Sciences: The new curriculum framework and the end of history for the general education and training level*. EPU University of Natal, Durban: Education Policy Unit Working Paper No. 14.

Seleti, Y, P. Delius, and G. Clacherty. 1999. *Looking into the Past, Grade 10*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman

Seleti, Y. (2004). C*hanging the landscape of history education in post-apartheid South Africa: Prospects and challenges 2000-2004*. Unpublished paper.

Sévry, J. (1991). *Chaka: Empereur des Zoulous: histoire, mythes et légendes*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Sewall, G. (2000). *History textbooks at the new century: A report of the American textbook council*. New York: American Textbook Council.

Sewall, G. (2005). Textbook publishing. *Phi Delta Kappan* 86, pp.498–502.

Sewall, G. T. (2004). *World history textbooks: A review*. New York: Paper presented at the American textbook council.

Shalaeva, A. V. (2015). *The scientific study of myth: Romantic account of symbolism and mythology*. National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE).

Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information* 22, pp.63–75.

Shneiderman B., & Plaisant, C. (2005). *Designing the user interface: Strategies for effective human computer interaction (4th ed)*. College Park, MD: Addison-Wesley.

Shulman, L. S. (1986). Those who understand: Knowledge growth in teaching. *Educational Researcher, 15(2), pp.4-14.*

Shulman, L. S. (1987). Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform. *Harvard Educational Review,* 57(1), pp.1-21.

Shulman, L. S. (2005). Signature pedagogies in the professions. *Dadalus, 134 (Summer 2005), pp.52-59*.

Siebörger, R. (2000). History and the emerging nation: The South African experience. International *Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research. Volume 1, no 1, pp.39-48.*

Siebörger, R. (2002). Values in a changing curriculum. In A. A, McCully (ed), *Values in History Teacher Education and Research*. Lancaster: History Teacher Education Network.

Siebörger, R. (2006a). *Training history teachers for a new curriculum: The Turning Points experience*. Cape Town: History Educators' International Research Network Conference.

Siebörger, R. (2006b). *In the beginning.... Where to start in history teaching?* Potchefstroom: SA Society for History Teaching Conference.

Siebörger, R. (2012). *A reply to Peter Kallaway: 'History in High School 2012: A comment. Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement*. History Grades 10-12'. Cape Town: School of Education, University of Cape Town, Seminar paper.

Siebörger, R. (December, 2015). The dilemmas of textbook selection – the Department of Education's 2007 screening of Grade 12 History textbooks – A case study. *Yesterday&Today,* No. 14, pp.41-57.

Sikorova, Z. (2008). *Textbook-based activities in the classroom*. Tonsberg: Paper presented at the Ninth International Conference on Textbooks and Educational Media: Peace, Democratization and Reconciliation in Textbooks and Educational Media September 2007.

Sitwala, I. (2014). Is There a Conceptual Difference between Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks? *Journal of Social Sciences,* 38(2), pp.185-195.

Smith, J. A., Flower, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). In*terpretive phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Smuts, E. (2006). Create a usable sense of the past: Working with sources. *Yesterday & Today,* 1, pp.102-122.

Snape, D., & Spencer, L. (2003). The foundations of qualitative research. In Ritchie, J., & Lewis, j (eds), *Qualitative Research Practice (pp.1-23)*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Sneider, D. (May 2012). *Divided Memories: History Text Books and the Wars in Asia*. Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: http://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/a00703/.

Spaull, N. (2012). *Equity & efficiency in South African primary schools: A preliminary analysis of SACMEQ 111, South Africa*. Stellenbosch: Unpublished M. Com thesis, University of Stellenbosch.

South African Society of History Teaching (2015). *Statement by the South African Society for History Teaching on the appointment of the History Ministerial Task Team to oversee the implementation of compulsory history in the Further Education and Training schools*. Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: http://sashtw.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/History-task-team-SASHT-statement-November-2015.pdf.

South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) 2015. Nation Television. Morning Live. 26th June.

Statistics South Africa. (2011). *A profile of education enrolment, attainment and progression in South Africa, 2011*. Tshwane. Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-01-81/Report-03-01-812011.pdf.

Statistics South Africa. (2016a). *General Household Survey, Selected development indicators, 2016*. Tshwane. Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P03182/P031822016.pdf.

Statistics South Africa. (2016b). *General Household Survey, 2016*. Tshwane. Retrieved on 1 June 2016, from: http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0318/P03182016.pdf.

Steele, C. (2010). *Whistling Vivaldi: How Stereotypes Affect Us and What We Can Do*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

Stephenson, C. A., Sikhakhane, L., Frank, F., Hlongwane, J., Subramony, R., Virasamy C., Collier, C., Govender, K., & Mbansini, T. (2011). *New generation: History grade 10 learner's book*. Durban: New generation publishers.

Stetz, M. (2001). *Deconstruction and science: How post-structuralist literary theory applies to scientific understanding*. Retrieved on 31 January 2017, from: http://physics.oregonstate.edu/~stetza/ph407H/Deconstruction.pdf

Story, J. (2009). *Cultural theory and popular culture an introduction (5th ed)*. London: Pearson London.

Suransky, R. (2002). Reviving South African History. The chronicle of higher education, June 14. Retrieved on 1 December 2016, from: http://chronicle.com/world

Swoboda, H., & Wiersma, J. M. (2009). *Politics of the past: The use and abuse of history*. Wenen: Renner Institute.

Taruvinga, M. M.., & Cross, M. (2012). *Jonathan Jansen and the Curriculum Debate in South Africa: An Essay Review of Jansen's Writings Between 1999 and 2009*. Wiley Periodicals, Inc.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (2003). *Handbook of mixed methods in social & behavioural research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Taylor, J. W. (2016). *The "life and work" of South Africa historiography*. Tshwane: University of Pretoria. Retrieved on 1 December 2017, from: https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/61207/Taylor_Life_2017.pdf?sequence=1.

Taylor, N. (2008). *It's OBE, but not as it should be*. Mail & Guardian (15th of April 2008).

Taylor, T., & Young, C. (2003). *Making History: a guide for the teaching and learning of history in Australian schools*. Carlton South: Curriculum Corporation.

Teddlie, C., & Yu, F. (2007). Mixed Methods Sampling: A Typology With Examples. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1: 77, pp.78-99.

Terre Blanche, M. S., & Durrheim, K (eds). (2004). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. University of Cape Town Press.

Themane, M. J., & Mamabolo, J. M. (2011). *Diversity as a Curricular Challenge in South African Schools*. Retrieved on 12 December 2017, from: http://www.saqa.org.za/docs/promo/2011/themane.pdf

Thornton, S. J., & Barton, K. C. (2010, September). Can history stand alone? Drawbacks and blind spots of a "disciplinary" curriculum. T*eachers College Record,* Volume 112, Number 9, pp.2471-2495.

Tools4dev. (2018, Jan 23). Retrieved on 23 January 2018, from: http://www.tools4dev.org/

Tosh, J. (1991*). The pursuit of history*. New York: Longman Publishing.

Tosh, J. (2005). *History and Historiography*. Retrieved from Microsoft® Encarta®. Retrieved on 23 January 2018, from: http://au.encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761555707/History_and_Historiography.

Tosh, J. 2010. *The pursuit of History (5th ed)*. New York: Longman Publishing.

Trevor-Roper, H. R. (1965). *The rise of Christian Europe (History of European Civilization series)*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Trochim, M. K., & Donnelly, J. P. (2007*). Research methods knowledge base (3rd ed)*. Mason, OH: Thomson Custom Pub.

Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom, Volume 1*. London: Bradbury, Evans, and Co, Printers.

Umalusi. (2017, November 24). Retrieved on 24 November 2017, from: http://www.umalusi.org.za/docs/presentations/2015/textbooks.pdf

UNESCO. (2006). *Textbooks, educational material and teaching aids*. Paper presented at the International Institute for Educational planning.

Valverde, G. A., Bianchi, L. J., Wolfe, R. G., Houang, R. T., & Schmidt, W. H. (2002). *According to the Book: Using TIMSS to investigate the translation of policy into practice through the world of textbooks*. Kluwer.

Van Boxtel, J., & van Drie, C. (2012). That's in the Time of the Romans!" Knowledge and Strategies Students Use to Contextualize Historical Images and Documents. *Cognition and Instruction, 30:2, pp.113-145*.

Van Drie, J., & Van Boxtel, C. (2008). Historical Reasoning: Towards a Framework for Analyzing Students' Reasoning About the Past. *Educational Psychology Review,* 20(2), pp.87–110.

Van Eeden E.S., &. Van der Walt, J. L (2000). Creating a future for History within South Africa's Curriculum 2005. *Journal for Theory and Research in Social Education, Birmingham,* USA, 28(1).

Van Eeden, E. S. (May, 2010b). Impressions on publisher's approach to the revised South African History Curriculum on Globalism and National Narratives in Grade 12 textbooks. H*istoria,* 55(1), pp.110-124.

Van Eeden, E. S. (November, 1997). Historiographical and methodological trends in the teaching of History in a changing South Africa. *Historia,* 42(2).

Van Eeden, E. S. (2008). Impressions on aspects of the process – and outcomes – of curriculum transformation in History for schools after 1994 in South Africa. *New Contree,* No. 56, pp.105-140.

Van Eeden, E. S. (2010a). *Curriculum transformations in History: Driven by political trends or as a result of empirical outcomes and educational progress? A debate with South Africa as example*. Yearbook Annals, International Society for History Didactics.

Van Eeden, E. S. (November, 2006). The role and focus of the South African Society for History Teaching in decades of educational transformation, 1986-2006. *New Contree,* 52.

Van Eeden, E. S. (2012). The youth and school history - learning from some of the thinking of yesterday in South Africa. *Yesterday&Today,* 8, pp.23-46.

Van Eeden, E. S. (November, 2002). Know the past, anticipate the future: Observations on the National Department of Education and the South African History Project's conference, Rondebosch, 2-5 October 2002. *Historia,* 47(2), pp.765-772.

Van Jaarsveld, F. A. (1989). *Historical consciousness and the reinterpretation of history*. Kwa Dlangezwa: University of Zululand.

Van Teijlinge. (2014). *Semi-structured interviews*. BU Graduate School.

Vansledright, B. A. (2002a). Constructing ideas about history in the classroom: The influence of competing forces on pedagogical decision making. In Brophy, J (ed), Social Constructivist Teaching: Affordances and Constraints *(Advances in Research on Teaching, Volume 9, pp. 263 - 298)*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

VanSledright, B. A. (2010). *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories, and Policy*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Verwey C., & Quayle, M. (2012). Whiteness, racism, and Afrikaner identity in post-aparthied South Africa. *African Affairs,* 111/445, pp.551–575.

Villaverde, L. E. (2003). *Secondary Schools: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO.

Visser, W. (2004). *Trends in South African historiographical and present state of historical research*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.

wa Thiong'O, N. (1986). *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Currey.

Wakefield, J. F. (2006). *Textbook usage in the United States: The case of U.S history*. Paper presented at the International seminar on Textbooks.

Walker, E. A. (1928). *A History of South Africa*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Waller, B. J. (2009). *How does historical literacy manifest itself in South African grade 10 history textbooks?* Pinetown: Unpublished M.Ed. dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Wassermann, J. M. (2008). *The historical consciousness of Afrikaner adolescents. A small scale survey. Historical consciousness – historical culture*. In International Society for History Didactics 2006/7 Yearbook. Schwalbach: Wochenschauverlag.

Wassermann, J. M., & Bertram, C. (2015). South African History textbook research – a review of the scholarly literature. *Yesterday&Today,* No. 14, pp.151-174.

Watt, E. P. (1962). *Febana: The true story of Francis George Farewell: Explorer, pioneer a founder of natal*. London: Peter Davis.

Weldon, G. (2003). Comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum of post-conflict societies: Rwanda and South Africa. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research,* 6, pp.55-71.

Weldon, G. (2009). *A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa*. Tshwane: University of Pretoria.

Wellington, J. (2000). *Educational research: Contemporary issues and practical approaches*. London: Continuum.

Wilson, S. M., Shulman, L. S., & Richert, A. E. (1987). "150 different ways of knowing": Representations of knowledge in teaching. In J. Calderhead (ed), *Exploring teachers' thinking. (pp. 104-124)*. London: Cassell.

Wertsch, J. V., & Roediger, H. L. (2008). Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches. *Memory,* 16:3, pp.318-326.

White, H. (1978). The historical text as literary artefact. In Canary, R. H., & Kozicki, H (eds), *The writing of history: Literary form and historical understanding (pp.41-62)*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

White, H. (1999). Literary theory and historical writing. In H. V. White (ed), *Figural realism: Studies in the mimesis effect (pp.1-26)*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

White, H. (2000). An old question raised again: Is historiography art or science? (Response to Iggers). *Rethinking History,* 4, pp.391-406.

White, H. (2005). Historical fiction, fictional history, and historical. *Rethinking History, 9, pp.147-157.*

White, H. (2006a). The public relevance of historical studies: A reply to Dirk Moses. *History and Theory,* 44(3), pp.333-338.

Williams, J. P. (2008). Nonparticipant observation. In M. G. Lisa (ed), *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Wilson, S. S. (1987). "150 different ways of knowing": Representations of knowledge in teaching. In J. Calderhead (ed), *Exploring teachers' thinking (pp.104-123)*. Eastbourne, UK: Cassell.

Windschuttle, K. (2002). A Critique of the Postmodern Turn in Western Historiography. In Q. Edward Wang, & G. Iggers (eds), *Turning Points in Historiography: A cross cultural perspective*. New York: Rochester Press.

Wineburg, S., & Martin, D. (2004). Reading and Rewriting History. *Educational leadership, Volume 62 No.1, pp.42-45*.

Wineburg, S. (2001). *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts*. Temple University Press.

Wojdon, J. (December, 2014). History textbooks facing controversial issues – case study of the Martial law in Poland. *Yesterday&Today,* No. 12, pp.75-89.

Wright, J., Hamilton, C. (1989a). Tradition and transformations. The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In A.Duminy., & Guest, B (eds), *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910*. A New History. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Wright, J. (1971*). Bushman Raiders of the Drakensberg, 1840-1870*. Pietermaritzburg.

Wright, J. (1977). *Clash of paradigms: Review of Harrison M. Wright, The Burden of the Present: Liberal and Radical Controversy over Southern African History,* pp.14-17.

Wright, J. (1988). 'Pre-Cobbing Mfecane'. In K. Smith, *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing (pp. 27 - 28)*. Cape Town: Saunders.

Wright, J. (1989). Political Mythology and the Making of Natal's Mfecane. *Canadian Journal of African Studies,* Volume 23, No. 2, pp.272-291.

Wright, J. (1991). A. T. Bryant and 'The Wars of Shaka'. *History in Africa,* Volume 18, pp.409-425.

Wright, J. (1995). 'Beyond the Concept of the Zulu Explosion, In Hamilton, C. (ed), *The Mfecane Aftermath* (Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg, 1995), pp.107-21.

Wright, J. (2004). *Reconstituting Shaka Zulu for the 21st century: part one*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal. Retrieved on 23 January 2018, from: http://www.kznhass-history.net/files/seminars/Wright2004.pdf

Wright, J. (2006a). Reconstituting Shaka Zulu for the twenty-first century. *Southern African Humanities,* Volume 18 (2), pp.139–153.

Wright, J. (2006b). B*eyond the "Zulu Aftermath": Rescrambling southern Africa's mfecane migrations*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal: School of Anthropology, Gender and Historical Studies.

Wright, John B. 2006-2007. Beyond the 'Zulu Aftermath': Migrations, Identities, Histories. *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 24 & 25, pp.1-36.

Wylie, D. A. (1995). White writers and Shaka Zulu. Grahamstown: Rhodes University. Retrieved on 23 January 2018, from: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11985018.pdf.

Wylie, D. A. (2000). *Savage Delight: White Myths of Shaka*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.

Wylie, D. A. (2006). *Myth of Iron - Shaka in History*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu- Natal Press.

Wylie, D. A. (2011). *Shaka: A pocket biography*. Johannesburg: Jacana.

Yılmaz, K. (2007). Postmodernist Approach to the Discipline of History. Kocaeli Üniversitesi Sosyal *Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* (14)2, pp.176-188.

Yılmaz, K. (2010). Postmodernism and its Challenge to the Discipline of History: Implications for History Education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory,* Volume 42, No. 7, pp.799-795.

Zabalza, M. (2012). Territory, culture and curricular contextualization. Interactions, 22, pp.6-33.

Zembylas, M., & Bekerman, Z. (2008). Education and the dangerous memories of historical trauma: Narratives of pain, narratives of hope. *Curriculum Inquiry,* Volume 38, Issue 2, pp.125-154.

APPENDIX A: Questionnaire to be answered by in-service history educator

Name of participant: _____

Name of school: _____

1. **Where did you first hear/learn about Shaka and what did you learn/hear? (Please be specific)**

_____

_____

2. **Has your first impression or knowledge about Shaka change over time? Yes? No? Elaborate**

_____

_____

_____

3. **Does what you know or think of Shaka has any influence on how you teach about him? Yes? No? Elaborate**

_____

_____

_____

4. **What do you think of revisionist historiographies about Shaka that the CAPS curriculum suggests you consider in your teaching? Elaborate**

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. **Which institution did you train to become a professional educator? What qualifications do you possess?**

_____

_____

_____

6. **How many years have you been teaching history professionally?**

_____

_____

APPENDIX B: **Schedule of questions for semi-structured individual interviews**

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH INDIVIDUAL IN-SERVICE HISTORY EDUCATORS

Main question	**Possible probe questions**	**Reason for asking**
1. Biographical background	Name (will use pseudonyms), age, and ethical background.	To establish a sense of the individual educator's background.
2. Educational background	Where they matriculated? Which year? Where did they train (institution) to become professional educators?	To get some understanding of some of the artefacts that might inform who they come to *re*construct images of Shaka.
3. Was history your grade 12 subject and/or university major?	Did you enjoy or dislike the history of King Shaka at school and/or university?	To establish this educator's specific academic background in the discipline of history in relation to image of Shaka.
4. What do you remember in your school or university history that was taught to you about Shaka?	Is it different from what you are exposed to now?	To get a sense to whether or not there has been a shift in how the educators construct images of Shaka
5. Where you told/taught about Shaka at home? Elaborate.	Does that have a bearing how you come to *re*construct images of Shaka today?	To establish the role the home (at parents) play in inform how their children come to interpret, view and construct images of Shaka.
6. How do you feel about teaching history? Does it excite you?	What is the one thing you look forward to when you about to teach? What are you worried about?	To get some insights into this educator's perceptions of teaching history.
7. Do you teach the history of Shaka as a debate, debate*s* or a single story?	Are you aware of current debate*s* around the image of Shaka?	To get some insights as to whether or not the teacher has moved away from old traditional accounts to embracing new ones

APPENDIX C: **WITS approval letter**

APPROVAL LETTER FROM THE GRADUATE STUDIES COMMITTEE OF THE WSoE

Faculty of Humanities: Education Campus

Room 208/9, Administration Block, 27 St. Andrews Road, Parktown · Tel: +27 11 717-3018 · Fax: 0865532464
E-mail: Thabo.Makuru@wits.ac.za

PERSON NUMBER: 519132

10 May 2017

Mr Paul Maluleke
Cc: Ms Sipokazi Sambumbu

Dear Mr Maluleke

Results for Masters Research Education

I am writing to inform you that the Graduate Studies Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has considered your proposal entitled *"Constructions of King Shaka by four in-service history educators in four Gauteng schools, South Africa"* and that you are admitted to candidature subject to minor corrections suggested by the reader.

Corrections must be addressed to the satisfaction of the supervisor.

I confirm that **Ms Sipokazi Sambumbu** have been appointed as your supervisor.

Your attention is drawn to the Senate's requirement that all higher degree candidates submit brief written reports on their progress to the Faculty Office once a year.

Please note that higher degree candidates are required to renew their registration in January each year.

Please keep us informed of any changes of address during the year.

Yours sincerely,

Thabo Makuru (Mr)
Faculty Officer
Faculty of Humanities Education
Parktown Campus

APPENDIX D: **GDE approval letter**

APPROVAL LETTER RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN GAUTENG SCHOOLS

GAUTENG PROVINCE
Department: Education
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

8/4/4/1/2

GDE RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Date:	16 May 2017
Validity of Research Approval:	06 February 2017 – 29 September 2017 2017/92
Name of Researcher:	Maluleka P.
Address of Researcher:	607 Block T
	Soshanguve
	Tshwane, 0164
Telephone Number:	078 335 6479
Email address:	malulekapaul@gmail.com
Research Topic:	Constructions of King Shaka by four in-service history educators in Gauteng schools, South Africa
Number and type of schools:	Four Secondary Schools
District/s/HO	Johannesburg East, Johannesburg South and Tshwane North

Re: Approval in Respect of Request to Conduct Research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The onus rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with the school/s and/or offices involved to conduct the research. A separate copy of this letter must be presented to both the School (both Principal and SGB) and the District/Head Office Senior Manager confirming that permission has been granted for the research to be conducted.

16/05/17

1

Making education a societal priority

Office of the Director: Education Research and Knowledge Management
7th Floor, 17 Simmonds Street, Johannesburg, 2001
Tel: (011) 355 0488
Email: Faith.Tshabalala@gauteng.gov.za
Website: www.education.gpg.gov.za

APPENDIX E: **Letter**

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO HEADS OF SCHOOLS

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THEIR INSTITUTIONS

April/July 2017

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Paul Maluleka (Protocol Number: 2017ECE014M), a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand – school of education. I am conducting this research project in order to achieve a Master's degree in History Education and would like to take this opportunity to request permission from you to work with your history educator and grade 10 history learners.

I am investigating how in-service history educators interpret, reconstruct and represent images of Shaka in the classroom.

My aims are to gain a deeper understanding regarding individual and collective memories that in-service history might have regarding images of Shaka, and how these memories along with different constructions of Shaka inform how the educators interpret, reconstruct, represent and teach images of Shaka in the classroom.

This research will not advantage or disadvantage participants in any way. They will be constantly reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are also no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. Although this study is aimed at educators' constructions, learners will be present during classroom observations. And, since the lessons will be audio-recorded, learners will therefore be recognized as indirect participants. Information sheets and consent forms will be made available to educators, learners and parents. Although learners are indirect participants, they too can withdraw from the process at any given time.

The research methods that will be used to generate data will include; a questionnaire, audio-recorded unobtrusive classroom observations, as well as audio-recorded individual semi-structured interviews with the educator(s). The names of the research participants and your school will be kept confidential at all times, and in all academic writing based on the study – in this regard, pseudonyms will be used to write-up the report and learners responses will be excluded. All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after the completion of the project. Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response at your convenience.

Yours in Education

Paul Maluleka (Mr) malulekapaul@gmail.com

APPENDIX F: **Letter**

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO IN-SERVICE HISTORY EDUCATORS

April/July 2017

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Paul Maluleka (Protocol Number: 2017ECE014M), a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand – school of education. I am conducting this research project in order to achieve a Master's degree in History Education and would like to take this opportunity to invite you a professional history educator to participate in my Masters Research project.

I am investigating how in-service history educators interpret, *re*construct and represent images of Shaka in the classroom.

My aims are to gain a deeper understanding regarding individual and collective memories that in-service history might have regarding images of Shaka, and how these memories along with different constructions of Shaka inform how the educators interpret, *re*construct, represent and teach images of Shaka in the classroom.

This research will not advantage or disadvantage you as a participant in any way. You will be constantly reassured that you can withdraw your permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are also no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. Although this study is aimed at educators' constructions, learners will be present during classroom observations. And, since the lessons will be audio-recorded, learners will therefore be recognized as indirect participants. Information sheets and consent forms will be made available to you, your learners and parents. Although learners are indirect participants, they too can withdraw from the process at any given time.

The research methods that will be used to generate data will include; a questionnaire, audio-recorded unobtrusive classroom observations, as well as audio-recorded individual semi-structured interviews with the educator(s). The names of the research participants and your school will be kept confidential at all times, and in all academic writing based on the study – in this regard, pseudonyms will be used to write-up the report and learners responses will be excluded. All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after the completion of the project.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response at your convenience.

Yours in Education

Paul Maluleka (Mr) malulekapaul@gmail.com

APPENDIX G: **Letter**

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO GRADE 10 HISTORY LEARNERS

April/July 2017

Dear Learners

My name is Paul Maluleka (Protocol Number: 2017ECE014M), a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand – school of education. I am conducting this research project in order to achieve a Master's degree in History Education and would like to take this opportunity to invite you as grade 10 history learners to participate in my Masters Research project as indirect participants.

I am investigating how in-service history educators interpret, reconstruct and represent images of Shaka in the classroom.

My aims are to gain a deeper understanding regarding individual and collective memories that in-service history might have regarding images of Shaka, and how these memories along with different constructions of Shaka inform how the educators interpret, reconstruct, represent and teach images of Shaka in the classroom.

This research will not advantage or disadvantage you as an indirect participant in any way. You will be constantly reassured that you can withdraw your permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are also no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. Although this study is aimed at educators' constructions, you will be present during classroom observations. And, since the lessons will be audio-recorded, you will therefore be recognized as indirect participants. Information sheets and consent forms will be made available to you, your educators and parents. Although you are indirect participants, you too can withdraw from the process at any given time.

The research methods that will be used to generate data will include; a questionnaire, audio-recorded unobtrusive classroom observations, as well as audio-recorded individual semi-structured interviews with the educator(s). The names of the research participants and your school will be kept confidential at all times, and in all academic writing based on the study – in this regard, pseudonyms will be used to write-up the report and learners responses will be excluded. All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after the completion of the project.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response at your convenience.

Yours in Education

Paul Maluleka (Mr) malulekapaul@gmail.com

APPENDIX H: **Letter**

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO LEARNERS' PARENT

April/July 2017

Dear Parents

My name is Paul Maluleka (Protocol Number: 2017ECE014M), a Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand – school of education. I am conducting this research project in order to achieve a Master's degree in History Education and would like to take this opportunity to ask you to allow your child in grade 10 history to participate in my Masters Research project as indirect participant.

I am investigating how in-service history educators interpret, reconstruct and represent images of Shaka in the classroom.

My aims are to gain a deeper understanding regarding individual and collective memories that in-service history might have regarding images of Shaka, and how these memories along with different constructions of Shaka inform how the educators interpret, reconstruct, represent and teach images of Shaka in the classroom.

This research will not advantage or disadvantage your child as an indirect participant in any way. S/he will be constantly reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are also no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. Although this study is aimed at educators' constructions, your child will be present during classroom observations. And, since the lessons will be audio-recorded, your will therefore be recognized as indirect participants. Information sheets and consent forms will be made available to you, your child and educators. Although your child will be an indirect participant, they too can withdraw from the process at any given time.

The research methods that will be used to generate data will include; a questionnaire, audio-recorded unobtrusive classroom observations, as well as audio-recorded individual semi-structured interviews with the educator(s). The names of the research participants and your school will be kept confidential at all times, and in all academic writing based on the study – in this regard, pseudonyms will be used to write-up the report and learners responses will be excluded. All research data will be destroyed between 3-5 years after the completion of the project.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response at your convenience.

Yours in Education

Paul Maluleka (Mr) malulekapaul@gmail.com

APPENDIX I: **Heads of schools' informed consent**

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND – SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, JOHANNESBURG

Research topic: The construction, interpretation and presentation of King Shaka with reference to four in-service history educators in four Gauteng schools.

I_____, the head of_____ School

Agree/disagree to grant the researcher permission to conduct his Masters Research project at my institution. I understand that that the participation of my educator and learners is entirely voluntary and that they may withdraw at any time without negative consequences. I am aware that any information will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and respect through the use of pseudonyms and that in no way will my learners and educator be panelised or advantaged for their participation.

I agree that they can participate in the following: (Please circle the one you select. Note some are only applicable to in-service history educators).

- Questionnaire. **YES/NO**
- Unobtrusive classroom observations. **YES/NO**
- Semi-structured interviews. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the researcher to analyse data generated and include in as part of his research findings in the write up of the thesis. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the research to audio-record the classroom observations and interviews. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the researcher to use the data to present at conferences or in journal articles in the future on condition that anonymity is retained. **YES/NO**

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

APPENDIX J: **In-service history educators' informed consent**

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND – SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, JOHANNESBURG

Research topic: The construction, interpretation and presentation of King Shaka with reference to four in-service history educators in four Gauteng schools.

I_____, the in-service history educator at _____ School

Agree/disagree to participate in this research project. I understand that that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without negative consequences. I am aware that any information will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and respect through the use of pseudonyms and that in no way will I be panelised or advantaged for my participation.

I agree to participate in the following:

- Questionnaire. **YES/NO**
- Unobtrusive classroom observations. **YES/NO**
- Semi-structured interviews. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the researcher to analyse data generated and include in as part of his research findings in the write up of the thesis. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the research to audio-record the classroom observations and interviews. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the researcher to use the data to present at conferences or in journal articles in the future on condition that anonymity is retained. **YES/NO**

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

APPENDIX K: **Grade 10 history learners' informed consent**

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND – SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, JOHANNESBURG

Research topic: The construction, interpretation and presentation of King Shaka with reference to four in-service history educators in four Gauteng schools.

I_____, the in-service history educator at _____ School

Agree/disagree to participate in this research project. I understand that that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without negative consequences. I am aware that any information will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and respect through the use of pseudonyms and that in no way will I be panelised or advantaged for my participation.

I agree to participate in the following:

- Unobtrusive classroom observations. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the researcher to analyse data generated and include in as part of his research findings in the write up of the thesis. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the research to audio-record the classroom observations and interviews. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the researcher to use the data to present at conferences or in journal articles in the future on condition that anonymity is retained. **YES/NO**

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

APPENDIX L: **Grade 10 history learners' parent informed consent**

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND – SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, JOHANNESBURG

Research topic: The construction, interpretation and presentation of King Shaka with reference to four in-service history educators in four Gauteng schools.

I_____, parent of _____ at _____ School

Agree/disagree to grant the researcher permission to conduct his Masters Research project at my child's institution. I understand that that the participation of my child is entirely voluntary and that s/he may withdraw at any time without negative consequences. I am aware that any information will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and respect through the use of pseudonyms and that in no way will my child will be panelised or advantaged for their participation.

I agree that my child can participate in the following:

- Unobtrusive classroom observations. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the researcher to analyse data generated and include in as part of his research findings in the write up of the thesis. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the research to audio-record the classroom observations and interviews. **YES/NO**

I agree to allow the researcher to use the data to present at conferences or in journal articles in the future on condition that anonymity is retained. **YES/NO**

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____